HICKOX VERSION (BARKER WELFARE FOUNDATION)

This is the late February 1951 revision of the Ford Fund appeal, which was a revision of the Independent Aid revision of the original Whitney memorandum.

February 26, 1951

Mr. Charles V. Hickox
The Barker Welfare Foundation
Room 1401, 70 Pine Street
New York 5, New York

Dear Mr. Hickox:

Last September our Council applied to the Barker Welfare Foundation for a grant of $1,000. Your secretary kindly wrote me that all funds for 1950 had been allocated but that you would be glad to present our appeal to the Board of Directors at their meeting in the spring of 1951.

I write to renew the Council's request.

A summary of the Council's work is attached. Many of the selection of printed things sent you last year relate directly to the memorandum.

The audit for 1950 is not yet completed, but I will gladly send you a copy, if you should wish, when it is finished in ten days or so. In addition to the grants mentioned in my letter of September 21, 1950, we received later in the year a further grant from the Field Foundation of $2,500 to assist in the publication of New South. Several leading trade unions also gave us help. Recently the Northern Presbyterian Church has for the first time made us a grant.

This year again it is going to take $10,000 more than we have in sight to carry us through, and I do greatly hope that the Barker Welfare Foundation will lighten the load. The South in this emergency period needs the completest possible application of the Council's work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 1951

MEMORANDUM ON THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The walls of sectionalism behind which the South has barricaded itself for so long are beginning to crumble. The pressure of world opinion has brought in this country a new awareness of the flaws in our democracy. And along with that have come increasing demands on the South to bring its human relations up to the standards of the nation as a whole, both in law and in custom. Southern Negroes are, rightfully, impatient with the crushing limitations on their citizenship, and they are no longer willing to wait for slow, evolutionary improvement. The last decade has seen momentous Supreme Court decisions, pressure for civil rights legislation, and legal attacks on segregation. As segregation begins to crack, slowly and with the fiercest opposition from entrenched forces, tensions increase day by day.

We are entering a period of national emergency -- if not World War Three, then World War Two-and-a-Half. This time, we are in for years of strain as this mainly Caucasian country pits its way of life against Communist revolution among dark-skinned people. Strain will grow apace at home. And ultimate peace and success will be greatly influenced by the way these strains within the South find release. The adjustments are going to be severe, and they will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority-group

population in the United States.

This ferment brings stress and bitterness, but it also brings remarkable new opportunity for progress -- if the necessary resources and leadership can be brought to bear. More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them -- the small group from whom leadership must come -- are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But most of them are simple people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see the "race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of reactionary politicians, who know very well how to blend fear and confusion into an antidote to progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand a tremendous effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Southern Regional Council is the only Southwide membership organization -- which cuts across racial and creedal lines -- working primarily at that task. The Council's singular effectiveness lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference." Being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect. Being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon Line.

It can truthfully be said that the Southern Regional Council is serving at a vital area of human relations which cannot be reached with the same effectiveness by any other agency.

Organization

The Southern Regional Council has by now some respectability in years. It goes back to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1920 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the onset of the second World War, the friends of the old Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all the people of the region.

The Council is, first and foremost, a practical organization. It works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people — some 2800 dues-paying members. They are nearly all well educated, and they hold responsible positions in their own communities. They are ministers, or teachers, or college presidents, leading church women, or business men, or doctors, and so on. Such responsible leaders as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, and Ralph McGill have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. Probably about half of our members are white and half are Negro.

Our members are widely scattered over the South. In nine of the states they have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. In three others we work in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees. Thus, in twelve Southern states, we can rely on an organized body of people of our opinions. With more resources, our work in the states and in local places could be made to yield infinitely

greater effectiveness.

The Southern Regional Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. We are strictly non-political, and enjoy the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption, dated July 28, 1947.

Activities

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members and friends informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc.; many of these are widely used in schools and colleges throughout the region. We have made our files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that we are not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large public. We have published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects which are developed to meet special need or special opportunity. In the past, the Council has kept an ear close to the ground. Whenever it has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it

has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years:

Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. It follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. But with the decline of formal lynching, new, though related, problems have come to the forefront: discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

The old Interracial Commission pushed Southern towns and cities to take on Negro policemen. The betterment is obvious. Politics and prejudice stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with chiefs of police all over the South, we published a table of Southern places that used Negro police. There were 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. We printed also comments from police chiefs in various cities and the story of how it had worked out in Greensboro, N. C. That publication has been circulated in city after city over the South as the issue came to decision. By September 1950, the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities,

with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But we supplied the facts, we robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place we converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been interesting to see the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to us and ask for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

On civil rights, the Report of President Truman's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. We went patiently about the job. We prepared a simple digest of the Report and have sold many thousands of copies each year. We did an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" to back up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women which we arranged; one of them, featuring Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. We did some hard thinking and printed "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" as an expression of our executive committee. Several Southern papers carried the whole long document in full, and most noticed it. We have not calmed the tempest, but we have played a significant part in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as

the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. Our executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter widely. Many of our members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities, the precedent broadens. We cherish each gain, list them all, and preach to the whole South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

Self-surveys. The local fact-finding survey is an old device, but the Council has added a new twist, and it works. We get our friends in a town to form, with the greatest care, a local, bi-racial committee. The committee then itself goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks and the busses and the sewers. It prints a report (which the town really notices), and it makes itself a follow-up committee, to meet every six months, cross off the recommendations that have been accomplished, and decide on the next things to push for. Read what the Chairman in Greenville, S. C., said when the committee there had just finished its survey:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose -- has been a release and a relief."

We have published a manual for such surveys, and we work through our staff and our members to get new towns to take it up. Rock Hill, S. C., is about to do one. Jacksonville, Fla., Madison, Ga., Greenville, S. C., Earlington, Ky., and Shreveport, La., have completed self-surveys, and their experience has shown the unique value of the method. The Southern Regional Council offers technical assistance and guidance at every point.

Race in the News. A couple of years ago we saw signs that some Southern newspapers would like to do a decent job in handling news about Negroes. None of the papers quite knew how. We got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some 1000 representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." It is in newspaper language, and it is persuasive, and it has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association asked for enough copies for them to send one to every daily paper in the South. We complied! Time and Newsweek took it up. We sent a copy of the booklet to each of the 2000 county weekly newspapers in the South. Then we got local committees of our friends to call on editors and be sure the pamphlet got read.

The change, in a year's time, is remarkable. The papers frequently print pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro." They hunt for news of Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers do as they always did, but in most cities one or the other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

Professional associations. We have watched for years the slow broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers saw it first, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society opened up. We wrote out to people we could trust, and found the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the 13 Southern states. Then we made it into a simple chart, printed it, and got it out to our members and to the papers. There is evidence already that this spotlighting of the facts will do quite a lot to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Two years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion will no longer work. We got the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the race relations department of the Virginia Council of Churches. Then we calculated the cost of equal facilities, state by state, and printed that with the King George story. We sent it to every county superintendent of schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. It was the law and the judge and the able Negro attorneys who set the legal precedent. What we did was to get the facts out, to the right people, in a way they could understand. Only in that way can the South be brought to learn the new and difficult lessons with a minimum of bitterness and strife.

Financial Support

The Southern Regional Council, since its beginnings in 1944, has lived as to perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it spent about $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, while the rest was raised from small contributions, churches, membership dues, or sale of literature and subscriptions. Since the loss of our main foundation support -- through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund -- the Council has been hard at work to get individual contributors to fill the financial gap. But this is a job that can hardly be done in less than three more years. Most of the money that can be raised in the South for this kind of activity must come from persons of modest income; few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program.

For at least several years to come, the principal support for the work that the Southern Regional Council does must come from non-Southern sources which understand the long-range benefit, for the whole nation, of sound progress in the South. Here is the one movement of its kind in the South which is believed in and trusted by the best of Southern leadership. It is eager, experienced, and respected. And the need for its best work has never been more urgent than now.

Ford 1951 gen. corr. file

REQUEST

to the

FORD FOUNDATION

from the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May, 1951

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I

INTRODUCTORY: THE SOUTH IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has advanced in industry and commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged dangerously in political arrangements and human relations.

This lag seriously weakens the nation as a whole. Most obvious perhaps is the disproportionate influence of the South in the nation's government. The narrow electorates of the Southern states have frequently pushed to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems. Their defense of racial inequality and injustice has made itself heard throughout the world; their skill at parliamentary delay and obstruction sometimes paralyzes our whole legislative process. Time and time again, the expressed will of the American people has been thwarted by this unrepresentative minority.

A second problem of national scope is posed by the increasing migration of Southerners to other parts of the country. Among these migrants is the cream of the South's human resources — able, well-educated persons of both races who are dissatisfied with their region's economic and social backwardness. Their talents, skills, and leadership, so sorely needed at home, find their richest expression elsewhere.

A far greater number bear with them from the South the burdens of poverty, poor health, limited education, and a stunted view of society. They ar-

rive in large cities of the North and West ill-equipped for the specialized demands of urban industrial life. Worst of all, they are followed by the same problems that have contributed so heavily to the South's under-development. It is disturbing to see how readily the conventional white Southern attitudes on matters of race take root in other regions. Even where discrimination has no sanction in law, an extra-legal pattern of inequality has asserted itself; Negroes are crowded into substandard neighborhoods, are denied employment opportunities, and are forbidden access to a substantial number of public and private facilities. Such conditions inevitably breed interracial friction and violence.

These problems are not new, and in ordinary times they might seem no more pressing than they have been for some years. But these are not ordinary times. As anyone sensitive to world opinion must realize, the hope for peace, the very hope for survival of our civilization, depends largely on the vitality of America's democratic institutions. Communist propaganda, which exploits to the full every evidence of second-class citizenship in this country, can be effectively refuted only by vigorous, everyday application of our country's ideals. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South and their manifestations in the rest of the country breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task. Ours is mainly a Caucasian country; that makes all the more pressing our obligation to demonstrate, at home and abroad, that American democracy knows no preferred race.

That task is equally essential to our own unity as a people. The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure for a period of years, puts unusual strains on intergroup relations. Negro citizens are needed more and more in our productive manpower. As soldiers, as production workers, as private citizens, they are called on to bear their part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this obligation, as

they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent required for this performance are precisely those which have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed compatible with the orderly functioning of our society.

Negroes themselves are no longer patient with the restrictions on their citizenship. They are challenging those restrictions with increasing vigor. The last decade has brought heightened pressure for civil rights legislation, legal attacks on segregation, and momentous Supreme Court decisions. As a result, segregation is beginning to crack — though slowly and with the fiercest opposition from the South's most powerful elements. Welcome as today's legal gains are, they are accompanied by demagoguery and division which gravely threaten our national well-being. The final test is how quickly and effectively legislation and judicial rulings can be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The uninterrupted tenor, the truly imposing array, of judicial decisions upholding Negro rights, may be met by the white South in one of two ways: complete and unreserved acceptance or grudging compliance to the extent only that public officials are not jailed for contempt of court. The latter course would amount to guerilla warfare long continued and fought over every sector of rights of minorities. Shrewd and cunning men may conduct rear guard actions for as long as such a course yields spoils of war — in this case, votes and power. There should exist in the South a powerful and articulate voice of conscience, capable of guiding and informing public opinion to the end that such sordid maneuvers are sternly and promptly rebuked.

In any event, the adjustments are going to be severe. They will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated

army, employment, travel, and agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority group population in the United States.

For these reasons and more, it is imperative that those who have faith in a common Southern citizenship be enabled to put their thought and energy to full service. This is a proposal to make that possible.

II

SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL

The Southern Regional Council proposes flexible machinery designed to bring maximum improvement in a region which has within itself great diversity, which presents special and complex problems in human relations, and in which little of this kind has yet been attempted.

The advantages of the structure outlined below are its adaptability to local conditions and its susceptibility to growth and change in the light of additional knowledge and experience. The proposal comprehends:

1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life.

2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

3. Interpretation of appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

4. A continuous program of public education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council will draw on the experience and findings of both the action program and independent research in human relations.

The particulars of this approach and its special applicability to the South will be discussed in the succeeding sections.

III

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ORGANIZATION

The Southern Regional Council was in large measure an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the second World War, the friends of the Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the region.

The Council works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3100 dues-paying members. They are nearly all educated persons and hold responsible positions in their communities. They are ministers, teachers, college presidents, leading church women, business men, doctors, and the like. By and large, they are circumspect people who, out of conscience, reject the Southern taboos on interracial effort. Probably half of them are white and half Negro.

Members in nine states have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Those bodies elect their officers and governing committees and work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. Their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council. In three other states, the Council works in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees.

The Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. Such distinguished leaders

as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, Ralph McGill, and many others, have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. The organization is strictly non-political and enjoys the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption dated July 28, 1947.

The Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a major program of human relations in the South for the following reasons:

1. It is a going organization with staff, books, files, experience, and reputation. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably a year or more, merely to get under way.

2. It is the only organization of its kind in the South. It is genuinely inclusive. Its membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Its board of directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. It draws strength from every state in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Negroes, Indians, and whites; teachers and clergymen; industry and organized labor.

3. The Council has deep roots in the South. As successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in friends and in standing it goes back thirty years. Across the region in every state, the people who have been active in this movement are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. The Council receives cordial attention from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and state and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. Settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite to success in the human relations field.

4. It has always worked responsibly and in good faith. It has stayed

away from resounding, self-righteous statements and has tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. It has constantly been in touch both with developing modern thought about the problems of intergroup relations and with people in communities where ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

5. The Council has watched and studied and collected facts about, and has taken part in, the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, and so on. That gives the organization a background from which to judge the use of new trends, new problems, and new events.

6. The Council has put out a long series of publications which have a reputation of trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches — which is to say that its imprint is established and accepted.

7. The Council has been scrupulous about its tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. It does not lobby, organize campaigns to support specific bills, or praise or denounce candidates for public office.

In summary: Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference"; being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect; being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon line.

IV

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ACTIVITIES

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members, other interested persons, and the public informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc. It has made its files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that the Council is not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large audience. It has published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

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Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. This activity follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. Though formal lynching has declined, related problems persist; discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

The Interracial Commission encouraged Southern towns and cities to employ Negro policemen. The advantages are obvious, but politics and prejudice have usually stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with police authorities over the South, the Council published a table of Southern places that used Negro police, comments by police chiefs, and an account of Greensboro's (N.C.) experience with the practice. There were then 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. That publication has been circulated in city after city as the issue came to decision. By September 1950 the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this

practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But the Council supplied the facts, robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been gratifying to observe the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to the Council and ask for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

As to civil rights, the Report of the President's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. The Council went patiently about the job. It prepared a simple digest of the Report, of which many thousands of copies have been sold each year, and an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" which backs up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women arranged by the Council; one of them, featuring Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. In September 1948 the executive committee issued a constructive statement titled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." Several Southern newspapers carried the lengthy statement in full and most others used the wire-service stories on it. The Council has not calmed the tempest, but it has been successful in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the

precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. The Council's executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter widely. Many Council members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities and counties, the precedent broadens. The Council cherishes each gain, keeps a public record of them all, and continues to urge on the South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

Self-Surveys. There is no better device for fostering local democratic practices than the process of fact-finding and corrective follow-up by representative persons in the community itself. The Council urges and assists Southern towns to form, with the greatest care, local bi-racial committees. Once formed, the survey committee itself, with the aid of local volunteers, goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks, the busses and the sewers. It publishes a report — which the town really notices — and it forms a follow-up committee to meet periodically, cross off the recommendations accomplished, and plan continuing action. This is what the chairman said in Greenville, S. C., when the survey there was completed:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together — not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose — has been a release and a relief."

The Council makes available a manual for such self-surveys, works through its staff and members to get other towns to undertake them, and offers technical assistance and guidance at every stage.

Race in the News. Two years ago there were signs that many Southern newspapers would like to do a more decent job of handling news about Negroes. None of them knew quite how. The Council got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some one thousand representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." It is in newspaper language, is persuasive, and has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association requested enough copies to send one to every daily paper in the South. Such periodicals as Time and Newsweek helped make it widely known through their columns. The Council sent a copy to each of the two thousand county weekly newspapers in the South. Local committees of Council members called on their editors and urged the adoption of the standards set forth in "Race in the News."

The change in eighteen months' time is remarkable. A great many papers are, for the first time, printing pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro". They seek out newsworthy Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers, of course, do as they always did, but in most cities one or another of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

Professional associations. The Council has long encouraged the broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers first adopted this principle, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society abolished its racial qualifications. The Council gathered the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the thirteen Southern states. These were published in New South and distributed to our members, the newspapers, and appropriate leaders in the pro-

fessions. There is already evidence that this spotlighting of the facts will do much to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Three years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion would no longer work. The Council had the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches. This account, together with an estimate of the cost of equal facilities state by state, was published and sent to every state and county superintendent of schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. The Council thus got the facts out to the right people in a way they could understand.

These are examples, briefly described, of the kind of activity which the Southern Regional Council has carried on in the past few years. More detailed material and concrete evidence of effectiveness may be found in the accompanying exhibits.

V

STATE ACTION PROGRAMS

More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them -- the small group from whom leadership must come -- are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But many of them are people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see "the race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of unscrupulous politicians who know very well how to use fear and confusion in thwarting progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand an unremitting effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Council's singular effectiveness at this job lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes.

As the previous sections detail, each of twelve Southern states has in it a body of such people long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern. With few exceptions, these state memberships have lacked funds for the employment of even part-time personnel. They have been, for the most part, dependent on the Council's regional staff for clerical work, profes

sional fact-finding, and the many services generally which require trained persons. The Council's small staff, over-burdened by its regional functions and handicapped by distance, has been able to meet only a fraction of the state program needs. As a consequence, opportunities for productive activity daily go begging for want of skilled assistance.

The remedy is paid personnel in the states who can give leadership and continuity to those efforts. That would make possible gains not attainable by any other approach.

It is proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ an executive secretary, an associate executive secretary, and a clerical assistant in each of these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and in Kentucky a lesser staff.

This state personnel would, of course, be charged with implementing in their respective states the program of the Council as described generally in the preceding section. However, four main tasks merit specific mention:

1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the state devoted to this general cause. That includes systematic organization of local groups meeting and working interracially, adaption of program to local and state needs, and following-up to get corrective action.

2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how very much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such arrangements. Often the mere pointing out of injustice -- if done objectively and without recrimination -- is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What the Council's central office, sparingly staffed, has

been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infinitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the states. The situations susceptible to such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every state. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply every day.

3. The development each year of about twenty-four home town self-surveys -- two in each state. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., and in others now in process. The device is described in another part of this memorandum and in the literature appended. Here it need only be said that experience demonstrates that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can stretch over as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. A few such communities in each state will, we believe, set a standard which other towns will come up to.

4. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. This is a particularly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation is gone. But it would seem that the part of wisdom is to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. If these things are to be done in the South, they will have to be done through the sort of people who look to the Southern Regional Council for stimulus and guidance.

VI

RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

The organizational structure provided for in the preceding sections gives an opportunity to get into the hands of influential people of both races throughout the region the unfolding modern knowledge coming out of the universities and other research agencies. More than that, it provides test by implementation. And it makes possible the organization of a back-flow from action people to research people.

It seems reasonable to suppose that from present and prospective philanthropic effort the amount of original inquiry into matters affecting human relations will expand greatly. It is to be hoped that much of this expansion will take place in the South. What is already known is more than is being used, but it is still the case that what is known is not yet enough to enable a satisfactory professional job in human relations to be done in the South. And what has been or will be worked out in research circles, North and South, will need translating into materials usable by people perplexed by workaday situations in the South.

It is therefore proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ a small staff of social scientists, to keep in touch with the literature of their fields and with the state secretaries over the South. The staff would include such personnel as a sociologist, an anthropologist, a social psychologist, and perhaps an economist. It would have two or three clerical assistants. It would not undertake basic research, but would constantly be casting up actual needs for further information and passing them on to independent faculties or agencies doing research. In time it should prove possible for

this small staff to take a respected place in the world of Southern social science, appearing at professional meetings for consultation on research planning, and otherwise coordinating what is done in this general field.

Meanwhile, the main function of the Council's research group would be translation. It would bring to bear on the field staff and on the general public what existing knowledge has to contribute to present and local problems in human relations. And it would make available in understandable form the fresh work that comes out.

By far the greater proportion of the past and present work in this field originates in the North or the West, in societies which operate upon other premises. The principle is there, and is valid, but the material is seldom in a form in which it can be successfully and widely used in the South. Here is the job for a central Southwide staff. Truth in these matters can be disseminated in the South. But it requires interpretation, restatement, and new and altered emphasis, in order to reach minds ready to bang shut at this or that linkage of words. This is a famous peculiarity of the South; no great mystery to people who know the distribution for the time being of prejudice and enlightenment.

The need is for staff enough to do this work with thoroughness, and in close relationship to the people who will use the knowledge. It will take not only the trained social scientists, but money for printing and for getting out a journal that will steer the whole enterprise, and a good deal of travel to the places where new things are being done. For lack of a service of this kind a rich literature of social advance rolls out elsewhere, little known and seldom heeded in the South. Here is a remarkable opportunity, in which a few people can serve ably to strengthen thousands who yearn for simple justice, and have not the strength that comes from knowledge and understanding.

It is proposed that the research staff direct its attention heavily to

the problem of improved teaching on matters of race in the public and private schools of the South as touched on in the preceding section. For most of the white people of the South it is still the case that what pass for ideas about race are really thought-lodgments worked out in slave-times, when white people in fear and ill-conscience contrived a mythology to justify their privileges. And these prejudices, interwoven now with regional pride, survive as an underworld of thought, sustaining segregation and discrimination and winning preferment for demagogues. They have their counterparts also in Negro life.

Our school systems skirt this folklore. Countless teachers believe it themselves, and expound it, openly or subtly. Textbooks barely touch these delicate subjects, having a wary eye on political-minded Southern textbook commissions. Though we have had universal education in the South for fifty years and more, who will claim that the common schools have diminished perceptibly the strength of the old racial contempt?

There are many unanswered questions as to how this is to be corrected. In a segregated school system, how teach interracial understanding? What is the value of text material in general, and just what kind of text material is best? What are the methods and facts which will help most in persuading teachers, parents, and school authorities? What non-segregated experiences are available, or can be acceptably provided, for pupils, teachers, or both? Here is room for research and action, interrelated, of a most rewarding kind.

Turn to another whole field of action. Segregation will almost certainly continue its present course of piecemeal disappearance. But in each new area -- employment, busses, railroad stations, public meetings, religious activities, and so on -- new perplexities will arise. Some towns will handle these matters well; others, left alone, will make grievous mistakes. It would be a great service to the South, and to the nation, to provide an up-to-date knowledge of how these matters are worked out in the better places, and in the

worse, in order that the better examples might be given maximum opportunity to spread.

All this amounts to a major change in Southern life, and one that will carry portentous threats in inhumanity and even in disorder. It is surely wise to provide, in advance, the people and the knowledge to bring out of each situation the best that is possible. For such a purpose, free time of trained observers and evaluators is a necessity. The Council's staff would have this job, too, and (again) access to the people who could cause the findings to be profitably used.

VII

THE COST

One of the main advantages of the state programs proposed in the previous section is the stimulus they would provide for local initiative and civic vitality. This is particularly important in a region where defensiveness breeds abnormal distrust of "outside influences." By the same token, it would seem desirable that such activity be financed by indigenous money. Unfortunately, that is not likely to be the case for some time to come. The very economic and social structure which gives rise to the South's pressing and unique problems is a mighty barrier to adequate Southern financing of such an effort. Few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program. Such money as can be raised in the South for this purpose -- as well as most of the skill and leadership -- must come mainly from persons of modest means.

From its inception in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has depended for perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it has spent approximately $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, the remainder being raised from small contributions, church sources, membership dues, sale of literature, and subscriptions.

Following the loss of its chief foundation support through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund, the Council has put much of its energy into a search for individual contributions sufficient to sustain activity at the same level. Though the effort has been great, it has met with only partial success. Measured in terms of a program commensurate with the needs of the region, the results have been grievously inadequate. If this crucial work is to be done, ma-

jor assistance must come from sources outside the region which recognize the importance to the whole nation of sound progress in the South.

The Southern Regional Council requests from the Ford Foundation grants over a five-year period totaling:

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET

FIVE-YEAR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

State Action Programs	$ 862,435
Research Interpretation	228,890
Central Organization	253,500
TOTAL	$1,344,825

From the consolidated budget and the more detailed budgets which follow, it can be seen that the greatest part of the sum asked is for the development of activity in the states. Relatively little is requested for the existing central organization, and that largely for supervisory purposes. In preparing this request, the Southern Regional Council has had advice from a number of persons who have special knowledge of the South. It was their opinion, as it is ours, that a critically needed next step is activity that will do in detail, in the states and in communities, the kind of work which has been carrie on regionally by the central office of the Council. The nature and cost of th program here proposed were determined accordingly.

We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have found it possible in the past five or six years to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of paid staff. Connecticut, for one example among many, has a Negro population of not over 60,000 — smaller for the whole state than that of many Southern cities by themselves. Yet Connecticut supports at state expense a Connecticut State Interracial Commission with a legislative appropriation of $54,000 a year. Today, many non-Southern states have such official statewide bodies, while scores of cities support such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Rela-

tions Committees. That is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of untrained voluntary persons, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

Despite its meager resources, the Southern Regional Council has achieved remarkable effectiveness and considerable recognition. But no one is more painfully aware than we of the gigantic task which remains undone; it calls for the leveling of a veritable mountain of prejudice, reinforced by law and by custom, sustained by political opportunists and professional bigots. The resources brought to bear on this task have as yet been pitifully slight. There is abundant evidence that the mountain can be leveled, but meanwhile it casts a perilous shadow across the whole of our democracy. The grant requested here for adequate skills and tools is a modest investment when measured against the size of the task and the potential returns in human betterment.

A

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR FIVE-YEAR STATE ACTION PROGRAM

Gross Annual Budget for Eleven States[1]			
Salaries[2]			
Secretary and Associate Secretary	$12,000		
Clerical	3,000	$15,000	
Office			
Rent	900		
Communications	500		
Supplies	200	1,600	
Travel		1,600	
Gross Annual Budget for One State		$18,200	
Gross Annual Budget for Eleven States			$200,200
Gross Annual Budget for Kentucky[3]			
Salaries		8,000	
Office			
Rent	600		
Communications	500		
Supplies	150	1,250	
Travel		900	10,150
GROSS TOTAL FOR STATE ACTION FOR ONE YEAR			$210,350
Estimated Actual Need After Allowance for Lapses[4]			
First year, lapses at 40%		$126,210	
Second year, lapses at 20%		168,280	
Third year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
Fourth year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
Fifth year, lapses at 10%		189,315	
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS			$862,435

NOTES ON BUDGET A

1. Eleven of the twelve Southern states will need the typical staff here provided for. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

2. This provides for the employment of both a white and a Negro secretary, at equal salaries. It is the penalty of working in a divided society that obtaining the cooperation of both races requires nearly double expense. The Council proposes to meet this, for the first time in the South, and to furnish in each state leadership, working together, which all can trust and freely assist.

3. Kentucky, because of its smaller Negro population and the Negro's fuller integration in the public life of that state, should be able to work with less than a complete office.

4. A program covering so wide an area, and working in so difficult a field, will have to be organized slowly and soundly. In the first year it will be months before the key personnel can be on the job, and at any time there are likely to be short-run vacancies. The lapses shown are calculated with this in mind.

B

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

This will require a staff of four social scientists, with appropriate clerical help and sufficient funds for books and periodicals, for publications, and for travel.

Annual Budget

Salaries of Professional Personnel (four @ $8,000)	$32,000	
Clerical (two @ $3,000)	6,000	
Travel	5,000	
Books and Subscriptions	700	
Publication	5,000	
Total for Research Interpretation for One Year	$48,700	
Total for Research Interpretation for Five Years		$243,500
Less Allowance for Lapses (30% of first year)		14,610
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$228,890

C

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR CENTRAL ORGANIZATION[1]

Salaries per Year			
Executive Director and Associate	$17,000		
Secretary-Treasurer	5,000		
Director of Information	6,000		
Clerical	12,000		
Legal Counsel[2]	15,000	$55,000	
Office Expenses per Year			
Rent	1,500		
Communications	1,200		
Supplies	1,000	3,700	
Travel per Year		7,000	
Total for Central Supervision for One Year		$65,700	
Less Amount to Be Raised Annually from Miscellaneous Sources[3]		15,000	
Net Total for One Year		$50,700	
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS			$253,500

NOTES ON BUDGET C

1. So widespread and active a program could not succeed without able and painstaking coordination by a central office. Employment of all professional personnel in the state offices would need to be done in consultation with the Council's central office, and policy and action would need frequent review and a great deal of travel.

2. This amount to be available centrally, for the needs of the various states.

3. Experience proves that this amount can be found without undue diversion of effort from program.

LIST OF SUPPORTING EXHIBITS

1. Financial

   Audit

   U. S. Treasury Letter of Tax Exemption

2. Some Fields of Work of the Southern Regional Council

   a. Self-Survey

   b. Race in the News

   c. Negro Police

   d. Negro Veterans

   e. Equal Education

   f. Negroes in Government

   g. Civil Rights

   h. From the Files

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director

June 28, 1951

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Jonathan:

Upon my return to Pasadena from a trip abroad I found your letter of June 16th.

I am glad to know you hold the Southern Regional Council in such high regard. I will be glad to personally interest myself in the request of the Council for support from the Ford Foundation, although you should know that we are operating under a directive from our Trustees which restricts us from giving support to any activities that are purely local or regional in character. This directive was based on the assumption that local institutions should be supported locally, and regional institutions in the region which they operate. I might add on the positive side that we are giving our primary attention to projects which will contribute to the maintenance of peace and to projects which will help in meeting crises growing out of present world tensions.

With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed Paul)
Director

July 25, 1951

Chester C. Davis, Esquire
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc. has submitted to the Ford Foundation a prospectus which seemed so complete to me that I at first regarded any comment on my experience with the Council as superfluous but my enthusiasm for that organization causes me to hope that you will bear with me while I tell something about the working of the Southern Regional Council in Tennessee. I am chairman of the Tennessee Division of the S. R. C.

My admiration for the Council really goes back about thirty years to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The S. R. C. grew out of that Commission and expanded the program to a truly southwide basis. During thirty years this has been the fountainhead of interracial cooperation in the South. Really, the S. R. C. seeks to raise the intellectual and economic level of low income masses in the South regardless of race. On that basis it has brought about a remarkable improvement in the Southern states.

You know already that the leaders in religion, education, business and general citizenship in the Southern states have held membership in the Southern Regional Council. I would like to tell you something of a few of the Tennesseans among that group.

We have as members Bishop Edmund P. Dandridge, head of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee, and Bishop Paul Kern of the Methodist Church. All of the leading institutions of learning are represented. I may cite, for instance, the Vanderbilt membership which includes the Chancellor of Vanderbilt, Dr. Harvie Branscomb, Dr. H. C. Nixon, Dr. Edwin Mims and others. Dr. William E. Cole, professor of Sociology of the University of Tennessee, is a director of the S. R. C. and one of the most active workers in this state. The Reverend George B. Myers of Sewanee is a long-time member.

We have in the Tennessee State Division a large Negro membership consisting of the leaders of that race, headed by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, long-time director and member of the Executive Committee of the S. R. C.

It is interesting to note, also, that Dr. Z. A. Looby of Nashville, recently elected as the first Negro city councilman of Nashville, is not only a member of the S. R. C. but has been a director and is still an active worker.

Rabbi Julius Mark, formerly of the Vine Street Temple in Nashville and who heads what I believe is the largest Jewish congregation in New York, was active in the state division before his departure. Rabbi Abraham Feinstein

of the Ochs Memorial Temple in Chattanooga is a member of the state division's Executive Committee. These are merely typical of our Jewish representatives.

Although progress in Memphis has been slow, we are making headway there and we are proud to have Walter C. Chandler, former congressman and for years mayor of Memphis, as one of our members. Our Memphis membership also includes Ed Barry, leading Catholic layman. I think that any vote of Memphians would place these two as the outstanding and valuable leaders in that city.

The Tennessee Division has a varied membership for in the S. R. C. there are no problems of "management" and "labor." E. W. Palmer, head of the great Kingsport Press, one of the largest publishing houses in the world, is an active worker in the S. R. C. as is A. D. Huddleston, head of the great Aluminum Company of America at Alcoa, Tennessee, and on the other end, Paul Christopher of Knoxville, Tennessee, Southeastern executive of the CIO, carries a heavy load in the S. R. C. work.

The progress of the state divisions was hampered when the grants from the Rosenwald Foundation expired with the expiration of that Fund but I particularly want to emphasize that the S. R. C. has no "slants" or "sides." It seeks the truth and it expounds the truth. Several years ago when there was a serious racial disturbance at Columbia, Tennessee, some of the inflammatory agencies in the East greatly exaggerated the racial angle. The S. R. C. sent its own research experts to Columbia and got the truth and won the respect of Negroes and whites alike.

On the other hand, the S. R. C. has never been timid and only the other day it answered Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi who had threatened to close the public schools of those states if segregation were abolished. As always, the S. R. C. in this case pleaded for calm reasoning instead of angry ultimatums.

We greatly hope that the Southern Regional Council will be able through aid of the Ford Foundation to resume its great work within the states. I think that all of the leaders in the South recognize that in our time racial differences will not be adjusted completely. I do not think that the S. R. C. aims at that but if its work is continued in education and research and in working with backward communities in the states we may, in the South, soon pass other sections of this country in true racial cooperation for the benefit of all classes.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

C
O
P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

July 27, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you for your letter of July 25 and your high evaluation of the Southern Regional Council. We have had many good reports on the work of this organization.

At the present time, however, no consideration is going to be given to projects in the field of their interest pending a substantial move in the fields directly related to the relief of world tensions. I appreciate your taking the time to write me so fully and your letter will be useful at such time as we can consider the application of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

Copies of Ford Foundation Appeal

Copy #	Sent to	Date	Returned
1	Paul Williams (for May)	5/51	5/17/51
2	Paul Williams (for May)	5/51	
3	Anna Lord Straus	5/11/51	
4	Rex Tugwell	8/17/51	

#1- To Paul Hoffman — May 1951 —

C
O
P
Y

November 9, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, President
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Mr. Hoffman:

I am writing this additional note on behalf of the request of the Southern Regional Council which came to you in the early summer of this year.

It is a common place thing to say that we understand very well that there is no single immediate solution of our problem here, but that there are many approaches and solutions, all of which may well contribute progressively to the easing of tensions, the resolving of differences, and the regional and interregional adjustments which we all know will come in time.

It is sometimes said by leaders both Negro and white that much of the most effective procedures should come from the South and are likely to do so if we can maintain and strengthen a bridgehead in the South and if we can continuously recruit a large body of leadership. To do this and to initiate and promote a sound strategy and a wise agenda for integration, in my judgment, would constitute an unusual return for a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation. We all hope that you can give this request a very special consideration.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh
enclosures

Agriculture
Franks

October 8, 1952

Mr. H. L. Mitchell, President
National Agricultural Workers Union
825 Victor Bldg.
724 9th St., NW
Washington 1, DC

Dear H. L.:

That was grand of you to do that beautiful item. I greatly look forward to having the 25 copies. They will be used as text material at a one-week training meeting of AF of L people from city and state federations and central trades councils. Meeting occurs at Lakeland, Florida, October 12017.

I'll be at home October 18, and from then on until around the 26th or 27th. Do, please, you and Mrs. Mitchell drive to Atlanta and come and stay with us at home. We've got a whole empty guest room, even with two beds. 906 Lullwater Road; telephone, DEarborn 5961. We are in the northeastern quarter of town and not much off the main road in from Athens or Gainesville. Hunt for a neighborhood called Druid Hills, and there you will find Lullwater Road.

We would truly love to have you, and it would give us a real chance to get acquainted in these new times.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

825 Victor Building 724 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 6613

October 7, 1952

H. L. MITCHELL, President

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I was sorry to miss your call the other day, however, my secretary gave me your message. I have tried to do a paper of the kind you indicated you wanted for your meeting. A copy is enclosed - 25 copies mailed parcel post. What sort of meeting are you in? If it is the annual affair of the Southern Regional Council, my wife and I might find it possible to stop over in Atlanta in case you are in session. It happens that we are driving to New Orleans for a meeting of our Executive Board and celebration of the strawberry farmers the 23rd and 24th of October, and will probably go down a day or two early. Let me know if the dates are anywhere near these and maybe we can come down that way.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

H. L.

H. L. Mitchell
President

HLM/cm
Enclosure

October 7, 1952

The People at the Bottom of Our
Agricultural Ladder

Nearly 10 million people are employed either as family workers or hired hands on the nation's five and one-half million farms. Twenty per cent of these five and one-half million farms produce 80 per cent of the farm products sold on the market. Of this top 20 per cent there are 105,000 large scale enterprizes which are actually factories-in -the fields. They hire over half of the 2¼ million farm hands. Many of these farm workers are migrantswho follow the crops with the sun. During the peak of the harvest season nearly 4 million workers are employed on the nation's farms.

An undue proportion of the number of farmers in the 80 per cent classification who produce only 20 per cent of the farm products sold on the market are found in the southern states, which are also the place of origin of the migratory farm workers moving with the seasons.

The question arises as to what is being done for these millions of farm people on the bottom of the agricultural ladder. The answer is very little since 1941, when the Farm Security Administration's program of rural rehabilitation and resettlement became one of the first victims of World War II. The successor to FSA now known as the Farmers Home Administration carries on a program but they only make loans to qualified borrowers who are considered good credit risks. That effectively excludes most of the little farmers and all of the agricultural workers. The two million or more hired farm workers are also excluded from all of the social security legislation by Congress. The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition has seen to that in all legislation for the past twenty years. The farm workers are considered farmers when laws are drafted to aid workers, and are held to be workers when farm legislation is adopted.

There are three major farm organizations in the United States. All have fine educational and co-operative programs designed to help the farmer, especially the one who is in the upper 20 per cent bracket. They are devoted to the American ideal of a family type farm, but they mean the family farm with an adequate acreage and plenty of modern mechanical equipment.

Every now and then in various parts of the country some of these little farmers who are in the 80 per cent bracket get together and try to do something to help themselves. Most of the time they fail, but sometimes they succeed. One of the best examples of the success of a group of these people at the bottom of the agricultural ladder is in the strawberry growing area north of New Orleans, Louisiana.

In 1940 there were about 10,000 little farmers producing strawberries and vegetables for the early market. But the markets were controlled by the buyers of the commission houses in Chicago, New York and other cities where they shipped their products. The result was that by 1950, there were less than 4,000 farmers growing strawberries in Tangipahoa and other Parishes centering about the town of Hammond, La. While there are a few growers with 10 to 25 acres of strawberries, the average farm produces only 3 acres. By 1951 these farmers found that they and their families were working for wages of less than 50¢ an hour. They struck out blindly against forces they could not control. In a spontaneous movement, reminiscent of the farmer's holiday movement in the midwest in 1932 they stopped the berries from going to the market. That action did not bring relief.

Among these distressed farmers were a number of men who during World War II held

jobs in defense plants, some of them became leaders in their trade unions. They turned to the American Federation of Labor for aid in building an organization. Fortunately, there was in the A. F. of L., an organization known as the National Agricultural Workers Union which had its origin on the cotton plantations of eastern Arkansas in 1934. (The Union was then known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union). The Agricultural Union had been carrying on a fight to organize the large farms of the far West was called upon by the A. F. of L. to take "jurisdiction" among the strawberry farmers. The A. F. of L. sent in organizers to help, and not knowing all of the answers to the problems of this type of membership, the union organizers began adapting regular trade union procedures and developed a most unusual program for the strawberry farmers. This included the building of a local union and the authorization by each individual farmer of the union to represent him in dealing with handlers, processors and distributors of the products of his labor. A collective bargaining agreement was worked out with all of the locally owned packing and processing houses under which it was agreed that they would handle only products of union members. A joint committee representing the handlers and the farmers was set up to co-operate in handling the sales of the strawberries. The strawberries are sold on a public auction supervised by the Department of Agriculture, and sales are held daily during the season. The members of the Union agreed to pick and sell only the first grade strawberries. They hired an experienced sales agent paying him a good salary for his services. Each day the committee met before the auction opened. The sales agent gave them a report on the condition of the market in the principle cities. The committee would agree on a reasonable asking price per crate of berries. Then if the buyers from the commission houses refused to meet the minimum the union sales agent proceeded to sell the carload lots direct to the distributors by telephone. The result was that the farmers received more than $1 per crate of 24 pints for all the strawberries they sold in 1952, than in the previous year. This was due not only to the co-operative selling but to the fact that the farmers sold only the best grade of fruit. At the end of the season the co-operative sales agency reported the sale of 531,145 crates and declared a dividend of 7¢ per crate on all strawberries sold by the union members. The dividend payments to the extent of $39,922.74 were transferred to the Farmer's Credit Union and will be available for loans to the producers for making their crops in 1953. This transaction does not include rebates received on strawberries sold for processing by frozen food packers nor any of the earnings made on various vegetable crops.

The Union members also paid their union dues of $1 per month in the beginning, which was later raised to $2. The union local whis is a separate organization provided the spark necessary to keep the co-operative sales agency functioning. The local union has 3,500 individual members, all farmers. About 400 other business and civic leaders are honorary members without voice or vote in the organization. Among the honorary members is one who was given a gold membership card for his outstanding services to the Union. This was Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, a pro labor priest of New Orleans.

Although it may seem strange since all farmers are held to be very conservative and opposed to organized labor, this example of little farmers turning to organized labor for assistance is not an isolated thing. Throughout the country small farmers have likewise sought to solve their problems by coming into the National Agricultural Workers Union. A group of 1,500 little dairy farmers in the iron range country near Duluth, Minn. and Superior, Wis., also are members of this union. A group of 400 farmers near Pittsburgh, Pa., members of the same union, own and operate a co-operative milk plant. Other groups of dairy farmers in New York and Louisiana have also become members of the National Agricultural Workers Union, A. F. of L.

The above prepared by: H. L. Mitchell, President
National Agricultural Workers Union, A.F.L.
825 Victor Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.

agricultural Training Prog.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

825 Victor Building 724 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 6613

H. L. MITCHELL, President

November 4, 1952

MEMORANDUM

RE: An Agricultural Apprenticeship Training Program.

FROM: H. L. Mitchell, President, National Agricultural Workers Union AFL.

American agriculture is rapidly becoming mechanized. The production and harvesting of wheat, corn, sugar beets and cane is largely mechanized. Cotton production is the last major crop to be produced and harvested mechanically. It is estimated that 30 per cent of the 1952 crop will be harvested by the 12,000 mechanical pickers now in operation. In 1951 over 50 per cent of the cotton grown in California was harvested by machines, and this year at least 75 per cent of the 1½ millions bales produced in that state will be picked by machines.

The most serious obstacle to the mechanization of agricultural production is the lack of trained machine operators and maintenance men. Very little has been done to train farm equipment operators for their jobs, aside from occasional demonstrations by the farm equipment manufactures, such as the International Harvester, Allis Chalmers, John Deere Co., etc. No institution has offered advanced qpprenticeship training to farm workers. It is therefore proposed, that an agricultural apprenticeship training program be set up by the John Rust Foundation, Inc., which can train workers for placement on skilled farm jobs and can be expanded as experience is gained in this field, so that the requirements of agriculture for skilled manpower to operate farm machinery may be eventually met.

Since there are no patterns to follow in developing an agricultural apprenticeship program, it is proposed that a small group of persons who have specialized knowledge in agricultural labor problems be called together by John D. Rust to work out a practical program for such a project, and further, that prior to such a meeting each person invited be requested to explore all resources available to him, and be prepared to submit for further consideration the ideas he may have developed.

I suggest that the following persons be among those invited to take part in a preliminary meeting:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council, (Former Assistant Administrator to Farm Security Administration) Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Arthur S. Raper, Mutual Security Administration, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza, National Agricultural Workers Union AFL, San Jose, Calif.

Mr. Jack Barbash, Staff Member, Senate Labor & Education Committee, Wash., D. C. (Specialist in workers' education, formerly Labor Dept.- several unions as Education Director)

Mr. John D. Connors, Director, Workers Education Bureau, AFL, Washington, D. C.

1954 gen correspondence file

March 2, 1953

The Fund for the Republic
655 Madison Avenue,
New York 21, New York

Dear Sirs:

We would like to point out again the urgency of moving ahead now with a specific program in the Southern States. We presume that our original application to the Ford Foundation in May,1951, is before you. That stands. So also does my letter of December 24, 1952.

This whole matter of helping the growth of democratic race relations in the Southern States is not easy to blueprint. We work on a living body. It is changing rapidly. Our programs have to change with and ahead of the changes in the South. Also, much of what we do do and should do is best done quietly. Over a period of thirty years we have come to know those people in the South who are both influential and of good will in these matters. Usually the price of their being willing to turn a wheel for progress is no one's saying too much about it.

We have to be prepared with the facts and friends and influence and personnel and time for whatever emergencies arise. There is still violence and, pervasively, the threat of violence. Southern opinion is sensitive and defensive at many points and is easily hardened into bitter opposition by too much advance discussion of changes to be sought. A practical organization like the Council must, therefore, ask for a certain amount of leeway in charting its course. Our record is in many ways the best index to the merit of our request for future action. We believe that the record clearly confirms that your help to the Council would evoke much of the finest leadership the South has in this field. As responsible people, they can be expected to use resources wisely.

That said, we can describe some of the things that would unquestionably be early and important parts of the program of an expanded Southern Regional Council. You will recall that the main object of our request is to be enabled to provide professional staff persons in each of the Southern states.

This state personnel would give full-time guidance and direction to such efforts as those described below.

1. Action on segregation in the schools. The South is at a crisis on this. The Supreme Court will rule this spring. It has clearly before it an issue of principle. It may rule on the principle and declare segregation immediately unconstitutional. It may find some basis in law for permitting segregation to continue for a further period. But it is certain to confront the South with far-reaching and rapid and vastly expensive changes in the public school system.

What we want to do is to establish, within each Southern State, a special voluntary group of citizens called, perhaps, the Alabama School Committee or the South Carolina School Committee, as the case may be. It will be drawn from both races and from among people already informed on school matters. It would use the paid personnel of the State organization of the Southern Regional Council for getting the exact facts on all the issues as they arise. The Committee would be an informed, temperate, constructive voice, calling for lawful adherence to democratic arrangements.

Under present circumstances, Negro citizens, quite understandably, distrust whatever is said by or on behalf of the all white State School Board and city and county school boards about matters of equalization or desegregation. It can be expected that, as the controversy sharpens, the truth will be rarer and harder to come by. And yet, the citizen body in our States can only act wisely if it is wisely advised. Transition that we confidently expect to a much less segregated school system is bound to take time and to arouse in community after community serious, heated, and, too often, heavily prejudiced decisions. These school committees would be about the only voice heard in most parts of the South for calm, detailed, friendly adjustment. My letter of December 24, 1952, tells more about this proposal. It is of the greatest importance that this program be launched, and launched soon.

2. A delicate and difficult thing - steady, informed comment on undemocratic features of State and local government, area by area, within the South. Remember that our State governments were nearly all shaped after slavery had tainted the tradition of popular self-government. Various devices, too many to spell out, have kept us narrow franchises, ludicrously unfair apportionment, and the customary exclusion of a third of our people from office or political influence. We have had this disease so long that we think our unhealth is normal. Yet our traditions can be brought to encompass the normal working of American democratic arrangements.

It takes facts and constructive comment to bring to the fore the better tradition. And it would have to be done in faithful avoidance of legislative pressure. We know how to do that and have done it in the past. Pronouncements by our State organizations, based upon the facts, would be eagerly seized as components of public opinion while truly democratic arrangements make their way in these States. Be it noted that this gets at the vitals of the special problem of the South.

We are special largely because the normal American system of government is not permitted to apply.

3. Agricultural opportunity. The roots of many of our economic and political problems are in land tenure. Wide stretches are organized in a way that accords special privilege to the larger farm landlords. In those areas Negro farm labor is predominant. One desirable goal is widespread farm ownership. Under present conditions, that seems extremely difficult to realize. The alternative is efficient farm labor, growing in stature and civic acceptance by reason of its competence in handling the heavy, complicated machinery now in use. That is a fundamental problem as to which we in the Council have a good deal of knowledge. Those further down in the scale of Southern agriculture are almost voiceless today. Our State organizations could bring this basic problem into current discussion and in many ways bring about alleviating private and public action.

4. Equal justice. It is an old habit in the South for our courts of law to admix questions of race in arriving at decision and penalty. This is flagrant in crimes of violence of Negroes against whites, and is persistent, if subdued, in many lesser cases. Crime as between Negroes is often jestingly considered and lightly handled. The consequence is that Negroes too often regard the courts as places from which will come decisions giving either shockingly severe or scoffingly light penalties. The international complications of this regular Southern habit blaze in the press of the world several times each year.

Remedy: A volunteer panel of distinguished Southerners of both races, many of them connected with the legal profession to shape a new awareness in this field. A first step would be careful studies, published in state law school reviews, documenting the history of unequal penalties by race in certain major and certain lesser crimes for four or five states, five or six cities, and seven or eight rural counties. This documentation would afford the substance of a report to the South by the panel or commission, showing the inadequacies of past practice and recommending for the future. If the commission is properly chosen, its report would command the respect and attention of the entire legal profession in the South.

Through the aid of organized bodies of church women, who have frequently helped in matters of this kind and are presently accustomed to working through the Fellowship of the Concerned, associated with the Council, it would be possible to get the directions of the commission brought to the fore in thousands of court proceedings stretching over years to come.

We have a thousand or two dollars in hand for this proposal, and with more funds hope to go through with it in the near future.

5. Community self-surveys. We have found and used repeatedly a special knack for getting Southern cities and towns to review all their practices, facilities, and arrangements relating to matters of race. You carefully draw together a

biracial committee of responsible and respected citizens who themselves - not through alternates - gather the facts, sift them, publish them, and make their recommendations and then convene again every six months and tick off the things accomplished, and concentrate forces for the next steps.

Jacksonville, Florida, did it; Greenville, South Carolina, did it; Shreveport, Louisiana, is doing it. Dallas did some of it. The product is new schools and new homes, swimming pools, desirable transportation, new parks, better police administration, more fire protection, more sewers, more paved streets. And more important than those, the product is a working friendship and faith in justice on the part of both white and Negro citizens. Here is what a militant Negro editor from South Carolina said a year after Greenville had, by this device, remedied the worst of Negro grievances:

"Last fall, following a visit there [Greenville] by this writer, we commented upon the spirit of the citizens, of the close cooperation between the two races, of what appears to be a solid backing of the Negro community by white Greenvillians. We found no bitterness; we heard of none. All Greenville Negroes need do - it seems - is to let it be know they wish a community fault corrected. The entire community evaluates it, and if it is a valid complaint, with both races working around the conference table they explore it with available resources. The white citizens don't get angry and hunt out "ring-leaders" among the Negroes. The net result has benefitted the community and today a Negro in Greenville will tell you quickly he's prouder of his community than the whitest white man."

The Council has the people who know how to work this device and we could spread it so that in every year in each State one or two cities would put through healing self-examinations of this kind.

6. Human relations in the schools. Surely it is the call of the age that white and Negro school children shall have experience of each other. And yet, almost no preparation is made within the school system for such a change. Worse: Southern schools teach divided doctrines as to Southern history and Negro history and as to the facts of race. In white schools the South over, by formal management and informal pressure, the comfortable assurances of white superiority and of the natural apartness of the Negro pervade the classrooms. Negro school teachers pump into their children pride of Negro achievement and determination to bring about unqualifiedly equal citizenship.

New texts must be written, teachers must be brought to many conferences, the racial separateness of teacher organizations must be overcome, teacher training institutions must bring in a new doctrine - the walls that have kept out of the South the world's view on human relations must come down. That's a job that will take years of persistent, tolerant, wise effort. Ours are the friends throughout the South who can be brought to organize this task.

7. Police administration. One of the richest contributions that can be made to better race relations and more faith in our civil institutions is to speed the flow into Southern police systems of tolerance and scrupulous impartiality. One fruitful device for that is getting Southern States and counties to use more Negro police officers. The Council has had a hand in that in the past and has helped the amazing growth of Negro police officials from 134 in 1945 to 589 in February, 1953. Some cities in every Southern State now use Negro policemen.

But beyond employment of Negro police officials is the old problem of better pay and better training and more civic appreciation for the work of local police forces. Here, again, we have had the help of church women throughout the South who have carried our publication on race and law enforcement to their sheriffs in 140-odd counties already and are building a direct local relationship with this whole problem of fair-minded police administration.

8. Race in the news. Until only three years ago nearly all the newspapers of the South continued to treat Negro news in a pattern of amused contempt, not much modified from the 1850's. Our little booklet on race in the news was got to every editor and publisher in the South. Often we have been able to get local committees to call on the editor and ask adherence to the simple rules of courtesy and equal coverage, laid down in the booklet. The change, whether from our publication or from the temper of the times, has been one of the most significant improvements in race relations in recent Southern history. Many of our papers, from being daily fountains of prejudice, have become helpful and impartial organs of public enlightenment as to our divided citizenries. For all the gain, our reach has still been small, and many a paper remains to be brought round. That's a local task, which our people can take on, paper by paper, town by town, county by county. It's a work of some years, but we know how to do it and lack only the resources to spread that most helpful improvement.

9. Segregation on common carriers. The law in the last few years has gone beyond practice on trains and buses in interstate transportation. Despite the clarity of the law, coach travel on the rails and bus travel on the roads all over the South continues to be segregated, with the rarest exceptions. We can make the law known to railway officials, major and minor. We can follow through with particular individual incidents that arise of unlawful segregation. We can calm where there may be public hysteria. Our State organizations can work, also, to reduce segregation in intrastate transportation.

10. Employment opportunities. The Council would not wish to take on detailed case work in this field assumed by the Urban League, taken up in spots by the Job Opportunities Project of the American Friends Service Committee, and being considered by other organizations. Our approach is in encouraging industrialization, advancing general and technical education and influencing those Southern rural institutions which are the source of the pool of almost completely skill-less labor.

But our influence could tell heavily in private negotiations with employer groups and with the leadership of organized labor. The democratic South for which the Council works would needs be one in which employment was democratic too. And everywhere our forces work toward that end.

These are ten specific fields in which we would expand and make widely effective our work.

In all of them, we plan to inter-relate modest research activity, usually performed not by ourselves but by academic bodies. This we propose to manage through a staff of three or four people in our central office competent in sociology, economics, anthropology, and education.

Something should be said about organization. The Council is now a Southwide membership body, governed by a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, employing central staff only. Our members in each State are formed into a State Division of the Southern Regional Council. (In three or four of the States our movement is otherwise related to the Council, but the distinctions are pro forma.)

Given new resources, we would turn over the membership in each State to strengthened State organizations, each with its own Board and each directing the work of its own paid State staff. The Council itself would become a body of trustees, administering the assistance to the State groups and reviewing, pushing, and correlating their work. This is all laid out in new by-laws, ready for submission to the membership. The new machinery contains stringent safeguards against any political activity by State organizations or the Council itself. We propose the change in order to draw out to the fullest local and State pride in achievement and in the expectation that several years of work by these private State organizations will lay the groundwork for independent, self-sustaining bodies.

Some of us think that within five years the work of the State bodies would be picked up by local private or public funds. Others think it would be longer before the lesson of Northern and Western State and local publicly supported commissions in this field would be transferred to the South. In any case, in the five years' program which we want to do, the test could be made, and a greatly strengthened pattern of cooperative achievement would be laid down.

Here is a careful, intelligent, and brave proposal to speed the growth of fully American institutions in our States. The people who are prepared to work in this way have experience, some stature, and the confidence of much of the leadership of the South.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright,
President

MAW:s

RECEIVED
MAR 6
Southern Regional Council

this was placed before C.C. Davis by CS Davis (as part of his committing correspondence)

March 4, 1953

Mr. Chester S. Davis
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Davis:

In your father's letter of February 20 to you, he asked you to make some inquiry as to whether or not a small interim grant might help to keep us going until such time as the Fund for the Republic should be able to consider our application. Your letter of February 23 refers your father's inquiry to me for answer.

As sure as I was of what the answer would be, I did not reply immediately to that part of your letter, wishing to secure accurate information from our executive secretary, Dr. George Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell spent Sunday night at my home here and we discussed the matter quite fully.

You may be assured that such an interim grant would be in the nature of a life saver. In support of that fact I have only to refer to our accounts payable as of February 28, 1952. These totaled $2,421.29 against a bank balance of $51.84. A distressing feature of the accounts payable is that $1,971.64 represents unpaid salaries of the staff. Were it not for the fact that these intelligent and capable staff members are also thoroughly dedicated, I am sure that we would long since have lost their services.

The audit covering the year ending December 31, 1952 shows total receipts of only $34,635.92. With that slender fund we are attempting the impossible task of affecting public opinion throughout the entire south.

There are three factors which, in my opinion, have drastically reduced our income: (1) The furor against Communism

and the emergence of the guilt by association doctrine. These have made many people leery of contributing to an organization operating in the delicate field of rece relations. (2) The Council has felt it to be its duty to warn southern people that segregation is on the way out. This has lost us support from many conservatives who do not wish to hear bad news and vent their spite upon the messengers who bring it. And (3) the pending Supreme Court cases have have increased normal tension.

This decreased revenue has unfortunately coincided in time with a greatly increased need for expansion of our activities. Lynching has been whipped but in its place bombings and police brutality seem to have increased. They should be stopped in their tracks. Then, the overwhelming task which we face is to prepare southern opinion for the pending decisions which, however they may decide the segregation issue, will enormously disturb the South.

A large part of the energy of the staff is spent in merely keeping us afloat with very little actual forward motion. It is distracting, not to say harassing, to have to devote much of your energy in merely holding an organization together.

Dr. Mitchell and I went over all reasonably anticipated revenue for the next six months. He felt that if the Ford people could make us an interim grant of $25,000, we would be able to hold the organization together, greatly improve the morale of staff and membership and set up machinery to move into action immediately in anticipation of news which may come from the Supreme Court at any moment. I have gone to this length because I wished you and your father to understand that it is no fictitious emergency which confronts us. We live daily in a state of crisis which makes it impossible to focus our efforts in fields and situations where such efforts could bear fruit.

I hope that you will place our needs before your father with the greatest promptness and that it may be possible for his organization to extend the hand which may lift us to a little firmer ground.

I plan to be in Winston-Salem within the next day or two and would like to have another conservation with you.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By_____
President

MAW:raj
bc: George Mitchell

Ford Found
L+R Rep to SRC

March 25, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
Associate Director
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena 1, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Since I have been traveling for the past week, this is the first opportunity that I have had to reply to your two letters of March 16. It will be impossible to convey to you the great lift which your letters brought to a meeting of our executive committee held in Atlanta on March 21. The morale of the entire organization will feel the impact of the action taken by the Foundation.

Your having based the amount of this interim grant somewhat upon amounts which we have been able to raise in the South is entirely natural under the circumstances, although your comments upon the relative inadequacy of southern contribution touch us at a very tender spot. We have long been conscious of the fact that southern capital and industry have been slow to support a movement designed to disturb(though we think beneficially)the existing status.

We concluded in Atlanta that probably the fault was with the Board and the Staff neither of which may have done too good a job of selling the Council to southern people of wealth. Hence, we took this action of which I am sure you will approve:

1. We agreed to try to get a progressive southern industrialist to write for New South an article on industry's stake in improved race relations. The argument would be that, if the work of the Council is successful, it will result in erasing friction between whites and Negroes arising from differences of race. A large proportion of our population of

both races is now engaged in industry. The development of friendship and goodwill among employees reflects itself in happier working situations, which, in turn, tend to reflect themselves in a better product or larger volume. Of such things are dividends fashioned.

2. We agreed to try to secure for New South an article from the Negro president of an insurance company or bank developing the thesis that the Negro has a large stake in the creation of conditions which permit him to be judged solely upon his competence, efficiency, merits. Being so judged, new employment opportunities are opened and advancement more easily secured. It is the work of the Council to develop a climate of opinion in which the Negro is so judged. The Council is, therefore, entitled to the Negro's powerful backing.

During the last twenty years the Negro has made a very rapid financial advance. There are many businesses and corporations which he controls that should be able to bear a larger part of our burden. Frankly, we have not been too successful in making the Negro assume that degree of responsibility.

So much for our efforts to stimulate southern support. We hope they will bear fruit.

At the Atlanta meeting, braced by the action of the Foundation, we took steps at once to secure a volunteer person in each of the southern states whose task it will be to assemble all pertinent and reasonably accurate information showing the financial cost to the South of maintaining segregated public school systems. There are a large number of southern counties having less than 5 per cent Negro population. If the segregationists should win the case that is now pending in the Supreme Court, they will undoubtedly be met with a ruling that the southern states must finally provide for Negro children education in every degree comparable with that now received by whites. Many counties will be called upon drastically to increase their taxes in order to enjoy the luxury of buildings, grounds, equipment and faculty for the training of a mere handful of Negro children.

It is slightly amazing that no southern state, with this hour of decision at hand, has assembled any such material. We hope to be able to provide some of the answers to some of the problems involved either in a transition to a unified school system on the one hand or stark and literal compliance with the separate but equal doctrine on the other hand. It is our feeling

that the fringe counties with small Negro population may be induced to consolidate their school systems even if they are granted the option of continuance on a segregated basis.

I have written at this length because I felt you would be properly interested in activities of the Council induced by the action of the Foundation. With your permission I should like to take occasion from time to time to let you know how these new activities are progressing.

The Council decided that, for the present, we would refrain from any publicity concerning your grant.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By_____
President

MAW/raj

bc: George Mitchell
Preston Wright

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

March 16, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Attached is a copy of the more formal letter of notification which went to the Atlanta headquarters. Perhaps the reasoning which led us to grant $20,000 instead of the $25,000 you suggested may impress you as a little harsh, but we feel quite sure the position of the Council will be strengthened if you can continue to draw the bulk of your support from sources within the South. I hope this grant will give you something to brace against in your renewed effort for funds, as well as in your operating program.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

March 16, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

With the approval of the Director of the Foundation, Mr. Gaither, I am forwarding today to the office of the Treasurer in New York, approval of a grant of $20,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., to support and expand its activities in the field of race relations in 1953.

Payment will be made by the Treasurer of the Foundation upon receipt at the New York office of a photostatic copy of the Treasury Department letter exempting the Council under Section 101.6 of the Internal Revenue Code. I talked with the Council's office in Atlanta this morning and Mr. Fleming agreed to send the copy of the letter at once, so the payment should reach you not later than the end of this week.

The Officers of the Foundation have been familiar with the work of the Council and, as you know, the Foundation has indirectly provided some funds for temporary financing in 1951 and 1952 to the Council. It is our expectation that the Fund for the Republic will give consideration to the Council's application for other support, so in a sense this is an interim grant until such time as the Fund for the Republic is more completely organized and in operation.

On behalf of the Foundation I should like to explain the reason why we have fixed the amount of this grant at $20,000. Much of the strength of the Council in its field is due to the fact that its support comes from many sources within the South. Your letter of March 4 quotes your year-end audit as showing total resources of slightly less than $35,000 during 1952. I assume that figure includes the $10,000 advanced by the Foundation through the American Friends Service Committee, which would indicate approximately $25,000 was realized from other sources. It is our feeling that less

than half your support should come from any one foundation and particularly from a foundation located outside of the South. It is our hope that with this grant to brace against, you and your associates will be able to raise at least $25,000 for your immediate needs in 1953. Sometime before the end of the year the Fund for the Republic should be in full operation.

We wish you a full measure of success in the important work of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Associate Director

CCD:jvb

cc: Mr. Wright - at Linnville Falls (home)
North Carolina

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

March 16, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

With the approval of the Director of the Foundation, Mr. Gaither, I am forwarding today to the office of the Treasurer in New York, approval of a grant of $20,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., to support and expand its activities in the field of race relations in 1953.

Payment will be made by the Treasurer of the Foundation upon receipt at the New York office of a photostatic copy of the Treasury Department letter exempting the Council under Section 101.6 of the Internal Revenue Code. I talked with the Council's office in Atlanta this morning and Mr. Fleming agreed to send the copy of the letter at once, so the payment should reach you not later than the end of this week.

The Officers of the Foundation have been familiar with the work of the Council and, as you know, the Foundation has indirectly provided some funds for temporary financing in 1951 and 1952 to the Council. It is our expectation that the Fund for the Republic will give consideration to the Council's application for other support, so in a sense this is an interim grant until such time as the Fund for the Republic is more completely organized and in operation.

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We wish you a full measure of success in the important work of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Clinton C. Davis

Associate Director

TERMS OF GRANT

Grantee: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Amount of Grant: $20,000.00

1. Disbursement: Payment of grant will be made as indicated in letter of notification.

2. Expenditure of Grant Funds: The grant is restricted to the purposes stated in the grantee's application as approved or modified by the Foundation's notification of grant.

3. Reversion of Grant Funds: The grantee will return to the Foundation the unexpended balance of the grant:

   a. Not required by the grantee for the purposes of the grant or expended during the term of the grant; or

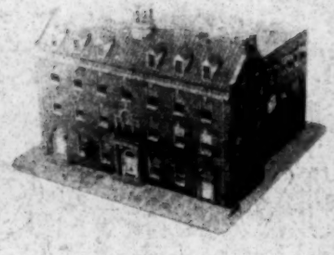
   b. If the grantee loses or is denied its exemption from federal income taxation under Section 101.6 of the Internal Revenue Code.

4. Reports: The grantee will furnish the Foundation a progress report and a financial report upon the completion of the project or program for which the grant has been made and, where the term of the grant exceeds one year, a report at the end of each calendar year or such other period as may be requested in the notification of grant or as agreed upon with the grantee. Special reports will be welcomed whenever in the opinion of the grantee there are significant developments which should be brought to the Foundation's attention.

5. Publicity: The grantee may publicize the grant; but in order to maintain uniformity in public announcements, the Foundation would appreciate the opportunity to review in advance in its New York office the drafts of press releases or other publicity. The Foundation has no wish to receive credit for what is accomplished under the terms of a grant.

6. Commitment: The grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee and, except where otherwise indicated by the notification of the grant, each grant is terminal.

WINSTON-SALEM TWIN CITY
JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
MORNING SUNDAY EVENING
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING CO.
GORDON GRAY, PRESIDENT & PUBLISHER
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.



Confidential

February 9, 1953

C O P Y

Mr. Chester C. Davis
931 Roxbury Road
San Marino, California

Dear Dad:

This is a business letter and I am writing it as a person who knows you well enough to write to you directly about a matter of Ford Foundation business.

This evening I had dinner with Marion Wright, a retired attorney from South Carolina who has settled in our mountains and who is giving his time as a volunteer to an organization known as the Southern Regional Council.

Since Mr. Wright is related to a hunting and fishing partner of mine -- and since he is himself a hunter and fisherman -- I am prejudiced in his favor. That is true of his organization as well. It picked up an article of mine -- one on the FEPC -- reprinted it for distribution here in the South.

It is my understanding that the Southern Regional Council has made an application for Ford Foundation help. I have an idea -- possibly because of the prejudices just mentioned -- that this is the sort of an application you will act favorably on.

That fact should be ascertainable since the application has been in for something more than one year. If the Foundation has approved this application or, if such approval seems to be in the course of things is there anything that can be done to expedite the grant?

This organization is staying afloat right now. It probably will stay afloat until it receives aid from the Ford Foundation or some other source. But the fact is that it is not now able to put into effect any programs which, in my opinion, are badly needed in the South today.

This organization has devoted its greatest effort in the general field of preparing the South as the segregation system breaks down. With the Supreme Court on the verge of handing down a revolutionary decision -- and it will be that in some sense, either social or economic or, perhaps, a combination of both -- this sort of educational effort is needed.

The Southern Regional Council has a record which proves its capabilities in this sort of educational work. It has blue printed a program for future efforts that are designed to meet, at least in some part, this very problem that is rising so fast (and is so little recognized) here in the South. But it doesn't have the funds to put that program into effect right now -- and right now is when we most need work in this area of human relations.

I certainly don't want to be in a position of urging that the Ford Foundation make a grant to the Council. Your people can weigh the merits of this organization against those of other organizations competing for the same help.

My only point in writing this letter is to say that if this application is to be approved then, from the standpoint of need here in the South, anything that could be done to expedite that approval certainly is in order.

As you know, I feel that I have no right to presume on my relationship with you in the way of asking favors. But that rule should not be a handicap which prevents me from writing to you where, were we only acquaintances, I would not hesitate to write.

Besides I had another -- and a more personal reason -- for writing. Today Wally Carroll told me that the Ford Foundation was moving its headquarters to New York. Does that mean you and mother are coming back east? Of course, we hope that it does. I can't say -- if such a move is in the books -- that I envy your present relationships with my mother. She must be in a tizzy. This merely confirms her suspicions that a Davis has no more roots than a rolling stone and that -- in some vague way -- all of this probably is your doing.

My love to you both.

Cld

Copy -

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY

WINSTON-SALEM TWIN CITY
JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
MORNING SUNDAY EVENING

WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

July 14, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"TOP KNOT"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I'll be counting on hearing from you regarding Dr. Johnson. When I get the dates, I will talk with Harold Essex and see what he can arrange in the way of radio time.

I was not surprised to learn of my father's resignation as an associate director of the Ford Foundation. When the Foundation moved from Pasadena to New York, dad and mother came through Winston-Salem and I had an opportunity to talk with him at some length. He had been distressed by the manner in which Paul Hoffman's resignation was obtained and I had a feeling that he was not fully in agreement with Rowan Gaither, the present head of the Foundation. Dad had intended to retire in October. I expect that he submitted his resignation before that time because he was not fully in accord with the new administration. He is, however, staying on as a consultant for one year and I feel confident if he can help you in any way in that capacity, that he will be delighted to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Chester Davis

Chester S. Davis

September 29, '53

Dear Charlie,

Greetings across the years.'

You are part of the Fund for the Republic, and my Council's 1951 application to the Ford Foundation now rests, I hope actively, before the F. for R. I get some hints that an hour of decision approaches remotely.

There's the long rigamarole in our original application, which still stands, and is exactly our request. I write to add a short argument, as buttress.

'Way back at the end of World War I a man named Will Alexander did a job on stopping the race riots in Oklahoma. Out of that, and some other experience, he hit on local interracial committees as an important Southern stpp. He spent the years from 1919 to about 1936 actively organizing such committees all over the South. They were hooked together in State Committees, and they in turn were federated into the(Southwide) Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Did a lot of good. Straightened out many local causes of injustice, helped mightily to reduce lynching, fathered the Myrdal study, etc., etc. In 1943-44 what survived of the interracial committees was hooked together with the Sociologists and with the wartime restlessness of the Negro Community into the Southern Regional Council. I struggled along, helped for years by the Rosenwald Fund, and with the end of that source, has kept going somehow ever since. Never mind what we've been doing; that's in the record, and is passable.

When World War II got going a great volume of mail, long growing, began to get just too big for its White House recipient to handle. White House called on Dr. Will for help. Dr. Will and others got the Rosenwald Fund, and others, to set up something called the American Council on Race Relations. The mails went to them. They took on the job of fostering North and West local and Statewide race relations services, much on the pattern of what had been started in the South many years before. In a short while these agencies got picked up by public treasuries, some as Mayor's Committees on Human Relations, some as State Commissions (Connecticut's a good example), and some as private shows. Within a few years almost every large city "above the line" that had a substantial Negro population had some such official or semi-official body. Dr. Will was in those years still titular head of the

Southern movement, and did not push the American Council on Race Relations into the South. Pretty soon it was possible to pull out the money from the American Council, and let the new public shows run along on their own, quite successfully and helpfully. Their officials have established for themselves a professional body called the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (save the mark) which limps, but does some good. But as to the South, it can do no more than accept as members any appropriate Southern people - a handful.

All of which is to say that out of the War and Post-War experience a skill developed in the South was exported to the North and the West, and took root, and runs itself. The while our Southerns remain with my tiny Council, and slits of work done by the Churches, and nothing else in the way of a race relations service for the whole shebang, from Virginia to Texas.

We've still got the skill, and I hope have improved on what we had. What we haven't got is money. This office here tries to serve the whole Region, which is absurd. I do have small outfits of my members state by state, with letter-head officers an treasuries containing sixty or maybe even two hundred dollars, and no paid officials, and not much done by purely volunteer people. Though on the 'phone I can galvanize them into action for something short-run. And we can't as yet and shouldn't as yet, get the needed service carried at State or City expense. Anything so organized now in 99% of the South would have to play go-slow, hold things back, quieten "restlessness", and generally with a dishonest and unacceptable-to-the-Negroes program, court political favor in a system of narrow franchise. No go. Andif you turn to business money, much the same result. Business men would shower out money to dam back the tide, but not to cut holes in the dikes. So, a vitally needed service limps in the very place of origin of nine-tenths of the trouble.

What I've asked the Fund for the Republic to do is to cut the circle, and put in enough money to enable the founding and the running for five years of an honest race relations service in each Southern State. It takes paid perseonnel, and both white and Negro personnel((the penalty of a divided economy), and it adds to to the million and a half I've asked for the whole five years. I don't want research (though I've asked for enough money to let us have three or four guys who in contact with an active field program could discover the research needs and pass them on to Colleges). I want action, in schools, courts, jails, housing, health, land tenure, transportation, and all the other areas of inequality and discrimination hereabouts. We are reasonable, and sober, and not hell-raisers, and we work through people who can get things done. But we have certainly been ill-found.

If such a service is operated in each State for five years I am confident that with the pace of things these days they would be picked up publicly in several of our States at the end of the five years, and privately in the rest, and they could be trusted to run in the grooves of honesty we would have cut.

Ponder.

Best, Charlie,

COPY COPY

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

April 2, 1954

FILE COPY

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Presidant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic has authorized a grant of $240,000 for eighteen months beginning April 1, 1954, to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the central office in Atlanta. The grant is based upon the proposed budget for the first eighteen months of such an expanded program contained in Mr. Mitchell's letter of March 15, and is intended also to cover the costs of the "Williamsburg Conference." The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

While the grant for the first 18 months is not made on a matching funds basis, it is felt that the future financial health of the Council and the state organizations might be seriously impaired if they were not to find substantial southern financial support. The Fund's consideration of further grants to the Council will therefore be influenced not only by the effectiveness of the program developed in the first eighteen months, but also by the degree of success which the Council and its state organizations have achieved in raising funds from other sources. We believe that increased financial support from individuals, religious bodies, trade unions, businesses and industries in the South is of vital importance to assure the continued success of the Council and the continuation of its expanded program.

I would appreciate it if you would stress to all the members of the Board of the Council, and to those who will be serving on the state committees to be created, that our grant to the Council, representing as it does a four-fold increase over the present annual budget, it not based solely on our esteem for Mr. Mitchell and his staff and the enviable record of achievement which the Council has compiled over the years. As a result of several talks with Mr. Abram, we are also confident that the officers of the Council and the members of the various boards and committees will give generously of their time and energy in order to insure that the expanded program of the Council is established on a firm base.

COPY COPY

This latter consideration has been a major factor in our decision to provide the financing for a large expansion of your program for the next 18 months. The deep commitment of all the members of the Council is, we believe, essential in meeting the obvious difficulties involved in recruiting, training and administering a sizeable staff while at the same time broadening the base of financial support and conducting a vitally needed educational program.

We understand that Mr. Mitchell will furnish us with quarterly accountings which will indicate how this grant is being used and an annual program and financial report. We would also welcome informal progress reports at any time.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax exempt ruling under Internal Revenue Code 101(6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

Our check in the amount of $240,000 is enclosed herewith and we would appreciate acknowledgement of its receipt at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ David F. Freeman
David F. Freeman
Secretary

C
O
P
Y

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York September 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the Central Office in Atlanta.

In our grant letter for the eighteen-month period April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955, we stated that the grant had been made with the understanding that the Fund,

> "...will consider future grants, on a showing of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources, of not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and of not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. This grant carries with it the stipulation that there will be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the SRC after September 30, 1957."

The present grant is made on the same terms as our first grant. However, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and through you George Mitchell and his staff for the excellent progress made during the first year and a half of operation under the Council's expanded program. We appreciate the many difficulties that have confronted the Council in the past months, particularly in its successful endeavors to reorganize and staff the various state affiliates.

When the time comes for another appraisal of the operations of the Council by this Fund, we will, of course, want to look very closely at the actual accomplishments of the state organizations. We hope that during the next twelve months all the state chapters will build a record of achievement of which this Fund and the Council can be proud.

We look forward to receiving from Mr. Mitchell the same type of excellent quarterly reports he has furnished us during the first eighteen months of our support, and such additional informal progress reports as he may wish to give us.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC #101 (6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $150,000.00 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

ys-9/29/55

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

July 20-21, 1956

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met at 2:00 p.m. on July 20, 1956, at Penn Center, St. Helena Island, South Carolina.

The following members were present:

Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. Paul Christopher
Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mr. John Griffin
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. C. H. Parrish
Rev. Maurice Shean
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Staff members who attended the meeting were:

Mr. G. S. Alexander
Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Mr. John Constable
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. John Hope
Dr. George S. Mitchll
Mr. Fred Routh
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

In executive session, Paul Christopher was elected temporary chairman.

The following resolution was passed, and later read to the staff members who sat in on the remainder of the meeting:

> The Executive Committee wishes to express its gratification over the manner in which the Central Office staff has been rounded out with high quality personnel, and the leadership it is giving to the area served by the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, ~~Executive~~ Director, joined the group in the latter part of its executive session. He told the committee that he had been preparing his mind for some time for withdrawing from his duties at the Council at a time fixed as mid-January, 1957, and he asked the Executive Committee to prepare to relieve him at about that time. The Committee decided to consider the matter further in executive session the following day.

At this time, staff members were invited to join the Executive Committee for its general session.

APPROVAL OF MINUTES

On Motion of Father Shean, minutes of the last meeting were approved as circulated by mail.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

You have had mailed out to you your last quarterly report for the three months ending June 30. That should bring you up to date. We have lived within our budget; we have kept our promises to the states. Fred Routh has got the states going in an acceptable direction. We have raised an unexpected $17,000, specifically for the program which John Hope is putting on. That $17,000 almost gets us over the hump toward qualifying for the next year's grant from the Fund for the Republic. We are over the hump on funds for the central office budget. Anything the Finance Committee can raise can probably go for next year.

You have got the people here who manage the various phases of our work. I suggest you hear from them.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Harold Fleming stated that the Executive Committee had received the report dated July 3, and that he would not attempt to repeat that report.

Two points were brought out about the director: First, Dr. Mitchell prepared a brief article for the Fund for the Republic, which was picked up and editorialized by Life magazine. Secondly, the famous "map talk" is being put on film by the Presbyterians U.S.A., under their social action program.

Under the fact-finding program, Mr. Fleming reported that a survey of specific instances of desegregation since 1954 had been completed. The Fund for the Republic contemplates putting out a paper-back edition which would include both reports, the South and the non-South. Copies will be available for the Council, and it can make such use of the materials as it sees fit. In any case, it will be released to the press, and it should get some public attention. It might do something to help clear the air a bit, counteracting some of the negative publicity on this subject.

Harold Fleming then outlined studies which are in progress: A study of the industrialization of the South is being conducted by Hammer & Company, industrial consultants. Another study underway concerns the Negro vote. One field worker is searching in the field of resistance movements; another is working on trade unions and race relations. On the latter the Council is cooperating on another study which is under the official sponsorship of the AFL-CIO, the main part of which is being financed by the Fund for the Republic.

REPORT ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Fred Routh distributed copies of a written report, and then outlined progress of the various organizations, state by state. As "Exhibit B," Mr. Routh presented figures for the budgeting of funds the staff may recommend to be made available to the state groups during the next budget year. Then followed a lengthy discussion of what was considered to be a fundamental question: whether to continue to distribute the funds to state organizations on an "even-steven" basis, or to adjust the funds according to the performance of the organizations. Father Shean pointed out that some state directors are facing the decision as to whether to look for another job. Mr. Brazeal said that careful consideration should be given to the continuance of clerks, for often these are key persons.

Mr. Hunter raised a question about the amount of time a state staff should spend in fund-raising. Mr. Routh replied that fund-raising has been the responsibility of the boards in each state, but that in the cases where the board has not assumed the responsibility, the staff has been forced to do so.

A discussion of the situation in Mississippi was postponed until after the arrival of Dr. Parrish, who had made a trip to that state with Fred Routh. It was decided to continue the consideration of the whole question of finances of state organizations after that report.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Mrs. Tilly distributed copies of a written report on her May trip to Birmingham, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge, and commented on her experiences. She stated that a southwide meeting of church women is set for October 30-31. Additional funds are needed for putting on this meeting, and for follow-up work afterwards. The church women are the key, said Mrs. Tilly; they have the courage, but they have no money.

Dr. Mitchell reported that a request for funds for this work was made to Rockefeller following the last meeting, but it was denied. Josephine Wilkins commented that the women's work has a special appeal. Paul Christopher spoke of the need for getting more interest on the part of the churches. It was decided to postpone until a later time in the meeting further discussion of financing of the program with church women.

Mrs. Tilly said that there is need for a new leaflet on the subject of "The Bible and Race" and that this is in progress. Mr. Dabbs mentioned that the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is preparing material on this subject.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mrs. Alexander reminded the committee that the audit for the last three months had been sent out by mail. She passed around copies of a "Statement of Income Raised Anew" for the period October 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956, attached. She reported that since the Statement was prepared, an additional $1,200 had been received, reducing the balance to be raised by September 30 (to be eligible for the 1956-57 grant from the Fund for the Republic) to $5,814.03.

Mr. Brazeal asked what specific efforts are being made to raise this sum, and Dr. Mitchell said that he hoped an expected grant from the AFL-CIO would largely cover it.

BUDGET

At this time the proposed budget for the coming fiscal year was presented, with explanatory remarks by Mrs. Alexander and Dr. Mitchell. After further discussion, the Executive Committee received the budget and commended the manner in which it was presented.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee urge the members of the Board to make contributions or secure further contributions for the support of the central office, as per the resolution of February 17, 1955.

Paul Christopher suggested that a letter such as this might go to Board members; "From the 50 at-large Board members, we had hoped to raise a total of not less than $4,500. Contributions have not come in from approximately 30 Board members. We are hoping to raise this amount of money from our Board members."

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Then followed a discussion of the Finance Committee. It was reported that a memorandum had been sent to that Committee on June 18. Its activity, stated Dr. Mitchell, hangs on filling the post of Treasurer. We are willing to turn in and write more letters and do what the Treasurer tells us to do, he continued, but we need the Treasurer to tell us.

Dr. Mitchell said that we have been staving off destruction by rescue actions by different foundations for the last twenty years. Josephine Wilkins said that she thought foundations are going to have to be in the picture for a long time to come.

Paul Christopher said, "I think we are missing money that we could get." He then described his plan of keeping a list of around a hundred people in Knoxville who are willing to give $5.00 or $10.00 to a cause when he asks them. He explained that he calls the person by telephone first, to let them know that he is going to visit them about the matter. Each time he does this, he continued, some of them say "Don't come!" and promise the money immediately. (This was received by tactless guffaws from those present, and the hint that money was being put forward to avoid seeing Paul Christopher.)*

NEXT MEETING

Josephine Wilkins suggested that in view of Dr. Mitchell's announcement, and other pressing matters, a meeting of the Executive Committee should be held in September.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the members of the Executive Committee be polled to determine whether September 14-15 or September 21-22 would be more acceptable dates, and that the staff arrange a meeting accordingly.

The meeting then recessed for dinner.

The Executive Committee reconvened for the evening session at 7:30 p.m. Harold Fleming led off with a review of the subject which has been headed "White House Interest."

WHITE HOUSE INTEREST

At the last meeting, he recalled, the Executive Committee instructed the staff to take steps looking toward a statement from the President of the United States that would recognize the work of the Council at this time. This has been a complicated effort, but within the last week a conference was held with presidential advisers.

The result of this meeting, according to Mr. Fleming's report, was an expression of enthusiastic interest in developing a presidential message to SRC that would encourage people of good will in the region. The SRC would be expected to arrange publicity and editorial comment commensurate with the importance of the message.

*Interpolation by the stenographer for the meeting, Mrs. Courtney Siceloff, formerly secretary to the Executive Director of SRC.

Discussion followed of the kind of occasion which might provide an opportunity for such a message. Father Shean asked if the date could be changed for Mrs. Tilly's meeting with church women, so that a statement could be tied in with it, but it was felt that plans for that meeting had gone too far for a change in date.

After considerable further discussion, it was agreed:

1. That it would be unwise and impracticable to arrange a special occasion before November.

2. That the staff should seek to elicit a presidential message on the occasion of the 12th annual meeting, November 14, 1956 .

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded, and passed that in view of the special circumstances which are facing the Southern Regional Council, in view of the fact that we do not have the appropriate opportunity to manufacture a special occasion at this time of year, that we instruct Harold Fleming to pursue a course that a statement be issued at the time of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP

Mr. G. S. Alexander presented the following report on Board and Committee membership:

As of this date the Council has 77 Board members, of which 12 are ex-officio members (state chairmen); 12 are state representatives; 5 are officers and 48 are regular elected members. Of the 48 regular elected members, 23 are in the class of 1957 and 25 are in the class of 1956.

Since the last meeting of the Executive Committee two members have resigned (R. B. Atwood, Frankfort, Kentucky, 7/13/56; Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Georgia, 6/5/56). Mr. Joseph Haas was elected to the office of Counsel and thus becomes a member of the Board.

According to the by-laws of the Council, our membership of 48 is two less than the maximum number of 50 members that the Council may have at any one time.

At present, the Executive Committee has 9 members in addition to 5 officers of the corporation.

Motion (Dabbs-Griffin): It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee accept with regret the resignations offered by Mr. Atwood and Mr. Haas.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

Mimeographed sheets were distributed which outlined proposed amendments to the by-laws of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee approved, for recommendation to the Board, the proposed changes as follows, to Article VI, Section 1:

At Present

Article VI. Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; and a treasurer. The president and the vice-presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director and the assistant directors need not be members at the time of their election, but by virtue of their office shall become ex-officio members of the corporation, with all the privileges of such members. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary need not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Proposed Change:

Article VI. Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; assistant directors; a secretary; a treasurer; or a secretary-treasurer. The president, vice-presidents, and treasurer shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary-treasurer shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, but if filled separately, the secretary shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director, assistant directors, secretary-treasurer and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8.

Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council at any regular or special meeting.

Addition:

Article VI, Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer. All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer, and will be under the general supervision of the Executive Director.

Motion (Wilkins-Shean): It was moved, seconded and passed that the central office staff be instructed to draft a proposed change in the by-laws for presentation to the Executive Committee in September which will achieve this purpose: to empower the Executive Committee to fill vacancies within the Executive Committee from among members of the Board of Directors between annual meetings, subject to confirmation of the succeeding annual meeting.

LEGAL AID

After a review of the action taken at a previous meeting regarding legal aid for state Board members or staff, the following motion was passed:

Motion (Shean-Brazeal): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Committee agree to pay the balance of the attorney's fee of Guy Wells.

REVIEW OF STATE LAWS AFFECTING VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

This subject had been discussed under Fred Routh's report.
Duncan Hunter: Do we have to work this out on a state level as to whether gifts are tax-deductible? We are in a quandary as to whether to raise this question at this moment in the state of Alabama.

Dr. Mitchell: You should apply for your own tax-exemption. You could delay it a few months.

Harold Fleming: An organization may assume that it has tax-exemption, but it does so at the risk of later having it challenged, and having the donors be required to pay taxes on their contributions.

Fred Routh: Until there is more clarity on this question, we are advising states to hold off on the applications for tax-exemption.

AID TO STATES

Discussion was reopened on the question of allocation of funds to state organizations.

Dabbs: What we are really saying is that the states which used and appreciated an integrated staff we will help, and those which didn't do it, we will help to keep going with a white staff.

Brazeal: Where we have only a director and a clerk, I think we should advise the organization to use consultants on an interracial basis. That would establish an example of interracial working-together and it would make the director aware of his responsibility.

Motion (Shean-Brazeal): It was moved, seconded and passed that further discussion of this topic be postponed until Fred Routh brings in a report as to how these funds may be practically distributed, within a formula for 25 per cent latitude, or some other proposed latitude.

On motion of Josephine Wilkins, the meeting was adjourned until the following day.

The Executive Committee reconvened at 9:00 a.m. on July 22, 1956.

On motion, the following resolution was approved by the Executive Committee:

> BE IT RESOLVED by the Executive Committee that the central staff of the Southern Regional Council shall have the authority to modify the proposed allocation of funds to any state affiliate, as outlined in Memo #1 for the third fiscal period; such modification not to exceed 25 per cent.

MISSISSIPPI

Fred Routh then reviewed for the Executive Committee some of the difficulties which have arisen in the Mississippi state organization. He said that the situation in Mississippi had deteriorated to the point where there was a lack of confidence between the staff and the Mississippi Board. Fred Routh's visit to Mississippi, with C. H. Parrish, led him to the following conclusions: (1) The Board was never able to pull itself together as a cohesive group; (2) the Board is not representative of the people of the state; and (3) the Board has not assumed its proper responsibility in terms of program direction or program planning.

C. H. Parrish sketched in further background material. He told of personality difficulties relating to the staff, and of the difficulty of carrying on an interracial organization in that state, with the office located in a Negro neighborhood. Harold Fleming pointed out that Mississippi is the one state organization that has never announced its efforts in the press.

Fred Routh read for the group several letters from members of the Mississippi Board, giving their views of the problem.

After a lengthy discussion, the following motion was made by Mr. Brazeal, seconded by Father Shean, and passed:

Motion: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, taking into account the mutual responsibility of a central organization and its state affiliates, instructs the staff of the Southern Regional Council as follows: When it finds any state organization less than satisfactory, after systematic program review and assessment (the terms of which shall be notified in advance) to place that organization in provisional status for a stated period, at the end of which time, on the decision of the Executive Committee, funds may be withheld.

CONSULTANT PROGRAM

John Hope reported on the consultant program. Most states, he said, have been very much interested in this type of assistance. He described the workshop held in South Carolina, which included members of the state Board and other key persons, with 39 in attendance. The state organization was pleased with the outcome of this meeting, and reported that it had already drawn in new blood as a result.

Another development in Florida was significant. One of the objections to Board-staff workshops is that it is a pretty expensive proposition. In Florida we had the workshop one day; at the end of that time, the Board went into its meeting, and the consultants sat in. This device combined a training session with the Board meeting, and the state was willing to pay the expenses of its Board members.

Looking into the future, there is the plan of using the consultant program to plan meetings with local school boards. We are canvassing local persons with the idea of expanding our consultant program for such a purpose. If one or two of these properly develop, I would like to make the offer to all the states.

One other point I would like to bring up is the role of individual consultants in states. I think in the next several months we might canvass the states from the point of view of individual consultant service, rather than the workshop idea. That might be an important development when states begin to realize that they are being judged on the basis of objective criteria. The question there would be the division of expense between the states and SRC.

Another question is the use of consultants in the speaking role. I don't know whether that is the proper function of the consultant service program or not. If it is, the question is whether it is part of the budgeted program or not. . . . That opens a much wider area for consultants. My only question is whether that is the most effective use of our resources.

(At this point Mr. Dabbs counseled, "See that the consultant doesn't get confused as to whether he is to make a speech or be a consultant!)

Hope: That is one reason why I hesitate to use consultants in this way. (Then followed a discussion of whether the publicity attending a speech would give the consultant a "name" and detract from his effectiveness as a consultant.)

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that C. H. Parrish is the "daddy" of the consultant service program; that it has been splendidly administered by John Hope, with no attempt to influence the program by Parrish. This, he stated, was an ideal father-son relationship.

Paul Christopher felt that the consultant program should have publicity in New South, so that its usefulness could be extended.

Motion (Shean Wilkins): It was moved, seconded and passed that John Hope, in consultation with Harold Fleming, prepare an article for New South on the consultant program.

EVALUATION

The staff distributed copies of a first draft of a proposed appeal letter to the Fund for the Republic for renewal of its grant. Dr. Mitchell explained that the letter was not in any final form but that it had been mimeographed at the suggestion of Marion Wright.

Miss Wilkins: Shouldn't we hold up this letter until after September? Dr. Mitchell talked about the lean years. The Fund for the Republic came and touched us with its fairy wand. Then came the impact of the Supreme Court decision. Now we have to look at the future of the Council in the light of the announcement Dr. Mitchell has made to us here. It seems to me this letter should be held up until we come to grips with the situation we face. We have got to re-evaluate the whole thing.

Dr. Mitchell asked, "Would you like to ask definitely for money to cover the work of church women?" The group's answer was yes.

Then followed a lengthy discussion of the question of evaluating the effectiveness of the Council. John Griffin raised the question of having an outsider come in and evaluate the program. Harold Fleming said that such an evaluation would be helpful if there were enough time and money for it. He pointed out that Frank Loescher's sympathetic and inquiring approach had provided the sort of thing that was being talked about. Fred Routh said that Bob Johnson, one of SRC's consultants, who is with the American Friends Service Committee, has drawn up two memos on what a good organization should be doing.

Motion (Shean-Wilkins): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Council make use of the memos of Bob Johnson.

Harold Fleming said, "I think we have a great potential in our Executive Committee. They are experienced in all details; there is a freshness in their reactions and suggestions which is valuable to the staff." There was general agreement that the Executive Committee could play an effective role in evaluation.

After further discussion, the central office staff was asked to redraft the appeal letter to the Fund for the Republic and to circulate the new draft to the Executive Committee before its next meeting.

LEGAL AID TO STATES

Dr. Mitchell described a memorandum which had been sent to state staff members on the subject of legal aid. He said, "Now you must say whether you are agreeable to state and central office staff being notified that they should be supported under extenuating circumstances."

Motion (Shean-Dabbs): It was moved, seconded and passed that the Executive Committee approve of this action of the staff, as according with the action of the previous meeting of the Executive Committee.

ANNUAL MEETING

After discussion about the place to be set for the annual meeting, the following motion was passed.

Motion (Shean-Dabbs): It was moved, seconded and passed that the staff take steps to arrange for the annual meeting to be held at one of these places: (1) Williamsburg, (2) Gatlinburg, and (3) Louisville, and that the staff be empowered to alternate the order if circumstances arise which make it necessary.

The staff was then excused for an Executive Session.

REPORTED MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN EXECUTIVE SESSION

With respect to Dr. Mitchell's announcement to the meeting on July 20, the Executive Committee decided to appoint a five-member committee from among members of the Board of Directors to make a study of qualified personnel to succeed Dr. Mitchell as Executive Director, and to report to the September meeting of the Executive Committee. (This Committee is urged to feel perfectly free to consult with Dr. Mitchell about his successor.)

The Committee members chosen were: Dr. Rufus Clement, Chairman, Marion Wright, Josephine Wilkins, John Griffin, Dr. Albert Dent, and (if Dr. Dent cannot serve), John Wheeler.

As to Mrs. Tilly's special request for additional funds to finance the Southwide conference of Southern church women in October, 1956, (1) Father Shean agreed to contact Immanual Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee and to make a special request for up to $1,500. He will act on this next week, and will advise Dr. Mitchell. (2) Dr. Mitchell is requested to remind Dr. Clement to try another foundation, since the recommended contact was not productive, following the last Executive Committee meeting. (3) A special memo to Dr. Mitchell asking that the letter to the Board members asking for additional contributions should make mention of the fact that there is a very special need for up to $1,500 for this conference (church women) and that up to that amount will be earmarked for Mrs. Tilly's conference. (NOTE: If Father Shean gets the $1,500, then all the money we get from Board members will go to the general fund.) (4) Josephine Wilkins agreed to speak very earnestly with Mrs. Tilly and convey the feeling of the Executive Committee that Mrs. Tilly should be asked to solicit funds for these conferences from her own church women delegates and contacts.

Executive Session Minutes Dictated by
Paul Christopher, Acting Chairman

Statement of Income Raised Anew
This Fiscal Year
October 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956

CONTRIBUTIONS:		
Individuals	$ 3,030.00	
Organizations	2,996.00	
Churches	2,370.00	
Foundations	30,500.00	
Total Contributions		$ 38,896.00
OTHER INCOME:		
SRC Dues (Associates)	311.00	
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	5,016.67	
Sale of Literature	1,215.32	
Honoraria	959.80	
Interest Income	1,587.00	
Total, Other Income		9,089.79
TOTAL INCOME TO JUNE 30, 1956		$ 47,985.79

Total amount to be raised to be eligible for 1956-57 grant from FFR	$ 55,000.00
Less: Amount raised to June 30, 1956	47,985.79
Balance to be raised by September 30, 1956	$ 7,014.03

Introductory

The description of the South as "the Nation's economic problem number one" has been repeated to the point of triteness. But the South remains the Nation's number one problem — and not only economically, but in its practice of government and its human relations, as well. In all three of those areas, the South might better be described as the Nation's most neglected, and most urgent, piece of unfinished business.

A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has advanced in industry and commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged dangerously in political arrangements and human relations.

This lag seriously weakens the whole country, at home and abroad. The Southern white view on matters of race is taking root in the North. Our narrow electorates have pushed to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems. Time and time again, the expressed will of the American people has been thwarted by this unrepresentative group, which holds disproportionate influence in the nation's government; our every step in domestic and foreign policy is chained to what these men will concede. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South — and their effects in the rest of the country — breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task.

The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure in one form or another for a period of years, brings with it particularly acute problems — as well as remarkable opportunities for wholesome change. The American Negro is increasingly needed in our productive manpower. As

soldier, as production worker, as private citizen, he is called on to bear his part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this obligation, as they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent which are so sorely needed for this performance are precisely those that have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed and expertness compatible with the orderly functioning of our society. Indeed, Negroes in the South and elsewhere are challenging the restrictions on their citizenship with increasing vigor. Unfortunately, the foreshortened outlook of the white South is not improving at a comparable rate, and the results are tension and distrust, demagoguery and division.

The evidence of recent years is enough to prove that the progress toward a more inclusive democracy in the South is irreversible. But in many ways, the division between the races is widening now, and with consequent increase in bitterness. It is imperative that those who have faith in a common Southern citizenship be enabled to put their thought and energy to full service.

We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have, in the past five or six years, found it possible to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of staff paid to make things easier. Connecticut, for an example among many, has not over 60,000 Negro persons — less for the whole state than many Southern cities have by themselves. And yet Connecticut supports at state expense a Connecticut State Interracial Commission with a legislative appropriation of $54,000 a year. Today, most Northern and Western states have official statewide bodies in this field, while scores of cities pay for the services of secretaries of such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Relations Committees. This is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of

similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of Parson So-and-So and Mrs. So-and-So, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

This is a job which must be done by indigenous people, but it will not be supported, in the foreseeable future, by indigenous money. The very economic and social structure of the South, which presents such pressing and unique problems, is a mighty barrier to adequate Southern financing of such an effort. Those who can contribute most in leadership and skill in human relations are largely persons of modest means. They must look for assistance to sources outside the region which recognize the importance to the whole nation of sound progress in the South.

This is a proposal for applying the best of experience and modern knowledge to the pressing problems of human relations in the Southern states.

What is proposed has two interrelated parts; an action program at work in each Southern state, and a growing body of action-oriented research. Generally stated, such a dual program would embrace the following:

1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in the states as agents of improvement in public life.

2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

3. A steady flow of research findings from Southern universities, to be directly keyed in with the action program.

4. A continuous program of education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council would draw on the experience and findings of both the action and research efforts.

As Appendix X details, each Southern state (excepting Oklahoma, where the Council has little influence) has in it a body of people of both races long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern.

They are influential people. By and large, they are circumspect people, but out of conscience they reject the Southern taboos on interracial effort. Most of them hold responsible places in the life of their communities, and they are accustomed to working in an orderly way.

The Southern Regional Council itself has had insufficient money to do more than get the State Divisions and affiliated committees set in a path of growth and to urge them to greater activity. Not all the Divisions are strong. Some are new and are just finding their role. Nearly all of them have at one time or another within the last six years addressed themselves outspokenly to the people or to the officers of their states or particular communities on behalf of what was humane, unprejudiced, and statesmanlike. Their supporters as dues-paying members range from 100 to 500.

The central office of the Council serves to stimulate the work of the Council's members, individually and within their state organizations. We publish a monthly magazine, the main emphasis of which is on things that are being done and can be more widely done to bring progress. We put out in pamphlets the facts about health and housing and welfare in general. We correspond with people in the State Divisions and urge action at this or that point. We are much used as a resource for newspaper and magazine writers who are trying to assess new movements in the region. We do a considerable work in explaining things to many important visitors to the South. We do our best to think ahead in each new development, and give out to our members, and often to the press, temperate counsel. Clerically, we serve the whole organization, keeping here the master membership records, billing members from here, and distributing literature. We would gladly get more of the work done within the state organizations, but on limited funds it has been possible to keep only this single full-time office going, and the jobs get dumped on the only available employed personnel.

The principal need of the state organizations is paid personnel. If the paid personnel were there, it would be charged with four main tasks:

1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the state devoted to this general cause. That means systematic organization of local groups who would meet and work interracially, the adaption of program to local and state needs, the follow-up to get action, and the raising of money for the work in the state.

2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning and unquestioned custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such arrangements. Often the mere pointing out of unfairness -- if done objectively and without recrimination -- is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What this central office, sparingly staffed, has been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infinitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the states. The situations susceptible of such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every state. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply every day.

3. The development each year of about 24 home town self-surveys -- two in each state. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Florida, and Greenville, South Carolina, and in another now getting started in Rock Hill, South Carolina. The device is described in an appendix to this memorandum. Here it need only be said that experience teaches us that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can consume as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local dem-

ocratic understanding in each community. And a few such communities in each state will, we believe, set a standard which other towns will come up to.

4. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. The public school system of the South is as yet untouched by knowledge accepted almost everywhere else in the civilized world. Nowhere is provision made for the teaching of the scientific facts about race. Much that is traditional, and quite untrue, continues to be taught as the history of slavery. A knowledge of African history is increasingly important as a corrective of anti-Negro prejudice and as equipment for dealing in the modern world with a stridently self-conscious continent; yet Africa in Southern schools is certain rivers and mountains and deserts described in geographies, and a land whence came a barbarous people. Negro history in this country is skimped, misrepresented, or omitted; yet the achievements of individual Negroes and of the race as a whole (when truthfully taught) sustain the pride of brown boys and girls and evoke the admiration of white ones. This is a peculiarly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation is gone. But it seems to us the part of wisdom to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. We do not claim we know in detail how to do it. But, if it is to be done in the South, it will have to be done through the sort of people who look to the Southern Regional Council for stimulus and guidance.

Research Program

An active program of this kind should not go forward without con-

stant interplay with research people in the social sciences. The state secretaries, working to get things done, should be in close association with college and university faculties. Special problems will arise, the right answer to which can only be had by fresh research. A leading example is in the whole field of education in human relations. How introduce this teaching within a still segregated school system? What are the patterns of parent and of school-child reaction? What special tools and resources can be provided teachers at various grade levels? Through what devices is the teacher to be reached? How contrive successful interracial experiences for school-age children?

To go over to another whole area of inquiry: What devices will settle into appropriate areas of the South new and suitable industrial employment? What are the consequences in human relationships of a broadly based farm ownership as against the surviving and changing plantation pattern?

Alternatively, in civic participation, in which particular governmental services to the people is broad participation most rewarding in civic improvement?

We would seek an interplay of research and action. Results of college inquiries would be tested in actual local situations through the work of the state secretaries. These persons, and informed local citizens cooperating with them, would be brought into consultation with the research personnel, and the research people would plan their work to fit in with real local needs as thus cast up. In most of the states, it would be possible to work out arrangements in which the local university or college is unravelling a research problem in its own area in the delineation of which the state secretary will have a hand.

The Council should be able to pay by contract for the work done. Some would be done in the North, most in the South, and the work could be divided between institutions traditionally white and institutions tradition-

ally Negro, with provision for full cooperation. For preparing research projects in this area of study, the Council would set up a special committee of eleven people, made up mainly of faculty members from leading universities and colleges, but including several of the Council's heads of State Divisions. It would be necessary to pay travel and per diem for members of this special committee, which ought to meet at least four times a year. The Council's main office would engage special personnel to serve as a secretariat for coordinating the work under way in the various institutions. The research committee, assisted in this way by its staff person, would establish priority for research projects in the light of the needs of the program; negotiate contracts with participating research centers; review periodically the progress and results of research projects; and report to and consult with the Council's directing body.

It would not be our proposal that the entire sum needed for the research program would be made available at once, but that, after payment of an initial sum to the Council for the first year's operation of the research program, each subsequent annual grant would be made subject to review by the Ford Foundation of progress to date and proposals for the coming year's research undertakings.

When the Southern Regional Council was established, it was intended that interrelated research of this general kind should be one of the Council's functions. The view was that within so rigidly segregated a college system as the South then had it would be necessary to provide in the Council an independent private base for inquiry done by members of both races, working together. That plan contemplated a budget greatly in excess of anything we have ever had. In actual practice, the Council has been able to do no more than bring together scattered research findings, and from time to time put out popular versions of the new knowledge about the South. We think the South is now

at a stage where research of this kind can be done in a coordinated way at existing institutions without any need for building a parallel staff of social scientists attached directly to the Southern Regional Council.

Here is the whole cost for five years of doing this critically important job in the South:

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET

FIVE YEAR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

State Action Program	$ 768,625.00
Research Program	454,500.00
Central Supervision	263,500.00
TOTAL	$1,486,625.00

For detailed budget, see Appendix _.

APPENDIX _

I

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR FIVE-YEAR STATE ACTION PROGRAM

Annual Budget for Each of Eleven Southern States[1]		$ 15,600.00
Salaries[2]		
Secretary and Associate Secretary	$10,000.00	
Clerical	2,400.00	
Office		
Rent	900.00	
Communications	500.00	
Supplies	200.00	
Travel	1,600.00	
Annual Budget for Kentucky[3]		7,150.00
Salaries	$ 5,000.00	
Office		
Rent	600.00	
Communications	500.00	
Supplies	150.00	
Travel	900.00	
Total for State Action Program for One Year		$178,750.00
Total for State Action Program for Five Years		893,750.00
Less Allowance for Lapses[4]		125,125.00
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$768,625.00

NOTES ON BUDGET I

1. Eleven of the twelve Southern states will need the typical staff here provided for. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

2. This provides for the employment of both a white and a Negro secretary, at approximately equal salaries. It is the penalty of working in a divided society that obtaining the cooperation of both races requires nearly double expense. The Council proposes to meet this, for almost the first time in the South, and to furnish in each state leadership, working together, which all can trust and freely assist.

3. Kentucky, because of its smaller Negro population and the Negro's fuller integration in the public life of that state, should be able to work with less than a complete office.

4. In any such program, lapses would be considerable. Some of the people will begin work well along in the calendar year, and there will be short-run vacancies. We estimate the lapses for the first two years at 20%, and for each of the last three years at 10%, thus reducing the amount requested to the following yearly totals;

First Year	$143,000.00
Second Year	143,000.00
Third Year	160,875.00
Fourth Year	160,875.00
Fifth Year	160,875.00
TOTAL	$768,625.00

II

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RESEARCH PROGRAM

The research program would proceed under the guidance of a special committee meeting quarterly, and with a single professional person on the Council's staff serving as Secretary of the committee. Over the five-year period, there should be available for direct payments to institutions and individuals, for

Committee-Approved Research	$400,000.00
Expenses of Research Committee, @ $2,500.00 per year	12,500.00
Research Secretary and Clerk, @ 8,400.00 per year	42,000.00
TOTAL FOR RESEARCH FOR FIVE YEARS	$454,500.00

NOTES ON BUDGET III

1. So widespread and active a program could not succeed without able and painstaking coordination by a central office. Employment of all professional personnel in the state offices would need to be done in consultation with the Council's central office, and policy and action would need frequent review and a great deal of travel.

2. This amount to be disbursed centrally, for the needs of the various states.

3. Experience proves that this amount can be found without undue diversion of effort from program.

III

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR CENTRAL SUPERVISION[1]

Salaries per Year		$ 49,000.00
Executive Director and Associate	$14,000.00	
Secretary-Treasurer	4,000.00	
Director of Information	5,000.00	
Clerical	8,000.00	
Research Aide	3,000.00	
Legal Counsel[2]	15,000.00	
Office Expenses per Year		3,700.00
Rent	$ 1,500.00	
Communications	1,200.00	
Supplies	1,000.00	
Travel per Year		7,000.00
Publication and Printing per Year		8,000.00
Total for Central Supervision per Year		$ 67,700.00
Less Amt. to Be Raised Annually from Misc. Sources[3]		15,000.00
NET TOTAL FOR FIVE YEARS		$263,500.00
Net Total per Year		52,700.00

APPENDIX _

MEMORANDUM ON THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The walls of sectionalism behind which the South has barricaded itself for so long are beginning to crumble. The pressure of world opinion has brought in this country a new awareness of the flaws in our democracy. And along with that have come increasing demands on the South to bring its human relations up to the standards of the nation as a whole, both in law and in custom. Southern Negroes are, rightfully, impatient with the crushing limitations on their citizenship, and they are no longer willing to wait for slow, evolutionary improvement. The last decade has seen momentous Supreme Court decisions, pressure for civil rights legislation, and legal attacks on segregation. As segregation begins to crack, slowly and with the fiercest opposition from entrenched forces, tensions increase day by day.

We are entering a period of national emergency -- if not World War Three, then World War Two-and-a-Half. This time, we are in for years of strain as this mainly Caucasian country pits its way of life against Communist revolution among dark-skinned people. Strain will grow apace at home. And ultimate peace and success will be greatly influenced by the way these strains within the South find release. The adjustments are going to be severe, and they will be made in many fields; politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority-group population in the United States.

This ferment brings stress and bitterness, but it also brings remarkable new opportunity for progress -- if the necessary resources and leadership can be brought to bear. More white Southerners than ever before are

concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them — the small group from whom leadership must come — are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But most of them are simple people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see the "race problem"in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of reactionary politicians, who know very well how to blend fear and confusion into an antidote to progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand a tremendous effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Southern Regional Council is the only Southwide membership organization — which cuts across creedal and racial lines — working primarily at that task. The Council's singular effectiveness lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference." Being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect. Being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon Line.

It can truthfully be said that the Southern Regional Council is serving at a vital area of human relations which cannot be reached with the same effectiveness by any other agency.

Organization

The Southern Regional Council has by now some respectability in years. It goes back to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1920 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the onset of the second World War, the friends of the old Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all the people of the region.

The Council is, first and foremost, a practical organization. It works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3100 dues-paying members. They are nearly all well educated, and they hold responsible positions in their own communities. They are ministers, or teachers, or college presidents, leading church women, or business men, or doctors, and so on. Such responsible leaders as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, and Ralph McGill have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. Probably about half of our members are white and half are Negro.

Our members are widely scattered over the South. In nine of the states they have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. In three others we work in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees. Thus, in twelve Southern states, we can rely on an organized body of people of our opinions. With more resources, our work in the states and in local places could be made to yield infinitely greater effectiveness.

The Southern Regional Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. We are strictly non-political and enjoy the U. S. Treasury's official letter of

tax exemption, dated July 28, 1947.

Activities

The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members and friends informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc.; many of these are widely used in schools and colleges throughout the region. We have made our files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that we are not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large public. We have published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects which are developed to meet special need or special opportunity. In the past, the Council has kept an ear close to the ground. Whenever it has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years;

Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. (See exhibit at-

tached.) It follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. But with the decline of formal lynching, new, though related, problems have come to the forefront; discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

The old Interracial Commission pushed Southern towns and cities to take on Negro policemen. The betterment is obvious. Politics and prejudice stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with chiefs of police all over the South, we published a table of Southern places that use Negro police. There were 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. We printed also comments from police chiefs in various cities and the story of how it had worked out in Greensboro, North Carolina. (See exhibit attached.) That publication has been circulated in city after city over the South as the issue came to decision. By September 1950, the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But we supplied the facts, we robbed the

prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place we converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been interesting to see the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to us and ask us for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

On civil rights, the Report of President Truman's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. We went patiently about the job. We prepared a simple digest of the Report and have sold many thousands of copies each year. We did an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" to back up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. (See exhibits attached.) The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women which we arranged; one of them, featuring Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. We did some hard thinking and printed "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" as an expression of our executive committee. Several Southern papers carried the whole long document in full, and most noticed it. We have not calmed the tempest, but we have played a significant part in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. Our executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the let-

ter widely. Many of our members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities, the precedent broadens. We cherish each gain, list them all, and preach to the whole South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

Self-surveys. The local fact-finding survey is an old device, but the Council has added a new twist, and it works. We get our friends in a town to form, with the greatest care, a local, bi-racial committee. The committee then itself goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks and the busses and the sewers. It prints a report (which the town really notices) and it makes itself a follow-up committee, to meet every six months, cross off the recommendations that have been accomplished, and decide on the next things to push for. Read what the Chairman said in Greenville, South Carolina, when the committee there had just finished its survey: (See exhibit attached.)

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose -- has been a release and a relief."

We have published a manual for such surveys, and we work through our staff and our members to get new towns to take it up. Rock Hill, S. C., is about to do one. Jacksonville, Fla., Madison, Ga., Greenville, S. C., Earlington, Ky., and Shreveport, La., have completed self-surveys, and their experience has shown the unique value of the method. The Southern Regional Council offers technical assistance and guidance at every point.

Race in the News. A couple of years ago we saw signs that some Southern newspapers would like to do a decent job in handling news about Negroes. None of the papers quite knew how. We got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some 1000 representative clippings, from which he sifted

out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." (See exhibit attached.) It is in newspaper language, and it is persuasive, and it has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association asked us for enough copies for them to send one to every daily paper in the South. We complied! Time and Newsweek took it up. We sent a copy of the booklet to each of the 2000 county weekly newspapers in the South. Then we got local committees of our friends to call on editors and be sure the pamphlet got read.

The change, in a year's time, is remarkable. The papers frequently print pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro." They hunt for news of Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers do as they always did, but in most cities one or the other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

Professional associations. We have watched for years the slow broadening of the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers saw it first, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society opened up. We wrote to people we could trust, and found the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the 13 Southern states. Then we made it into a simple chart, printed it, and got it out to our members and to the papers. (See exhibit attached.) There is evidence already that this spotlighting of the facts will do quite a lot to speed the letting down of that heavy barrier to equality.

School facilities. Two years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools -- that delay and evasion will no longer work. We got the dramatic events in King

George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the race relations department of the Virginia Council of Churches. Then we calculated the cost of equal facilities, state by state, and printed that with the King George story. We sent it to every county superintendent of schools in the South. (See exhibit attached.) It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. It was the law and the judge and the able Negro attorneys who set the legal precedent. What we did was to get the facts out, to the right people, in a way they could understand. Only in that way can the South be brought to learn the new and difficult lessons with a minimum of bitterness and strife.

Financial Support

The Southern Regional Council, since its beginnings in 1944, has lived as to perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it spent about $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, with the rest being raised from small contributions, churches, membership dues, or sale of literature and subscriptions. Since the loss of our main foundation support — through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund — the Council has been hard at work to get individual contributors to fill the financial gap. But this is a job that can hardly be done in less than three more years. Most of the money that can be raised in the South for this kind of activity must come from persons of modest income; few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program.

For at least several years to come, the principal support for the work that the Southern Regional Council does must come from non-Southern sources which understand the long-range benefit, for the whole nation, of sound progress in the South. Here is the one movement of its kind in the

South which is believed in and trusted by the best of Southern leadership. It is eager, experienced, and respected. And the need for its best work has never been more urgent than now.

APPENDIX _

ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The South is moving ahead, certainly. What can be done to speed the pace? It is largely a matter of economic organization, partly a matter of more knowledge more widely diffused, partly a matter of enforcing the law and the Constitution, and partly a matter of courageous and effective leadership.

Nearly everyone is agreed that much of the effort for change must be made by the Southern people.

Every Southern state has many thoughtful and unprejudiced people who work to bring their region to an inclusive practice of democracy. They have from time to time built organized outlets for their views. Chief among these have been the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1919-1943), the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (1938-1949), the Southern Conference Educational Fund (1946-), the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (1940-), and the Southern Regional Council (1944-). Other organizations which have striven for all or part of these goals are the National Planning Association's Committee of the South, the NAACP, the twelve Southern local Leagues of the National Urban League, and a few independent state movements. This spirit has shown itself powerful also in certain of our leading universities, which have bent their research activities to yield the facts on the basis of which the people of the South could move forward. It is time now for us to have a widespread and much more effective program of advance.

As to whether the Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a really major program in human relations in the South, we offer the following points:

1. The Council is a going organization with staff and space and books and files. An entirely new organization would need many months, prob-

ably even a year or two, to get under way.

2. We have deep roots in the South. As successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in friends and in reputation we go back thirty years. Right across the region in every state, the people who have stood with us are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. We can reach into any town and find friends of friends who will help us. We get considered attention anywhere from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and state and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. In this whole field settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite of success.

3. We have always worked temperately and in good faith. We have stayed away from resounding statements of policy and goal and have tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. We have stayed in touch with developing modern thought about the problems of race, and we have kept in touch with people and with communities whose ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

4. We are genuinely inclusive. Our membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Our Board of Directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. We draw strength from every state in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, Negroes, Indians, and whites, professors and parsons, industry and organized labor.

5. We have watched and studied and collected facts about and have taken part in the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, etc. That gives us a background from which to judge the use of new trends, new problems, and new

events. We have a general and a flexible plan for how we would like to see the South develop.

6. We have put out a long series of publications which have some reputation for trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches. Which is to say that our imprint is established and accepted.

7. We have been scrupulous about our tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. We do not lobby. We do not organize campaigns to support this or that bill, we do not praise or denounce candidates for public office.

8. We are the only organization of its kind in the South. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had many of our objectives, but which put much of its energy into political effort, disbanded several years ago. Its non-political wing continues as the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It is a board of directors having no general membership and no field organization. Other existing organizations serve the special needs of particular groups. Though the Council has had a hard time for months, it has lasted and is constantly strengthening its work in the states.

The South's first substantial effort in the direction of an action program was made through state interracial committees set up in the aftermath of World War I and assisted until about 1942 with varying degrees of subsidy. Nearly all the Southern states formed such committees. They were leadership groups, bringing together in local committees and in state committees persons who had come to prominence within both races and who in the committees learned confidence in one another. They addressed themselves to tasks that could be accomplished; the fairer administration of justice, greater equality in public services, better schools, the reduction of violence, and the growth of a common citizenship. The committee seldom achieved any paid personnel, though out of the conscience of their members acting as volunteers, they ac-

complished a great deal, most of it behind the scenes. They were intimately tied to the Churches.

They were federated into a Southwide body called the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Commission begged money with which to send out organizers and keep the state committees going. It published facts, and it led many campaigns across the South for greater human respect. The chief of these was the work of its related body, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, whose intense activity coincided with the period in which the lynching figures dropped from several score a year to a bare, if still intolerable, few. Another was the Conference on Education and Race Relations, which opened the problem of making available to children and to school teachers the simple truth.

Early in 1944, after more than a year of conferences and planning, the Southern Regional Council was established. Part of its work was to be the spread of research findings stemming from the University of North Carolina and elsewhere, part of it was to be the conduct of a program of local action, and part of it was to be the thinking out of policy for the South as a whole.

Within a few years, what had survived of the old state interracial committees were mostly converted into State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Some 3100 people became dues-paying members of the Council. In nine of the Southern states the Council's members are also members of their State Division of SRC. In this latter body they elect a chairman and other officers and a governing committee. They can work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. None of the State Divisions have any paid staff; their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council, and it is a rich State Division which receives in a year $500.

In two states the old interracial committees have survived under

that name as affiliates of SRC. The Georgia Interracial Commission has been able to raise some money locally or from foundations or churches in its own name and for the last several years has had part-time paid personnel. The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation is similar, though it has not yet been able to pay a secretary. In Virginia, what remained of the Virginia Interracial Commission found it possible to obtain an annual grant from the Virginia Council of Churches (a Protestant body) and with that help has become the independent Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches. To the Department's own regret, but understandably, it has not had formal adherence from Catholic or Jewish persons who had been associated with the interracial commission. The Virginia Department of Interracial Cooperation supports a full-time paid Executive Secretary who has been a leader in many forward causes in that state and who has repeatedly had respectful audience of state and local civic authorities.

The only other instance of paid personnel in this field in the whole South is the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations. This was formed independently in 1947. It later on became the New Orleans chapter of the Southern Regional Council and served as a nucleus for the organization of the Louisiana Division of the Council. It maintained out of dues and contributions collected locally, half-time paid personnel during the latter part of 1948, and in 1949 and 1950. Its funds continue sufficient to this purpose, but the Executive Secretary has lately moved to another city and has not as yet been replaced. The New Orleans Committee has done remarkable work in many fields of the city's life and in cooperation with other agencies has influenced importantly the conduct of local political campaigns. It has also done pioneer work in bringing together for officially approved lecture and discussion meetings teachers of both races from the two school systems of that city.

Ford - revision

File Ford Appeal Draft

Introductory

This is a proposal for applying the best of experience and modern knowledge to the whole problem of human relations in the Southern states.

What is proposed has two interrelated parts: An action program at work in each Southern state, and a growing body of action-oriented research. Generally stated, such a dual program would embrace the following:

1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in the States as agents of improvement in public life.

2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

3. A steady flow of research findings from Southern universities to be directly keyed in with the action program.

4. A continuous program of education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council would draw on the experience and findings of both the action and research efforts.

Need

America has a major piece of unfinished business in the South. A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and thereby the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has gone far in industry and in commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged greatly in political arrangements and human re-

lations.

This lag in the South weakens the whole nation, at home and abroad. The Southern white view on matters of race has found lodgment in the North. In our practice of limited democracy, we hold back the rest of the nation; our narrow electorates push to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems, and the nation's every step in domestic and foreign policy is chained to what these men will concede. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task.

The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure in one form or another for a period of years, brings with it particularly acute problems -- as well as remarkable opportunities for wholesome change. The American Negro is increasingly needed in our productive manpower. As soldier, as production worker, as private citizen, he is called on to bear his part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this obligation, as they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent which are so sorely needed for this performance are precisely those that have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed and expertness compatible with the orderly functioning of our society. Indeed, Negroes in the South and elsewhere are challenging the restrictions on their citizenship with increasing vigor. Unfortunately, the foreshortened outlook of the white South is not improving at a comparable rate, and the results are tension and distrust, demagoguery and division.

The evidence of recent years is enough to prove that the progress

toward a more inclusive democracy inthe South is irreversible. But, if the division of the races is allowed to widen and no conscious effort is made to preserve a common ground, the change will be accompanied by immeasurably more bitterness and resistance.

We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have, in the past five or six years, found it possible to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of staff paid to make things easier. Connecticut, for example, has a total of _____ Negro persons -- less for the whole state than many Southern cities have by themselves. And yet Connecticut supports at state expense a Commission on Human Relations (check title) and active local offices. Today most Northern and Western states have official statewide bodies in this field, while scores of cities pay for the services of secretaries of such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Relations Committees. This is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of Parson So-and-So and Mrs. So-and-So, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

Organizational Background

The South is moving ahead, certainly. What can be done to speed the pace? It is largely a matter of economic organization, partly a matter of more knowledge more widely understood, partly a matter of enforcing the law and the constitution, and partly a matter of courageous and effective leadership.

Nearly everyone is agreed that much of the effort for change must be made by the Southern people.

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from time to time built organized outlets for their views. Chief among these have been the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1919 - 1943), the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (1938 - 1949), the Southern Conference Educational Fund (1946 -), the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (1940 -), and the Southern Regional Council (1944 -). Other organizations which have striven for all or part of these goals are the National Planning Association's Committee of the South ~~(dates ?)~~, the NAACP, the seven Southern locals of the National Urban League, and a few independent State movements. This spirit has shown itself powerful also in certain of our leading universities, which have bent their research activities to yield the facts on the basis of which the people of the South could move forward. It is time now for us to have a widespread and much more effective program of advance.

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1. The Council is a going organization with staff and space and books and files. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably even a year or two, to get under way.

2. We have deep roots in the South. As successor to the Com. on Inter. Coop., in friends and in reputation, we go back thirty years. Right across the region in every State, the people who have stood with us are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. We can reach into any town and find friends of friends who will help us. We get considered attention anywhere from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and State and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies,

in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. In this whole field settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite of success.

3. We have always worked temperately and in good faith. We have stayed away from resounding statements of policy and goal and have tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. We have stayed in touch with developing modern thought about the problems of race, and we have kept in touch with people and with communities whose ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

4. We are genuinely inclusive. Our membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Our Board of Directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. We draw strength from every State in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, Negroes, Indians, and whites, professors and parsons, industry and organized labor.

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Criticisms are a-plenty. We do not do enough. We go too slow. We do not set a beacon light in vivid pronouncement. We are called gradualists. We compromise. We dull the cutting edge of change. We work (where we must) within segregation. And so on.

Whatever is done should have two interrelated phases. The first should be an organized action program at work within each State. The second should be a growing body of research, flowing its findings to people who will try to implement them and receiving a steady stream of experimental results from the action agencies.

An Action Program

The South's first substantial effort in this direction was made through State interracial committees set up in the aftermath of World War I and assisted until about 1942 with varying degrees of subsidy. Nearly all the Southern States formed such committees. They were leadership groups, bringing together in local committees and in State committees persons who had come to prominence within both races and who in the committees learned confidence in one another. They addressed themselves to tasks that could be accomplished: the fairer administration of justice, greater equality in public services, better schools, the reduction of violence, and the growth of a common citizenship. The committees seldom achieved

any paid personnel, though out of the conscience of their members acting as volunteers, they accomplished a great deal, most of it behind the scenes. They were intimately tied to the Churches.

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Early in 1944, after more than a year of conferences and planning, the Southern Regional Council was established. Part of its work was to be the spread of research findings stemming from the University of North Carolina and elsewhere, part of it was to be the conduct of a program of local action, and part of it was to be the thinking out of policy for the South as a whole.

Within a few years what had survived of the old State interracial Committees were mostly converted into State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Some 3,500 people became dues-paying members of the Council. In nine of the Southern States the Council's members are also members of their State Division of SRC. Within this latter body they elect a Chairman and other officers and a governing committee. They can work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. None of the State Divisions have any paid staff; their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council, and it is a rich State Division

which receives in a year $500.00.

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also done pioneer work in bringing together for officially approved lecture and discussion meetings teachers of both races from the two school systems of that city.

All of this is to show that each Southern State (omitting Oklahoma, where the Council has little influence) has in it a body of people of both races long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern. They are influential people. By and large, they are circumspect people, but out of conscience they reject the Southern taboos on interracial effort. They are not agitators. Most of them hold responsible place in the life of their communities, and they are accustomed to working in an orderly way.

The Southern Regional Council itself has had insufficient money to do more than get the State Divisions and affiliated committees set in a path of growth and to urge them to greater activity. Not all the Divisions are healthy. Some are new and are just finding their role. Two or three are little more than paper organizations, but others meet regularly, assess the needs of their States, and ~~tell off t~~guide their people ~~for~~ to this or that task of greatest urgency. Nearly all of them have at one time or another within the last six years addressed themselves outspokenly to the people or to the officers of their States or particular communities on behalf of what was humane, unprejudiced, and statesmanlike. Their supporters as dues-paying members range from 100 to 500.

The Central office of the Council serves to stimulate the work of the Council's members individually and within their State organizations. We publish a monthly magazine, the main emphasis of which is on things that are being done and can be more widely done to bring progress. We put out in pamphlets the facts about health and housing and welfare in general. We correspond with people in the State Divisions and urge action at this or that point. We are much used as a resource for newspaper and magazine writers who are trying to

? next.

new movements in the region. We do a considerable work in explaining things to many important visitors to the South. We do our best to think ahead in each new development and give out to our members, and often to the press, temperate counsel. Clerically, we serve the whole organization, keeping here the master membership records, billing members from here, and distributing literature. We would gladly get more of the work done within the State organizations, but on limited funds it has been possible to keep only this single full-time office going, and the jobs get dumped on the only available employed personnel.

Their principal need of the State organizations is paid personnel. The Council is satisfied that if it were able to help each State Division or affiliated committee with a substantial sum, the State organization would be able to raise a good deal of money itself. The two sums combined would make it possible for each State to have full-time personnel in the field of race relations.

~~We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in~~ which States and cities across the North and the West have in the last five or six years found it possible to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of staff paid to make things easier. Connecticut has a total of 60,000 Negro persons -- less for the whole State than many Southern cities have by themselves. And yet Connecticut supports at State expense a Commission on Human Relations (check title) and active local offices. There are today _____ Northern and Western States with official Statewide bodies in this field, and _____ cities pay for the services of secretaries of Mayors Friendly Relations Committees, etc. And we, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the occasional good offices of Parson So-and-So and Mrs. So-and-So, who do ~~what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.~~

Here is a budget to ~~correct~~ provide that:

Budget for State Secretaries, Staff, and Supervision

For a Typical State		Grant	To Be Raised Locally		Totals
			Salary	Rent, Postage, Supplies, Travel	
1st Year:	Full annual salary of an Executive Secretary	$3,800	0	$2,500	
	Full annual salary of an Associate Secretary	3,800	0		
	Full annual salary of a Clerk-Stenographer	2,400	0		
	Salaries	$10,000	0	$2,500	$12,500
2nd Year:	Salaries	8,000	$2,000	2,500	12,500
3rd Year:	Salaries	6,000	4,000	2,500	12,500
4th Year:	Salaries	4,000	6,000	2,500	12,500
5th Year:	Salaries	0	10,000*	2,500	12,500
TOTALS FOR FOUR YEARS		$28,000	$22,000	$10,000	$50,000

* Less whatever help the Council as a whole might be able to give.

Budget for State Secretaries, Staff, and Supervision -- cont.

The following eleven states would use the typical plan: Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana.

Total Grant (Eleven States)

First Year	$110,000
Second Year	88,000
Third Year	66,000
Fourth Year	44,000

Kentucky ought to be able to get along with a single Executive Secretary and a Clerk-Stenographer, making its schedule:

	Grant	Locally Raised
First Year	$6,000	$2,500
Second Year	5,000	3,500
Third Year	4,000	4,500
Fourth Year	2,000	6,500

Total of Grants, Twelve States:

First Year	$116,000
Second Year	93,000
Third Year	70,000
Fourth Year	46,000
TOTAL	$325,000

But in any such program lapses would be considerable. The people will be difficult to get, many will enter on duty late in a calendar year, and there will be [? ? ?] vacancies. We estimate the lapses for each of the first two years at 20%, and for each of the last two years at 10%, and so reduce the amounts requested to:

Reduced Grants, Twelve States:

First Year	$ 92,800
Second Year	74,400
Third Year	63,000
Fourth Year	41,400
TOTAL	$271,600

Budget for State Secretaries, Staff, and Supervision -- cont.

Such a program will require arduous supervision. Each person chosen as Secretary or Associate Secretary must be most carefully looked over, and a thousand complications will arise needing advice from a central office. To meet this cost of supervision, we request:

One-half of salary of Executive Director	$3,750
One-half of salary of Associate Executive Dir.	3,250
Travel	4,000
Communications	1,000
Rent	600
Clerical Salaries	4,400
Services of Secretary-Treasurer (accounting and disbursing)	2,000
Information services (news circular)	4,000
Supplies	600
	$23,600
Less Allowance for lapses (5% of salary items)	600
TOTAL	$23,000

RECAPITULATION

	STATES		CENTRAL	TOTAL GRANT	TOTAL TO BE
	Grant	Locally Raised	Grant		LOCALLY RAISED*
First Year	$92,800	$30,000	$23,000	$115,800	$30,000
Second Year	74,400	53,000	23,000	97,400	53,000
Third Year	63,000	76,000	23,000	86,000	76,000
Fourth Year	41,400	100,000	23,000	64,400	100,000
TOTAL	$271,600	$259,000	$92,000	$363,600	$259,000*

*Plus whatever can be raised for further support of central office.

If the paid personnel were there, we in the Council would charge it with ~~three~~ four main tasks:

1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the States devoted to this general cause. That means systematic organization of local groups who would meet and work interracially, the adaption of program to local and State needs, the follow-up to get action, and the raising of money for the

Insert page 12.

2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning and unquestioned custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such arrangements. Often the mere pointing out of unfairness -- if done objectively and without recrimination -- is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What this central office, sparingly staffed, has been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infinitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the States. The situations susceptible of such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every State. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply day by day.

work in the state.

Insert I. (attached)

B. The development each year of about 24 home town self-surveys -- two in each State. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., and in another now getting started in Rock Hill, S. C. The device is described in an appendix to this memorandum. Here it need only be said that experience teaches us that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can consume as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. And a few such communities in each State will, we believe, set a standard which other towns will come up to.

C. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. The public school system of the South is as yet untouched by knowledge accepted almost everywhere else in the civilized world. Nowhere is provision made for the teaching of the scientific facts about race. Much that is traditional, and quite untrue, continues to be taught as the history of slavery. A knowledge of African history is increasingly important as a corrective of anti-Negro prejudice and as equipment for dealing in the modern world is a stridently self-conscious continent; yet Africa in Southern schools is certain rivers and mountains and deserts described in geographies, and a land whence came a barbarous people. Negro history in this country is skimped, misrepresented, or omitted; yet the achievements of individual Negroes and of the race as a whole (when truthfully taught) sustain the

pride of brown boys and girls and evoke the admiration of white ones. This is a peculiarly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation has gone. But it seems to us the part of wisdom to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. We do not claim we know in detail how to do it. ~~But we do wish to find out how.~~ But if it is to be done in the South, it will have to be done through the government of people who look to the S.R.C. for stimulus and guidance.

The Prospect that State Offices Need Not Be Subsidized Long.

An office in each Southern State undertaking these tasks is likely to become in a few years' time a service supported from other than foundation sources. The South has no peculiarity that makes unusable within the South a device needful in the North and the West. There have already been minor moves toward providing expertness within race relations on a public basis. The matter was considered by the Governor of North Carolina two years ago as something possibly suitable to be recommended to the legislature, but for the time being the idea was rejected. The Governor of Mississippi during 1949 and 1950 several times explored the terms under which an official advisory committee on race relations could be appointed in that State. Kentucky some years ago set the precedent of constituting an official advisory body. And the interracial committees and the State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council have always so conducted their work as to have entree with the governors and other public officials. The pattern of consulting informally on

these matters is established; if trained and experienced full-time people were available in each State, their knowledge, advice, and influence would be widely sought. They would have a difficult course to steer, working honestly to represent the ~~needs and~~ growing and rightful ~~wishes~~ demands of the disadvantaged minority, and working courteously and truthfully to hold the respect of ~~people in power~~ the dominant group. This is a hard path, down which the Council and its predecessors have walked these thirty years, and we know how to train new people to follow it. There is good ground for believing that a service of this kind would be found sufficiently useful for it to be picked up in a few years' time in many instances by public or local private resources. Thus the Ford Foundation, by providing the main backing for a limited period, would take the lead in establishing within the South a regularized and fairly soon a non-subsidized public service.

~~Our proposal has two interrelated parts; action and research. What follows is about the research.~~

Coordinated Research

We would like to be able to draw results from coordinated research done in colleges and universities, aimed especially at methods of teaching human relations in the South. We should be able to pay by contract for the work to be done. Some would be done in the North, most in the South, and the work could be divided between institutions traditionally white and institutions traditionally Negro.

The fundamental problem would be the relationship of the schools to the Region's need for improved human relations. That involves a great many questions, among them the following:

What acceptability, in public opinion, would the teaching of human relations have?

How effective is the teaching of human relations in a segregated school pattern?

To what extent is the teacher a determinant in the shaping of attitudes of students?

What special tools and resources would be needed by teachers at various grade levels to facilitate the teaching of human relations?

Through what devices is the teacher to be reached?

How effective is the classroom in a program of human relations in the face of contradictory patterns in the regional culture?

To what extent is it necessary to provide contact opportunities for teachers, and for pupils, working in a segregated school pattern?

What is the value in bettering attitudes of a knowledge of African history?

What is the value in bettering human attitudes of a knowledge of Negro achievements in this country and elsewhere?

How contrive successful interracial experiences for school-age children?

For parcelling out research projects in this area of study the Council would set up a special committee, made up mainly of faculty people from leading Universities and Colleges, but representing also the kind of citizenry who make up the Council heads of State Divisions. It would be necessary to pay trav-

el and per diem for members of this special committee, which ought to meet at least twice a year. The Council's main office would serve as a secretariat for coordinating the work under way at the various institutions.

One of the great advantages of this plan is that it would afford an interplay of research and action. Results of College inquiries would be tested in actual local situations through the work of the State Executive Secretaries. These persons, and informed local citizens working with them, would be called into consultation with the research personnel, and the research people could plan much of their work to fit in with actual local needs as at present understood. In a number of the States, it ought to be possible to work out arrangements under which the local University or College is unravelling a research project in its own area, in the organization of which the State Secretary will have a hand.

When the Southern Regional Council was established, it was intended that interrelated research of this general kind, though not in this particular field, should be one of the Council's functions. Apparently the view was that within so rigidly segregated a college system as the South then had it would be necessary to provide in the Council an independent private base for inquiry done by members of both races, working together. That plan contemplated a budget greatly in excess of anything we have ever had. In actual practice, the Council has been able to do no more than bring together scattered research findings, and from time to time put out popular versions of the new knowledge about the South. We think the South is now at a stage at which research of this kind can be done in a coordinated way

at existing institutions without any need for building a parallel staff of social scientists attached directly to the Southern Regional Council.

We believe that in four years' time enough could be found out, and tried out, to set a pattern for the South to follow as it progresses in this area. We would not begin the actual research projects until the field ~~p~~ reorganization of the Council had been got under way -- which ~~xxxx~~ should be within six or eight months after the beginning of this expanded program.

Here is a budget for the cost of this research:

Budget for Research on

Education in Human Relations
in the South

We suppose that for about $4,000 the services of a University Department could be had, for about a year, in throwing light on a single one of the problems outlined. Separate provision is made for printing results, where it cannot be otherwise arranged.

Research ~~xxxxxx~~ projects

First year	2 @ $4,000	$ 8,000
Second year	4 @ 4,000	16,000
Third year	5 @ 4,000	20,000
Fourth year	5 @ 4,000	20,000

Administration of program

	First Year	Each of three subsequent years
Travel	$3,000	$ 3,500
Books and supplies	500	3,000
Supervision	4,000	7,000
Clerical	2,400	3,000
Printing	---	2,000
Accou ting & disbursing	400	1,000
Rent	300	600
Communications	400	500
	$7,000	$20,600

Totals

First year	$ 17,000
Second year	36,600
Third year	40,600
Fourth year	40,600
	$134,800

Ford Foundation
draft

Need

~~This is a proposal for applying the best of experience and modern knowledge to the whole problem of human relations in the Southern States.~~

America has a major piece of unfinished business in the South. A hundred and fifty years ago the Nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slagery was made to give way, and thereby the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has gone far in industry and in commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged greatly in political and social arrangements and human relations.

This lag in the South weakens the whole nation, at home and abroad. (~~The Southern white view on matters~~ Stereo) of race has found lodgment in the North. ~~Our lower standards weaken the whole nation.~~ In our practice of limited democracy, we are behind the rest of the nation; our narrow electorates push to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems, and the nation's every step in domestic and foreign policy is chained to what these ~~obscurantists~~ men will concede. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is our all-compelling task.

The South ~~moves ahead apace~~ is moving ahead, certainly. What can be done to speed the pace, soundly? It is largely a matter of more knowledge more widely understood,

economic organization, partly a matter of more knowledge more widely understood, partly a matter of enforcing the law and the constitution, and partly a matter of courageous and effective leadership.

Nearly everyone is agreed that much of the effort for change must be made by the Southern people.

Every Southern state has many thoughtful and unprejudice people who yearn to bring their region to an inclusive practice of democracy. They have from time to time built organized outlet for their views. Chief among these have been the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1919-1943), the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (1938 - 1949), the Southern Conference Educational Fund (1946 -), the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (1940 -), and the Southern Regional Council (1944-). Other organizations which have striven for all or part of these goals are the National Planning Association's Committee of the South (dates ?), the NAACP, the seven Southern locals of the National Urban League, and a few independent State movements. This spirit has shown itself powerful also in certain of our leading universities, whin have bent their reserach activities to yield the facts on the basis of which the people of the South could move forward. It is time now for us to have widespread and much more effective program of advance.

X > Whatever is done should have two interrelated phases. The first should be an organized action program at work within each State. The second should be a growing body of research, flowing its findings to people who will try to implement it, and receiving a steady stream of experimental results from the action agencies.

2 a. Insert X.

As to whether the Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a really major program in human relations in the South, we are ~~spezial~~ special pleaders, and our best pleas would rightly suffer discount. We can at least list the arguments pro and con.

1. The Council is a going organization with staff and space and books and files. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably even a year or two, to get under way.

2. We have deep roots in the South. In friends and in reputation, we go back thirty years. Right across the region in every State, the people who have stood with us are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. We can reach into any town and find friends of friends who will help us. We get considered attention anywhere from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and State and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public schools systems, and in professional social welfare circles. In this whole field settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite of success.

3. We have always worked temperately and in good faith. We have stayed away from resounding statements of policy and goal and have tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. We have stayed in touch with developing modern thought about the problems of race, and we have kept in touch with people and with communities whose ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

4. We ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ are genuinely inclusive. Our membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Our Board of Directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups,, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. We draw strength from every State in the South. There is

no other common ~~xxxxx~~ body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, Negroes, Indians, and whites, professors and parsons, industry and organized labor.

5. We have watched and studied and collected facts about and have taken part in the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, etc. That gives us a back from which to judge the ~~xxx~~ use of new trends, new problems, and new events. We have a general and a flexible plan for how we would like to see the South develop.

6. We have put out a long series of publications which have some reputation for ~~xxxxxxxx~~ trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches. Which is to say that our imprint is established and accepted.

7. We have been scrupulous about our tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. We do not lobby, We do not organize campaigns to support this or that bill, we do not praise or denounce candidates for public office.

8. We are the only organization of its kind in the South. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had many of our objectives, but which put much of its energy into political agitation, dispanded several years ago. Its non-political wing continues as the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It is a small board of directors having no general membership and no field organization. Othere existing organizations serve the special needs of particular groups, Though the Council has had a hard time for months, it has lasted and is constantly strengthening its work in the States.

Criticisms are a-plenty. We do not do enough. We go too slow. We do not set a beacon light in vivid pronouncement. We are called gradualists.

We compromise. We dull the cutting edge of change. We work (where we must) within segregation. We see too dimly the new light of science in race relations.

An Action Program

The South's first substantial effort in this direction was made through State interracial committees set up in the aftermath of World War I and assisted until about 1942 with varying degrees of outside subsidy. Nearly all the Southern States formed such committees. They were leadership groups, wholding together in locality committees and in State committees persons who had come to prominence within both races and who in the committees learned confidence in one another. They addressed themselves for the most part to tasks that could be accomplished: the fairer administration of justice, greater equality in public services, better schools, the reduction of violence, and the growth of a common citizenship. They seldom achieved any paid personnel, though out of the conscience of their members acting as volunteers, they accomplished a great deal, most of it behind the scenes. They were intimately tied to the Churches.

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Within a few years what had survived of the old State interracial committees were mostly converted into State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Some 3,500 people became dues-paying members of the Council. In nine of the Southern States the Council's members are also members of their State Division of SRC. Within this latter body the elect a Chairman and other officers and a governing committee. They can work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. None of them have any paid staff; their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council, and it is a rich State Division which could write a check for $500.00. In two States the old interracial committees have survived under that name as affiliates of SRC. The Georgia Interracial Commission has been able to raise some money locally or from foundations or churchs in its own name and for the last several years has had part-time paid personnel. The Texas Interracial Commission is similar, though it has not yet been able to pay a secretary. In Virginia, what remained of the Virginia Interracial Commission found it possible to obtain an annual grant from the Virginia Council of Churches (a Protestant body) and with that help has become the independent Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. To the Department's own regret, but understandably, it has not had formal adherence from Catholic or Jewish persons who had been associated with the interracial commission. The Virginia Department of Race Relations supports a full-time paid Executive Secretary who has been a leader in many forwardcauses in that State and who has repeatedly had respectful audiences of State and local civic

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Their principal need is paid personnel. The Council is satisfied that if it were able to help each State Division or affiliated committee with a substantial sum, the State organization would be able to raise a good deal of money itself. The two sums combined would make it possible for each State to have full-time personnel in the field of race relations.

K

We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which States and cities across the North and the West have in the last five or six years found it possible to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of staff paid to make things easier. Connecticut has a total of 60,000 (?) Negro persons -- less for the whole State than many Southern cities have by themselves. And yet Connecticut supports at State expense a Commission on Human Relations (Check title) and active local offices. There are today ___ Northern and Western States with official Statewide bodies in this field, and ___ cities pay for the services of secretaries of Mayors Friendly Relations Committees, etc. And we, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the occasional good offices of Parson So-and-So and Sister So-and-So, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

6 a. Insert K

The central office of the Council serves to stimulate the work of the Council's ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ members individually and within their State organizations. We publish a monthly magazine, the main emphasis of which is on things that are being done and can be more widely done to bring progress. We put out in pamphlets the main facts about health and housing and welfare in general. We correspond with people in the State Divisions and urge action at this or that point. We are much used as a resource point for newspaper and magazine writers who are trying to assess new movements in the region. We do a considerable work in explaining things to many important visitors to the South. We do our best to think ahead in each new development and give out to our members, and often to the press, temperate counsel. Clerically, we serve the whole organization, keeping here the master membership records, billing members from here, and distributing literature. We would gladly get more of the work done within the State organizations, but on limited funds it has been possible to keep only this single full-time office going, and the jobs get done on the only available employed personnel.

Here is a budget to correct that:

(BUDGET)

If the paid personnel were there, we in the Council would charge it with three main tasks:

1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the States devoted to this general cause. That means systematic organization of local groups who would meet and work interracially, the adaption of program to local and State needs, the follow-up to get action, and the raising of money for the work in the State.

2. The development each year of about two home town self-surveys in each State. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., and in another now under way in Rock Hill, S. C. The device is described in an appendix to this memorandum. Here it need only be said that experience teaches us that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can consume as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. And a few such communities in each State will, we believe, set a standard which other towns must rapidly come up to.

3. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. The public school system of the South is as yet untouched by knowledge accepted almost everywhere else in the civilized world. Nowhere is provision made for the teaching of the scientific facts about race. Much that is traditional, and quite untrue, continues to be taught as the history of slavery. A knowlege of African history is increasingly impor-

tant as a corrective of anti-Negro prejudice and as equipment for dealing in the modern world with an important and stridently self-conscious continent; yet Africa in Southern schools is certain rivers and mountains and deserts described in geographies, and a land whence came a wholly barbarous people. Negro history in this country is ~~xxxx~~ skimped, misrepresented, or omitted; yet the achievements of individual Negroes and of the race as a whole (when truthfully taught) sustain the pride of brown boys and girls and evoke the admiration of white ones. This is a peculiarly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, Leave it untouched until a day when segregation has gone. But it seems to us the part of wisdom to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of various age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and the interest of teachers ~~bt~~ brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. We do not claim we know how to do it. Nobody does, and we are willing to try.

(Subhead) _____

An office in each Southern State undertaking these tasks is likely to become in a few years' time a service supported from other than foundation sources. The South has no peculiarity that makes insupportable within the South a device needful in the North and the West. There have already been minor moves toward providing expertness within race relations on a public basis. The matter was considered by the Governor of North Carolina two years ago as something probably suitable to be recommended to the legislature, but for

the time being the idea was rejected. The Governor of Mississippi during the last two years several times explored the terms under which an official advisory committee on race relations could be appointed in that State. And the old interracial committees and the State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council have always so conducted their work as to have entree with the governors and other public officials. The pattern of consulting informally on these matters is established; if trained and experienced full-time people were available in each State, their knowledge, advice, and influence would be widely sought. They would have a difficult course to steer, working honestly to represent the needs and wishes of the disadvantaged, and working courteously and truthfully to hold the respect of people in power. This is a hard path, down which the Council and its predecessors have walked these thirty years, and we believe we can train new people to follow it. There is good ground for believing that a service of this kind would be found sufficiently useful for it to be picked up in a few years' time in many instances by public ___ (missed a phrase here). Thus the Ford Foundation, by providing the main backing for a limited period, would take the lead in establishing within the South a regularized and fairly soon a non-subsidized public service.

On the knowledge end, we would like to be able to draw from research findings of college and university people in a systematic and carefully co-ordinated way. Here are some of the fields in which specialized inquiry should be made:

Negro history

The African background

Anthropology and racial equality

The diminishing role of race in a machine-assisted economy

The origins of stereotypes

The role of economic equality in producing interracial adjustment

Experiences, successful or otherwise, in contrived interracial situations for school-age children

Methods of teaching human relations

Some work has been done, of course, in all of these fields, and in most of them something is being done within Southern universities. But nowhere in the South as yet have existing results been brought together and made into usable material. A modest flow of publications is needed, aimed in two directions. First, for teacher training. Second, for pupil use, so prepared in separate publications as to be effective with two or more different age groups.

We think this could best be done by being in a position to arrange for segments of the work to be prepared by social science people attached to universities anywhere in the country, but more particularly in the South. Presumably, some of the work could be done at institutions traditionally white and some at institutions traditionally Negro. We propose that it be done ~~xxxxxx~~ with the aid of agreements ~~xx~~ contracts with the various in-

/or/

stitutions providing a time limit for the preparation of agreed materials and carrying money payment to the institutions involved.

We do not know whether the Ford Foundation would wish to provide an annual lump sum for this purpose or whether it would prefer to earmark on its books an agreed potential sum, payments to be made directly from the Ford Foundation to the institutions involved, upon agreement by the Ford Foundation with the recommendations of the Southern Regional Council. Either method would be entirely acceptable. In either instance, the Southern Regional Council would set up a special committee, made up mainly of social scientists who would have responsibility for correlating the parcelling out and fitting together of the various assigned projects. Tentatively, we would suppose that such a committee would contain faculty people from Atlanta University, Emory University, the University of North Carolina, Fisk University, Dillard University, the University of Kentucky, the University of Texas, and perhaps Marshall College. It would be necessary to pay travel expense and a per diem to members of this committee for meetings which would take place at least twice a year.

It is the case that the Southern Regional Council, at its founding, was intended itself to do research work of this general kind. Presumably it was thought that within a rigidly segregated college system it would be necessary to provide in the Council an independent private base for inquiry done by trained persons of both races. That plan contemplated a budget for the Council ~~xxxxxxxx~~ greatly in excess of anything we have ever had. In actual practice, the Council has been able to do no more than bring together such scattered research findings as have happened along, and from time to time as funds were available, to put out in pamphlet form written-down versions of the new knowledge about the South. We think the South is now at a stage

at which research of the kind contemplated could be done in a coordinated way at existing institutions without any need for building a parallel staff of social scientists directly attached to the Council.

Foundations - Ford Fdn

April 5, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We have sent this out to all members of the Special Committee, asking for their comments by April 15. Observe that the paragraphs are numbered to help with the corrections.

Fleming worked like the mischief in rediting this, and I think has done an excellent job.

We are much cheered by the newspaper news that the Sidney Hillman Fund last Friday granted us $2500. You must have reached somebody when you went to New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

April 8, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have gone carefully over the request to the Ford Foundation. I have no changes to recommend. In my opinion, you have done an excellent job. My congratulations, and my sincere hope that the appeal will be successful.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

"Topknot"
LINVILLE FALLS,
NORTH CAROLINA

9th
April
1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Herewith is returned the Request to the Ford Foundation which you forwarded under date of April 5. I have the highest admiration for the scholarship exhibited in this document and feel indebted to you, John Fleming and the entire staff for a great piece of work.

Several suggestions of a minor and picayunish nature are indicated on the margin and by interlineation of the enclosed copy. None of these may be felt by you to be worthy of inclusion in any revision which may be made. They are put forward with diffidence and no pride of opinion. Disregard any and all of them if your better judgment suggests that course.

I am slightly disposed to think that the budgets appearing as A, B and C might properly be re-cast. My observation of financial statements leads me to feel that it is better form to give the individual items and then the totals rather than the totals and then the items. Certainly this is the rule followed by banks and other institutions with whose statements I am familiar. Unless, therefore, you have acted pursuant to some accountant's suggestion and feel that there are good reasons for presenting the budgets as you have, I would favor the restatement of them as I have indicated.

Also, I feel that note 4 on Budget A might be enlarged to make the calculation perfectly evident to a casual reader. You will observe that I have indicated my idea on that point.

The liberty is taken of enclosing three proposed inserts, numbered 1, 2 and 3. My reasons for proposing these inserts may be briefly stated:

As to 1, I feel that it is important that we impress the Foundation people with the view that court decisions do not necessarily mean that legal or political equality is just around the corner. The battle is merely entering a new phase. It is highly important that in this new phase there should be a fairly powerful agency to prod the Southern conscience.

As to 2, the point that the Council has already had some satisfactory and successful experience in research is worthy of being stressed. Anything which would convey the idea that we are not entirely amateurs in this field seems to me to have significance.

As to 3, this is merely a re-statement of the idea appearing elsewhere in the document that what is done in the South has effect in the entire country and throughout the world. The purposes of the Foundation, as I understand them, are to improve the state of humanity in the world at large. We want to get away from the idea that we are asking aid in meeting a purely local condition. So, at the risk of laboring the point, I have thought it well to re-state it in new words at the very end of the document in the hope

that a final impression may be lasting on the mind of the reader.

My whole purpose in offering any suggestions about the request is that they may be before you for consideration with full liberty of action on your part to adopt or reject, as your judgment dictates.

Please thank all parties for the exceptionally well prepared paper which the staff has gotten up.

Clipping from yesterday's Asheville Citizen is enclosed in the view that it may not have come to your attention. This action at Chapel Hill was reported in the same paper carrying an account of the action at Emory University. Things are really popping. Roy Harris would, no doubt, say "hell's a-popping".

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:L
encs.

cc -

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

encs.

(1)

Insert on Page 3 after Paragraph 2:

The uninterrupted tenor, the truly imposing array, of judicial decisions upholding Negro rights, may be met by the white South in one of two ways: complete and unreserved acceptance or grudging compliance to the extent only that public officials are not jailed for contempt of court. The latter course would amount to guerilla warfare long continued and fought over every sector of rights of minorities. Shrewd and cunning men may conduct rear guard actions for as long as such a course yields spoils of war - in this case, votes and power. There should exist in the South a powerful and articulate voice of conscience, capable of guiding and informing public opinion to the end that such sordid maneuvers are sternly and promptly rebuked.

---

(2)

Insert on Page 20 at end of Paragraph 1:

To the limited extent permitted by limited funds, the Council has undertaken research into narrow areas of Southern policy. For example, as noted above, it developed and published the facts relating to employment of Negro policemen; newspaper practices in presenting news concerning Negroes; the extent to which professional associations were scuttling racial qualifications for membership, and the economic burden borne by Southern states in order to enjoy the luxury of separate schools for the races. These activities hardly do more than suggest the varied and inexhaustible fields awaiting exploration. The results which have flown from such modest undertakings afford justification for the hope and belief that the same methods, intensively applied in equally crucial areas of Southern custom, would produce vastly more imposing rewards.

---

(3)

Insert at end of Page 23:

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the South "is not an island, entire of itself; it is a part of the main". There is no effective quarantine against ideas, no embargo on thought. Whatever transpires below the Mason and Dixon line is of interest and significance to the rest of the nation. The customs, institutions, folk-ways, of Southern people permeate and tincture American life. They constitute a substantial part of the impact which America has upon all mankind. Whatever is done to bring the democratic dream into full fruition in the South will afford inspiration and example to all men everywhere who struggle upward and grope their way toward the same ideal.

George:

If you use this please check the quotation from John Donne, found on the fly leaf of For Whom the Bell Tolls. My copy is misplaced.

MAW

April 13, 1951

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

When the Executive Committee met March 3, we gave them copies of the first draft of a request to the Ford Foundation.

They put the review of it mainly on a special committee which Paul Williams had appointed (and which met the same afternoon, March 3). It was mostly social science people with a good sprinkling of non-professionals.

The special committee made some very helpful suggestions. The staff has worked hard to get those suggestions into this new draft of a request to the Ford people.

We hope it is now nearly ready to shoot with.

I send you a copy because I would like you to look through it. And if you have some suggestions, let us know.

We got a grant two weeks ago from the Sidney Hillman Foundation for $2500.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Ford Foday

April 26, 1951

Mr. Hinton F. Longino
Division Manager
Retail Credit Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longino:

This accompanies the master document about the Ford Foundation.

The principal officer of the Foundation is Paul Hoffman, and his two first assistants are Mr. Hutchins, former head of the University of Chicago, and Mr. Chester Davis, lately with the Federal Land Banks. The Foundation itself maintains offices in Berkeley, California, Detroit, and New York.

The press on April 22, 1951, carried a notice that the Ford Foundation had lately established a Fund for the Advancement of Education, to aid in meeting the Ford Foundation's aims in the field of formal education.

The head of the new Fund for the Advancement of Education is Dr. Clarence Faust, former dean of the humanities and sciences at Stanford University. Dr. Ralph J. Bunche has been named as one of the directors of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Other directors are Barry Bingham, of Louisville; Charles D. Dickey, of J. P. Morgan and Company; C. Scott Fletcher, former president of Encyclopedia Britannica Films; and Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, former commander of the WAVEs and former president of Wellesley College.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education has been given a budget of $7,154,000. Its headquarters will be at 575 Madison Avenue, New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

REQUEST

to the

FORD FOUNDATION

from

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

April, 1951

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I

INTRODUCTORY: THE SOUTH IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

1 A hundred and fifty years ago the nation began to build two economies, two social and political systems, increasingly separated until the time of the Civil War. In 1865 the legal institution of slavery was made to give way and the country prepared itself, in law, for the adoption throughout the South of the institutions of the general American society. The process of adoption has advanced in industry and commerce. It has lagged in agriculture, and it has lagged dangerously in political arrangements and human relations.

2 This lag seriously weakens the nation as a whole. Most obvious perhaps is the disproportionate influence of the South in the nation's government. The narrow electorates of the Southern States have frequently pushed to prominence men ill-conditioned to cope with modern problems. Their defense of racial inequality and injustice has made itself heard throughout the world; their skill at parliamentary delay and obstruction sometimes paralyzes ~~hamstrings~~ our whole legislative process. Time and time again, the expressed will of the American people has been thwarted by this unrepresentative minority.

3 A second problem of national scope is posed by the increasing migration of Southerners to other parts of the country. Among these migrants is the elite ~~cream~~ of the South's human resources — able, well-educated persons of both races who are dissatisfied with their region's economic and social backwardness. Their talents, skills, and leadership, so sorely needed at home, find their richest expression elsewhere.

4 A far greater number bear with them from the South the burdens of poverty, poor health, limited education, and a stunted view of society. They arrive in large cities of the North and West ill-equipped for the specialized demands of urban industrial life. Worst of all, they are followed by the same

1 problems that have contributed so heavily to the South's underdevelopment. It is disturbing to see how readily the conventional white Southern attitudes on matters of race take root in other regions. Even where discrimination has no sanction in law, an extra-legal pattern of inequality has asserted itself; Negroes are crowded into substandard neighborhoods, are denied employment opportunities, and are forbidden access to a substantial number of public and private facilities. Such conditions inevitably breed interracial friction and violence.

2 These problems are not new, and in ordinary times they might seem no more pressing than they have been for some years. But these are not ordinary times. As anyone sensitive to world opinion must realize, the hope for peace, the very hope for survival of our civilization, depends largely on the vitality of America's democratic institutions. Communist propaganda, which exploits to the full every evidence of second-class citizenship in this country, ~~can~~ may be effectively refuted only by vigorous, everyday application of our country's ideals. Notoriously, the undemocratic arrangements in the South and their manifestations in the rest of the country breed for us distrust among the two-thirds of the world's people who are dark-skinned and whose bringing over to democratic institutions and personal liberty is an all-compelling task. Ours is mainly a Caucasian country; that makes all the more pressing our obligation to demonstrate, at home and abroad, that American democracy knows no preferred race.

3 That task is equally essential to our own unity as a people. The present state of national emergency, which promises to endure for a period of years, puts unusual strains on intergroup relations. Negro citizens are needed more and more in our productive manpower. As soldiers, as production workers, as private citizens, they are called on to bear their part of sacrifice and devoted effort. There is no doubt that Negroes will fulfill this

1 obligation, as they have before, to the extent that they are permitted to do so. But the qualities of loyalty, ability, and creative talent required for this performance are precisely those which have been crushed down by the weight of the South's outworn traditions. This ceiling on initiative and skill must be removed with all the speed and expertness compatible with the orderly functioning of our society.

2 Negroes themselves are no longer patient with the restrictions on their citizenship. ~~and~~ They are challenging those restrictions with increasing vigor. The last decade has brought heightened pressure for civil rights legislation, legal attacks on segregation, and momentous Supreme Court decisions. As a result, segregation is beginning to crack — though slowly and with the fiercest opposition from the South's most powerful elements. Welcome as today's legal gains are, they are accompanied by ~~demagoguery~~ demagogy and division which gravely threaten our national well-being. The final test is how quickly and effectively legislation and judicial rulings can be ~~converted~~ translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

Insert

3 But, in any event, The adjustments are going to be severe. ~~and~~ They will be made in many fields: politics, education, government (including state and local), entertainment and recreation, private and public services to an unsegregated army, employment, travel, and agriculture; in all these there will be innovation, growth, friction. The effects will need skilled attention, especially in this region, which has the largest minority group population in the United States.

4 For these reasons and more, it is imperative that those who have faith in a common Southern citizenship shall be enabled to put their thought and energy to full service. This is a proposal to make that possible.

II

SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL

1 The Council proposes flexible machinery designed to bring maximum improvement in a region which has within itself great diversity, which presents special and complex problems in human relations, and in which little of this kind has yet been attempted.

2 The advantages of the structure outlined below are its adaptability to local conditions and its susceptibility to growth and change in the light of additional knowledge and experience. The proposal comprehends:

3 1. A network of trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life.

4 2. Staff in the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council to direct and service the field people.

5 3. Interpretation of appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

6 4. A continuous program of public education and information, in which the Southern Regional Council will draw on the experience and findings of both the action program and independent research in human relations.

7 The particulars of this approach and its special ~~validity for~~ applicability to the South will be discussed in the succeeding sections.

III

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ORGANIZATION and Methods

1 The Southern Regional Council ~~was~~ is an eleemosynary corporation, in large measure an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. In the civic restlessness which accompanied the second World War, the friends of the Commission's work, with many others, set up in 1944 the Southern Regional Council. Its stated goal is to obtain by research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the region.

2 The Council works within a region having the broadest range of conditions, from plantation feudalism to Oak Ridge industrialism. It is composed for the most part of middle-class people -- some 3100 dues-paying members. They are nearly all educated persons and hold responsible positions in their communities. They are ministers, teachers, college presidents, leading church women, business men, doctors, and the like. By and large, they are circumspect people who, out of conscience and enlightenment, reject the Southern taboos and limitations on interracial effort. Probably half of them are white and half are Negro.

3 Members in nine states have come together as State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Those bodies elect their officers and governing committees and work out their own policy and program within the broad objectives of the Council as a whole. Their treasuries are made up mainly from the return to them of half of the $3.00 annual dues paid to the Council. In three other states, the Council works in close association with surviving quasi-independent state interracial committees.

4 The Council is governed by an able and representative board, with quarterly meetings of the board's executive committee. Such distinguished leaders as Dr. Will W. Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Howard Odum, Ralph

McGill, and many others, have been intimately associated with the growth and work of the Council. The organization is strictly non-political and enjoys the U. S. Treasury's official letter of tax exemption dated July 28, 1947.

As to whether or not the Southern Regional Council is a suitable base upon which to build a major program of human relations in the South, we ~~offer~~ make the following ~~points.~~ observations:

1. The Council is a going organization with staff, books, files, experience, and reputation. An entirely new organization would need many months, probably a year or more, merely to get under way.

2. The Council is the only organization of its kind in the South. It is genuinely inclusive. Its membership draws no lines of race, color, or class. Its board of directors includes persons distinguished in all of the main religious groups, in industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor. It draws strength from every state in the South. There is no other body in the South which ties together in this way Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Negroes, Indians, and whites; professors and preachers; industry and organized labor.

3. The Council has deep roots in the South. As successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in friends and in standing it goes back thirty years. Across the region in every state, the people who have been active in this movement are the people whose support would be necessary to any program of this general kind. The Council receives ~~considered~~ cordial attention from influential persons in the press (white and Negro), in Federal and state and local government, in business, in organized labor, in the agricultural services, in church bodies, in the colleges and universities, in the public school systems, and in professional social welfare circles. Settled and trusted friendships of this kind have always heretofore been a prerequisite ~~of~~ to success in the human relations field.

4. The Council has always worked responsibly and in good faith. It

1 has stayed away from resounding, self-righteous statements and has tried in every situation to reach a solution which would bring gain to the region as a whole. It has constantly been in touch both with developing modern thought about the problems of intergroup relations and with people in communities where ideas and practices in this field have changed little in many years.

2 5. The Council has watched and studied and collected facts about, and has taken part in, the sweeping changes in the South in industry, in farming, in education, in housing, in health, in labor organization, and so on. That gives the organization a background from which to judge the use of new trends, new problems, and new events.

3 6. The Council has put out a long series of publications which have a reputation of trustworthiness. They are widely used in schools and colleges and churches -- which is to say that ~~our~~ its imprint is established and accepted.

4 7. The Council has been scrupulous about its tax-exempt status as an educational and non-political organization. It does not lobby, organize campaigns to support specific bills, or praise or denounce candidates for public office.

5 In summary: Being natively Southern, the Council escapes the stigma of "outside interference"; being truly representative of both races, it works for honest agreement that does not violate principle or self-respect; being closely in touch with the best modern thought in this field, it avoids the errors of a shortsighted vision that ends at the Mason and Dixon Line.

IV

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ACTIVITIES

1 The day-to-day activities of the Council, both the Atlanta office and the local membership, have covered a broad range. A monthly publication, New South, keeps members, ~~and~~ other interested persons and the public informed about current problems and progress. In addition, the Council has prepared and distributed pamphlets, running to hundreds of thousands of copies, which set out the facts about Southern health, housing, education, law enforcement, race relations, etc. It has made its files available to the press, to public and private agencies, and to individuals who need to be informed; hardly a week goes by that the Council is not called upon to provide the background for an article or news story that will reach a large ~~public~~ audience. It has published, too, the results of careful investigations of incidents involving mob violence.

2 The Council's members are useful in their communities in countless ways. They press for better schools and recreational facilities, impartial justice, fairer administration of public services, and the other things which make for a common citizenship. Quite importantly, they provide a Southwide network of conscientious people who are alert to the signs of violence and know what to do to avert it.

3 These are some of the steady, continuing functions of the Council. Added to them are the specific projects developed to meet special need or special opportunity. Whenever the Council has seen a chance to speed growth and equality, it has pushed hard at that point. Here are examples out of the last few years:

4 1. Among the most important of the Southern Regional Council's special programs is its work with the church women of the South. This activity follows the pattern set by the Interracial Commission's affiliate, the Associa-

1 tion of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. That organization worked long and fruitfully to reduce the number of lynchings and to see justice done; it played an important part in bringing down the annual number of these atrocities from thirty or forty in the 1920's to the one or two of today. But ~~with the decline of~~ even though formal lynching, has declined ~~new, though~~ related problems ~~have come to the forefront~~ persist: discrimination in the courts, police brutality, and official intimidation. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly — a member of the Council's staff who served on the President's Civil Rights Committee — church women of many denominations from all parts of the South have been brought together as a "Fellowship of the Concerned." Thousands of them have pledged themselves to visit their local courts and work for fair and impartial justice; to inspect conditions in their local jails; and to be alert for preventive action at the first threat of interracial violence. This organized body of conscience and moral courage is one of the most promising developments in the South today.

2 2. The Interracial Commission encouraged Southern towns and cities to employ Negro policemen. The advantages of such employment are obvious, but politics and prejudice have usually stood in the way. In 1947, after correspondence with police authorities over the South, the Council published a table of Southern places that use Negro police, comments by police chiefs, and an account of Greensboro's (N.C.) experience with the practice. There were then 41 cities in 10 states, and a total of about 125 Negroes on the police forces. That publication has been circulated in city after city as the issue came to decision. By September 1950 the figures were 427 Negro policemen in 77 cities, with every Southern state represented. Other factors played their part in getting this practice adopted — most importantly, the growing Negro vote. But the Council supplied the facts, robbed the prejudiced opposition of their arguments, and in place after place converted a hope into a documented case for progress. It has been

1 ~~interesting to see~~ enlightening to observe the regularity with which people in the towns where the issue comes up write to the Council and ask for the materials which will enable them to persuade a reluctant police committee of their city council.

2 3. As to civil rights, the Report of the President's Committee had a hostile and inaccurate press in the South. Yet the document was certainly one whose lessons the South had to learn. The Council went patiently about the job. It prepared a simple digest of the Report, of which many thousands of copies have been sold each year, and an accompanying manual called "The Condition of Our Rights" which backs up points in the Report with facts from Southern places. The Report has been the main subject of two Southwide meetings of church women arranged by the Council; one of them, featuring Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as guest of honor, drew nationwide attention. In September 1948 the executive committee issued a constructive statement titled "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." Several Southern newspapers carried the lengthy statement in full and most others used the wire-service stories on it. The Council has not calmed the tempest, but it has been successful in getting a sane point of view clearly put before the South. Given added resources, the Council could greatly increase and intensify the impact of its work in this field.

3 4. A share in policy making. In 1949 the Governor of North Carolina took the unprecedented step of appointing a Negro to the state school board. He happened to be the former Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment was of the very greatest significance, as the precedent, if followed, could work wonders in releasing the civic energies of the Negroes of the South, and in building among both races a responsible and understanding common citizenship. ~~Our~~ The Council's executive committee wrote in praise of this act to each of the Southern Governors, and published the letter

widely. Many Council members took on the task of getting the practice adopted. In other states, and in various cities and counties, the precedent broadens. The Council cherishes each gain, keeps a public record of them all, and continues to urge on the South the justice and wisdom of building in this way true democracy.

5. Self-Surveys. There is no better device for fostering local democratic practices than the process of fact-finding and corrective follow-up by representative persons in the community itself. The Council urges and assists Southern towns to form, with the greatest care, local bi-racial committees. Once formed, the survey committee itself, with the aid of local volunteers, goes out and counts the houses and views the plumbing. It writes up the schools and the parks, the busses and the sewers. It publishes a report — which the town really notices — and it forms a follow-up committee to meet periodically, cross off the recommendations accomplished, and plan continuing action. This is what the chairman said in Greenville, S. C., when the survey there was completed:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together — not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose — has been a release and a relief."

The Council makes available a manual for such self-surveys, works through its staff and members to get other towns to undertake them, and offers technical assistance and guidance at every stage.

6. Race in the News. Two years ago there were signs that many Southern newspapers would like to do a more decent job of handling news about Negroes. None of them knew quite how. The Council got an able young journalism teacher to analyze some one thousand representative clippings, from which he sifted out the five main ways of doing harm with a newspaper in a bi-racial

1 society. The result was a booklet, called "Race in the News." It is in newspaper language, is persuasive, and has a helpful dash of wit. When it had been in print three days, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association requested enough copies to send one to every daily paper in the South. Such periodicals as Time and Newsweek helped make it widely known through their columns. The Council sent a copy to each of the two thousand county weekly newspapers in the South. Local committees of Council members called on their editors and urged the adoption of the standards set forth in "Race in the News."

2 The change in eighteen months' time is remarkable. A great many papers are, for the first time, printing pictures of Negroes not in the hands of the law. They use courtesy titles. They say "Negro" and not "negro." They seek out newsworthy Negro activities. They accord dignity. Many papers, of course, do as they always did, but in most cities one or ~~the~~ an other of the papers has ceased to be a daily fountain of prejudice and is spreading acquaintance and respect.

3 7. Professional associations. The Council has long been committed to ~~nurtured the slow broadening of~~ the principle that profession knows no color. The social workers first adopted the principle, then the nurses, then the librarians. Last year the Florida Medical Society abolished its racial qualifications. The Council gathered the facts on each of seven major professional associations in each of the thirteen Southern states. These were published in New South and distributed to ~~our~~ members, the newspapers, and appropriate leaders in the professions. There is evidence already that this spotlighting of the facts will do much ~~quite a lot~~ to speed the lowering ~~letting down~~ of that formidable ~~heavy~~ barrier to equality.

4 8. School facilities. Three years ago a series of Federal court decisions in Virginia made it perfectly clear that the law required entirely

1 equal facilities wherever a state tried to maintain separate schools — that delay and evasion would no longer work. The Council had the dramatic events in King George County, Virginia, carefully described by the Secretary of the Race Relations Department of the Virginia Council of Churches. This account, together with an estimate of the cost of equal facilities state by state, was published and sent to every state and county superintendent of schools in the South. It put them on notice that they had a very heavy expense coming up, and it argued also for agreement with Negro citizenship as to a program to follow. The Council thus got the facts out to the right people in a way they could understand.

2 These are examples, briefly described, of the kind of activity which the Southern Regional Council has carried on in the past few years. More detailed material and concrete evidence of effectiveness may be found in the appendices.

V

STATE ACTION PROGRAMS

1 More white Southerners than ever before are concerned about doing the right thing in race relations. Some of them — the small group from whom leadership must come — are informed, clearsighted, and determined. But most of them are simple people who have no profound understanding of social change. They lack the background needed to see "the race problem" in the broad context of a nation and world in crisis. They are, in varying degrees, confused, fearful, and easily misled. They are assailed daily by the demagoguery of unscrupulous politicians who know very well how to blend fear and confusion into an antidote to progress. Hate organizations like the Ku Klux Klan stand ready, as always, to reap the profits of prejudice and violence.

2 This demagoguery must be counteracted by positive guidance if the potential good will of the Southern people is to be converted into progress. The strains in today's changing South demand an unremitting effort to keep open channels of mutual trust, respect, and understanding between the two races. The Council's singular effectiveness at this job lies in its ability to unite the people of the South, white and Negro, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes.

3 As the previous sections detail, each of twelve Southern states has in it a body of such people long accustomed to meet and work together on matters of public concern. With few exceptions, these state memberships have lacked funds for the employment of even part-time personnel. They have been, for the most part, dependent on the Council's regional staff for clerical work, professional fact-finding, and the many services generally which re-

1 quire trained persons. The Council's small staff, over-burdened by its regional functions and handicapped by distance, has been able to meet only a fraction of the state program needs. As a consequence, opportunities for productive activity daily go begging for want of skilled assistance.

2 The remedy is paid personnel in the states who can give leadership and continuity to those efforts. That would make possible gains not ~~accessible to~~ attainable by any other approach.

3 It is proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ an executive secretary, an associate executive secretary, and a clerical person in each of these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and, in Kentucky, a lesser staff.

not a person?

4 This state personnel would, of course, be charged with implementing in their respective states the program of the Council as described generally in the preceding section. However, four main tasks merit specific mention:

5 1. To strengthen the membership and organization of the forces in the state devoted to this general cause. That includes systematic organization of local groups meeting and working interracially, adaption of program to local and state needs, and following-up to get corrective action.

6 2. Fact-finding, consultation, and persuasion to foster more democratic practices in public and private agencies. Many inequalities and discriminations in the South's institutions are practiced thoughtlessly, as a matter of unquestioning custom. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has shown convincingly how very much can be accomplished by informed and judicious prodding of such ~~arrangements~~ routines. Often the mere pointing out of injustice — if done objectively and without recrimination — is sufficient to bring about more enlightened policies. What ~~this~~ the Council's central office, sparingly staffed, has been able to achieve in this way could be expanded infi-

1 nitely by the presence of able, full-time personnel in the states. The situations susceptible to such an approach can already be found in great numbers in every state. With the unfolding of new defense and mobilization activities, they multiply every day.

2 3. The development each year of about 24 home town self-surveys — two in each state. The effectiveness of this device has been remarkably illustrated in two such surveys completed at Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S.C., and in others now in process. The device is described in another part of this memorandum and in the literature appended. Here it need only be said that experience ~~teaches us~~ demonstrates that bringing a town around to where its leading people are willing to tackle the work of a survey is a slow business which can stretch over as much as two or three years. But the results bring a new quality of impartiality in public service and in local democratic understanding in each community. A few such communities in each state will, we believe, set a standard to which other towns will, ~~come up to.~~ in time, conform.

3 4. Exploring and getting into action a program of education in human relations. This is a particularly difficult field within a still segregated school system. Some would say, leave it untouched until a day when segregation is gone. But it ~~seems to us~~ would seem that the part of wisdom is to find what can be done now and to do it. Partly it is a matter of preparing and supplying text material suited to the ways of teachers and of children of different age groups. Partly it is a matter of working to get the interest of parents and of teachers brought to bear on the problem in an organized way over the barriers of race. Largely, of course, it is a matter of educating public opinion. If these things are to be done in the South, they will have to be done through the sort of people who look to the Southern Regional Council for stimulus and guidance.

VI

RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

1 The organizational structure provided for in the preceding sections gives an opportunity to get into the hands of influential people of both races ~~all~~ through out the Region the unfolding modern knowledge coming out of the universities and other research agencies. More than that, it provides test by implementation. And it makes possible the organization of a backflow from action people to research people.

2 It seems reasonable to suppose that from present and prospective philanthropic effort the amount of original inquiry into matters affecting human relations will expand greatly. It is to be hoped that much of this expansion will take place in the South. What is already known is more than is being used, but it is still the case that what is known is not yet enough to enable a satisfactory professional job in human relations to be done in the South. And what has been or will be worked out in research circles, North and South, will need translating into materials usable by people perplexed by workaday situations in the South.

3 It is therefore proposed that the Southern Regional Council be enabled to employ a small staff of social science people, to keep in touch both with the literature of their fields and with the State Secretaries over the South. The ~~Such a~~ staff would include such personnel as a sociologist, an anthropologist, a social psychologist, and perhaps an economist. It would have two or three clerical assistants. It would not undertake basic research, but would constantly be casting up actual needs for further information and passing them on to independent faculties or agencies doing research. ~~work.~~ In time it should prove possible for this small staff to take a respected place in the world of Southern social science, appearing at professional meetings for

1 consultation on research planning, and otherwise coordinating what is done in this general field.

2 Meanwhile, the main function of the Council's research group would be translation. It would bring to bear on ~~our~~ field people and on the general public what existing knowledge has to contribute to present and local problems in human relations. And it would make available in understandable form the fresh work that comes out.

3 By far the greater proportion of the past and present work in this field originates in the North or the West, in societies which operate upon other premisses. The principle is there, and is valid, but the material is seldom in a form in which it can be successfully and widely used in the South. Here is the job for a central Southwide staff. Truth in these matters can be disseminated in the South. But it requires interpretation, restatement, and new and altered emphasis, in order to reach minds ready to bang shut at this or that linkage of words. This is ~~the famous peculiarity~~ a distinguishing characteristic of the South; no great mystery to people who know the distribution for the time being of prejudice and enlightenment.

4 The need is for staff enough to do this work with thoroughness, and in close relationship to the people who will use the knowledge. It will take not only the trained social scientists, but money for printing and for getting out a journal that will steer the whole enterprise, and a good deal of travel to the places where new things are being done. For lack of a service of this kind, a rich literature of social advance rolls out elsewhere, little known, in the South, and seldom heeded. Here is a remarkable opportunity, in which a few people can serve ~~nobly~~ ably to strengthen thousands who yearn for simple justice, and have not the strength that comes from knowledge and understanding.

5 It is proposed that the research staff direct its attention heavily

1 to the problem of improved teaching on matters of race in the public and private schools of the South as touched on in the preceding section. For most of the white people of the South it is still the case that what pass for ideas about race are really thought-lodgments worked out in slave-times, when white people in fear and ill-conscience contrived a mythology to justify their privileges. And these prejudices, interwoven now with regional pride, survive as an underworld of thought, sustaining segregation and discrimination and winning preferment for demagogues. They have their counterparts also in Negro life.

2 Our school systems skirt this folklore. Countless teachers believe it themselves, and expound it, openly or subtly. Textbooks barely touch these delicate subjects, having a wary eye on political-minded Southern textbook commissions. Though we have had universal education in the South for fifty years and more, who will claim that the common schools have diminished perceptibly the strength of the old racial contempt?

3 There are many unanswered questions as to how this is to be corrected. In a segregated school system, how teach interracial understanding? What is the value of text material in general, and just what kind of text material is best? What are the methods and facts which will help most in persuading teachers, parents, and school authorities? What non-segregated experiences are available, or can be acceptably provided, for pupils, teachers, or both? Here is room for research and action, interrelated, of a most rewarding kind.

4 Turn to another whole field of action. Segregation will almost certainly continue its present course of piecemeal disappearance. But in each new area — employment, busses, railroad stations, public meetings, religious activities, and so on — new perplexities will arise. Some towns will handle these matters well; others, left alone, will make grievous mis-

1 takes. It would be a great service to the South, and to the nation, to provide an up-to-date knowledge of how these matters are worked out in the better places, and in the worse, in order that the better examples might be given maximum opportunity to spread. Everybody's doing it is sometimes a more potent argument than we ought to do it.

Insert 2 Abandonment of segregation ~~All this~~ amounts to a major change in Southern life, ~~and~~ one that ~~will~~ carries portentous threats in inhumanity and even in disorder. It is surely wise to provide, in advance, the people and the knowledge to bring out of each situation the best that is possible. For such a purpose, free time of trained observers and evaluators is a necessity. The Council's staff would have this job, too, and (again) access to the people who could cause the findings to be profitably used.

VII

THE COST

1 One of the main advantages of the state programs proposed in the previous section is the stimulus they would provide for local initiative and civic vitality. This is particularly important in a region where defensiveness breeds abnormal distrust of "outside influences." By the same token, it would seem desirable that such activity be financed by indigenous money. Unfortunately, that is not likely to be the case for some time to come. The very economic and social structure which gives rise to the South's pressing and unique problems is a mighty barrier to adequate Southern financing of such an effort. Few Southern persons who could make large gifts are inclined to be actively in sympathy with even a temperate human relations program. Such money as can be raised in the South for this purpose — as well as most of the skill and leadership — must come mainly from persons of modest means.

2 From its inception in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has depended for perhaps two-thirds of its budget on foundation grants. In average years it has spent approximately $55,000, of which thirty-five or forty thousand came from foundations, the remainder being raised from small contributions, church sources, membership dues, sale of literature, and subscriptions.

3 Following the loss of its chief foundation support through the termination of the Rosenwald Fund, the Council has put much of its energy into a search for individual contributions sufficient to sustain activity at the same level. Though the effort has been great, it has met with only partial success. Measured in terms of a program commensurate with the needs of the region, the results have been grievously inadequate. If this crucial work is to be done, major assistance must come from sources outside the region

1 which recognize the importance to the whole nation and to the world of sound progress in the South.

2 For a five-year period, the Southern Regional Council requests a grant from the Ford Foundation in the following amount:

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET

FIVE YEAR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

State Action Programs	$ 904,505
Research Interpretation	228,890
Central Organization	253,500
TOTAL	$ 1,386,895

3 It may ~~be wondered at~~ occasion surprise that an organization which has operated for seven years on a minimal budget requests aid in this substantial amount. It should be observed, however, that the object is to extend the area rather than increase the scale of present operations. From the consolidated budget and the more detailed budgets which follow, it can be seen that the greatest part of the sum asked is for the development of activity in the states. Relatively little is requested for the existing central organization, and that largely for supervisory purposes. In preparing this request, the Southern Regional Council has had advice from a number of persons who have special knowledge of the South. It was their opinion, as it is ours, that a critically needed next step is activity that will do in detail, in the states and in communities, the kind of work which has been carried on regionally by the central office of the Council. The nature and cost of the program here proposed were determined accordingly.

4 We in the South have watched with interest and with envy the way in which states and cities across the North and West have found it possible in the past five or six years to apply to their mounting racial problems the corrective of paid staff. Connecticut, for one example among many, has a Negro population of not over 60,000 — smaller for the whole state than that of many Southern cities by themselves. Yet Connecticut supports at state

1 expense a Connecticut State Interracial Commission with a legislative appropriation of $54,000 a year. Today, most non-Southern states have such official statewide bodies, while scores of cities support such agencies as Mayors' Friendly Relations Committees. That is not to mention the many agencies and organizations of similar kind supported by private funds. By contrast, we in the South, at the very source of the problem of race, make shift with the good offices of untrained voluntary persons, who do what they can in odd moments to spread understanding and right action.

2 Despite its meager resources, the Southern Regional Council has achieved remarkable effectiveness and considerable recognition. But no one is more painfully aware than we of the gigantic task which remains undone; it calls for the leveling of a veritable mountain of prejudice, reinforced by law and by custom, sustained by political opportunists and professional bigots. The resources brought to bear on this task have as yet been pitifully slight. There is abundant evidence that the mountain can be leveled. ~~but~~ Meanwhile it casts a ~~perilous~~ sinister shadow across the whole of our democracy. The grant requested here for adequate skills and tools is a modest investment when measured against the size of the task and the potential returns in human betterment.

Insert >

C
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May 25, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I have the honor to send with this letter a request to the Ford Foundation on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. By express we are sending several exhibits which graphically present certain aspects of our work.

We sincerely believe that the Southern Regional Council embodies principles enunciated by the Ford Foundation when it was created.

In our appeal we have endeavored to present a fairly complete picture of our Council as briefly as possible. Frequently, however, the spirit behind an organization such as ours cannot be translated into words. For this reason, we cherish the hope that the trustees will be so impressed with our report that they will afford us the opportunity to make a personal presentation at such a place and time as they may name. If this opportunity comes, I would suggest that Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, who is chairman of our executive committee, and Dr. George S. Mitchell, our executive director, join with me for a full dress presentation.

The next fifteen years are crucial ones for the South. We can already envision the pace of change. Many of the decisions which the South will have to make require a thoughtful climate of opinion such as can be made possible only by an organization composed of Southern people representing broad cross-sections of life. These decisions can be made bravely and sensibly by utilizing the network of responsible friends we can call on whose names do not often appear in the headlines, but who are precisely the ones who can get work done in their communities for the furtherance of the democratic processes in the South.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:er

Copy sent PW 6/8/51

THE FORD FOUNDATION
1440 WENTWORTH AVENUE
PASADENA 5, CALIFORNIA

May 29, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Mr. Hoffman has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 25th with its request for financial aid in a human relations program to be conducted in the South by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

I am taking the liberty of transmitting your proposal to the officer who is in charge of our activities in the general area in which you are interested. If he finds that this request falls within the scope of the Foundation's activities as currently conceived, I am certain he will communicate with you.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Assistant to the Director

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

June 1, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of May 30 has reached this office while Mr. Davis is in the East attending a series of conferences. He expects to return here about June 10, at which time your letter will be on his desk for his personal comment.

Sincerely yours,

Verna Larson

Secretary to Mr. Davis

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1951
Southern Regional Council

C
O
P
Y

Office of the President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

June 5, 1951

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Doctor Hutchins:

I understand that the Southern Regional Council has requested from your Foundation a sum of a little more than $1,300,000 for the support of a five-year State Action Program. I should like to voice my very strong approval of the Program and of the Council.

The program as I understand it is designed to improve human relations in an area of our nation where we suffer most because of the poor rapport between the two major population groups.

The Council itself has a long history of straight thinking, courageous action in the area of human relations. It has been the major single organization which has worked effectively in the achievement of progress in this area. It is an interracial organization with wise leadership and sound administration. I most certainly hope that the Council's request will employ your favorable consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 6, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am advised by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, that a request has been presented to the Ford Foundation covering a five-year program of activity for the Council.

Having worked with the Council from its inception, I hope you will permit me to express my full convictions as to the worthwhileness of the Council's activity and of the seriousness of the need which is covered by this request. I heartily agree with what the Council says that though it is doing a good job, it is hardly scratching the surface in terms of the herculean task that needs to be done because of the lack of financial resources. I would emphasize, also, that it is the only agency working at the solution of these problems in terms of an all southern enterprise. As such, it has missed the belaboring which has been heaped upon outside organizations. I further agree that because of its experience over the past several years, that it is the agency best suited to move forward into a greatly expanded effort. More than this, I am sure you appreciate fully the national and international implications of the work the Southern Regional Council is doing.

I hope very much, therefore, this program falls within the purview of the Ford Foundation's activity, and that it will give favorable consideration to the request.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,

President

p

American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone: RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1951

Mr. Chester Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, Calif.

Dear Chester:

George S. Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, has sent me a copy of the request which the Council has made to the Ford Foundation.

For a number of years, as a member of the Board of the Field Foundation and as chairman of the Independent Aid Foundation, I have been happy to help in making modest contributions to the Southern Regional Council. I know George Mitchell well, as I presume you do. George and the Council have seemed to me to be able to keep a healthy pressure forward particularly in race relations, carrying many leading citizens of the South with them, in a way that few such organizations have been able to do. I have read their appeal and am very happy to express my warmest support of it. I know of your interest in the field of race relations. I know too how difficult it is to plant money where one can feel reasonably sure that the expansion will mean increased effectiveness. I feel sure that the Southern Regional Council can come as near measuring up to its ambitions, as represented by its proposed budget, as any agency anywhere.

I expect you know all of this, but I had to say it anyway. Perhaps you will be good enough to see that my concern is expressed in the appropriate place in the councils of the Foundation.

Incidentally, sometime when you are coming east, I hope you will let me know as I feel the need of a visit with you.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence E. Pickett

CC: George Mitchell ✓

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

June 8, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Anna Lord Strauss mentioned the application of the Southern Regional Council when I was discussing problems of mutual interest with her in New York on Monday. She showed me a copy of your application and I suggested she leave it with the New York office; therefore, I am glad to have the copy you sent me, and I shall examine it with interest.

We have delayed taking any steps in the field of group relations hoping to find someone of balanced judgment and wide experience to advise us as to the policies we should follow.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

The Informer Group Of Papers

Houston, Texas

2418 Leeland Avenue P. O. Box 3086

RECEIVED JUN 13 Southern Regional Council

June 12, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
President
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Sir:

I know the flood of requests that your Foundation must be receiving for projects that each writer thinks is most important. But I don't write so much as a vice president of the Southern Regional Council as I write as a Negro, interested in the problem of bringing democracy to America, particularly in the Southland.

We all know the second-class citizenship that Negroes have suffered from in the South. But I have a suspicion that there are a very few of us, even those of us who live down here, who appreciate the great and rapid change that has taken place in the attitude of the masses of people on this question in the last five years. I firmly believe that what is needed most at this minute is direction, and something firm that the people can wrap their changing views around.

The Southern Regional Council is one organization that furnishes facts, that can give sense of direction to the people who have these changing ideas, and who are willing to move forward in a realm that is new to them, but in a direction which wipes out and reduces the second-class citizenship area.

Already, on the limited means that the Southern Regional Council has had to work with, there has been a very marked change in the newspapers, in the attitude of police forces toward employing Negroes, in the attitude of the police and of others toward Negroes generally. There have been changes in attitude, through factual data furnished by the

COPY

Southern Regional Council, among YMCA's, churches, and a great number of other institutions and organizations that form the structure around which our civilization is built here.

These facts have been gathered painstakingly, and they have been stated without animus and with great persuasion by the Southern Regional Council, which is composed of white and black who live in this medium and who know the people, and who know a good deal about their frame of mind. I feel that if this work could be assured of continuance, and could be extended, it would probably be as great a force in changing the untoward conditions in our double democracy as anything else that we do. There is a lot of talk about violence that may come from court action, but if the Southern Regional Council can furnish the facts, and the calm, sure voice, based upon logic, reason and understanding, which it has furnished in a limited way in the past, I think that we will avoid any clashes and move on with greater impetus from day to day and from week to week in overcoming our weakness.

I therefore join in asking that you do give very careful and thorough consideration to the request of the Southern Regional Council, submitted to you in its pamphlet under date of May, 1951.

With many thanks for whatever consideration you give to it, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley
President

/d

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 16, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I hope you will not mind my volunteering this letter in support of the application submitted by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

During the last twenty years I have worked with or been acquainted with pretty nearly all agencies working on a southwide basis in the area of improving human relations. As a Negro university president, I am constantly face to face with the problems of human relations across the South and as Chairman of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations I see something of the magnitude of the problems here.

It is my opinion that the Southern Regional Council can more readily than any other agency direct and develop the thinking of the South in the areas outlined in their application. I very much hope that the Ford Foundation will grant the funds requested.

Respectfully yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

Copy

June 17, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Colwell:

Several of us had hoped that you would be in Atlanta shortly, so that we might talk to you about a matter that deeply concerns us and with regard to which we are certain that you can be of immeasurable aid to us--that of the appeal of the Southern Regional Council to the Ford Foundation. We have no question as to the merit of the appeal, either standing alone or relative to rival efforts to win support, but we feel that a word from you to Mr. Huchins might win a far more sympathetic hearing. With all my heart, I ask you to speak such a word.

I cannot know how familiar you are with the nature and work of the Council. There are many of your friends who can assure you of its immense and unique usefulness. You may remember best the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which was established after World War I as the work of Dr. Will Alexander, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Dr. Plato Durham, Dr. Howard Odum, and Dr. Charles Johnson. With the backing of the great foundations it did a work of reconciliation and pioneering beyond estimate. About ten years ago, as a result of South-wide meetinga of mind among whites and Negroesthe Commission was reorganized on a broader base as the Southern Regional Council. It carries on a broad program of its own and sponsors state divisions and state and local committees of inter-racail cooperation. It has an exceedingly impressive record: Negro police, better handling of race news, community self-surveys, research in Southern problems, etc. Its director, George Mitchell, is one of the noble people of the earth--warm, shrewd, brave, and intelligent. Your sister-in-law, Mrs. Massee, is his neighbor and friend. He has a splendid staff.

Since the folding up of the Rosenwad fund the Council (nearly) has been done to death with fund-raising. Certain of the big foundation people took the position that they had put in something like a million dollars, and now it was time for the South to carry its own burdens. Well, I don't have to spell that out to you. If the South were ready to carry its own burdens, we might not even needthe Council.

As things stand, our membership is in fact growing steadily and the number of the thousand dollar and five thousand dollar grants is holding up. But twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars a year--a handsome sum only if you have to raise it in the South--will simply not do the job that has to be done, particularly if the whole staff and all the associated amateurs have to break their hearts to raise it.

June 17, 1951

One of the things that the Council will certainly continue to do as long as it exists is to try to broaden its base of membership.

Among the people actively interested in the Council are Bishop Moore, Ralph McGill, several leading Catholics, Leonard Haas, nearly all the principal Negro college presidents and other leaders in the Negro group, Dr. Odum, Guy Johnson, etc. You need have no fears as to the Council's integrity or as to the responsibility of its leadership.

You will know best what good you can do us in this appeal. You will know best how to approach Mr. Huchins. You may be sure that all the necessary official steps have been taken. We have no doubt that Mr. Huchins would want to turn to you for advice on a Southern matter. Beyond what I am enclosing, is there anything else that you would like to see or know about the Council?

I would like to take this opportunity to do what I have had it steadily in mind to do--to express my deep gratification at the news that you are coming back to Atlanta. You must know that I remember you always with pride and pleasure. Emory, I think, has done herself proud.

Before you come back South, please hit as hard a lick for the Council as you can. When you get here, you will be proud that you did. There is so much that needs some kind of intelligent and good-spirited attention here, and the resources are so limited. I do not criticize the grants of the Ford Foundation, but honestly one dollar for the Southern Regional Council would be worth a hundred or a thousand of those already appropriated for certain other purposes!

John Griffin and I agreed that I would write this letter. He would second all of it, including my enthusiasm that your coming back here.

Cordially and sincerely,

Glenn W. Rainey

(Iam, God have pity on the Council, Chairman of its Finance Committee.)

EDGAR B. STERN
2110 AMERICAN BANK BLDG.
NEW ORLEANS 12

June 21, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Chester C. Davis,
Member of the Board of Directors,
Ford Foundation,
1440 Wentworth Avenue,
Pasadena 5, California.

My Dear Mr. Davis:

I hope I am not presuming in addressing this letter to you. I take the liberty of doing so because of my deep interest in the welfare of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. of Atlanta, Georgia. I have been informed that this organization has recently made an appeal to the Ford Foundation for financial support. I have had the opportunity of reading a copy of this appeal and would like to state that I think that it is a fair statement of the history of the past and of the present objectives and procedures of this Council. I have followed its program over a good many years, having been a member of it and of its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, for a long period. I have continuously been impressed with the soundness and sanity of the approach of this group toward the very complicated race question in the South. I believe they have proceeded with vision and aspiration mingled with realism and good sense.

I have been interested in the race question in the deep South for many years, and have had the privilege of serving in a number of enterprises that have to do with the welfare of the Negro group, including some ten years of service as a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, and for the past twenty-one years I have served as president of the board of trustees of Dillard University, As a former trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund I also had frequent occasion to consider these problems.

I am not one of those Southerners who feels that the solution of these problems can be found entirely in the South, and among Southerners. On the other hand, I do believe that citizens of this region, where the percentage of Negroes to the total population is so much greater than in other parts of the country, there is perhaps a certain special contribution to be made by those who are close to the problem in its more acute phases, and who necessarily should learn something from experience, and direct contacts. If this be true, I think the Southern Regional Council makes an especially useful and valuable contribution towards the improvement of race relations, being an essentially Southern organization and directly spreading the knowledge of and sympathetic understanding for this complicated problem in this region.

COPY

EDGAR B. STERN
2110 AMERICAN BANK BLDG.
NEW ORLEANS 12

I am convinced that the Ford Foundation could accomplish a very useful purpose in giving financial security for the maintenance and enlargement of the useful and constructive functions of this Council.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar B. Stern

EBStern:MB

COPY

C
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P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Bldg.,
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your letter of June 21 which you wrote in behalf of the Southern Regional Council. This will be very helpful. Up to now we have had nothing but very good reports on this organization.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

C
O
P
Y

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Office of the President

June 16, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I hope you will not mind my volunteering this letter in support of the application submitted by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

During the last twenty years I have worked with or been acquainted with pretty nearly all agencies working on a south-wide basis in the area of improving human relations. As a Negro university president, I am constantly face to face with the problems of human relations across the South and as Chairman of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations I see something of the magnitude of the problems here.

It is my opinion that the Southern Regional Council can more readily than any other agency direct and develop the thinking of the South in the areas outlined in their application. I very much hope that the Ford Foundation will grant the funds requested.

Respectfully yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

Letter from F. D. Patterson

C
O
P
Y

June 6, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am advised by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, that a request has been presented to the Ford Foundation covering a five-year program of activity for the Council.

Having worked with the Council from its inception, I hope you will permit me to express my full convictions as to the worthwhileness of the Council's activity and of the seriousness of the need which is covered by this request. I heartily agree with what the Council says that though it is doing a good job, it is hardly scratching the surface in terms of the herculean task that needs to be done because of the lack of financial resources. I would emphasize, also, that it is the only agency working at the solution of these problems in terms of al all southern enterprise. As such, it has missed the belaboring which has been heaped upon outside organizations. I further agree that because of its experience over the past several years, that it is the agency best suited to move forward into a greatly expanded effort. More than this, I am sure you appreciate fully the national and international implications of the work the Southern Regional Council is doing.

I hope very much, therefore, this program falls within the purview of the Ford Foundation's activity, and that it will give favorable consideration to the request.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,

President

C
O
P
Y

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

June 8, 1951

Mr. Chester Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Chester:

George S. Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, has sent me a copy of the request which the Council has made to the Ford Foundation.

For a number of years, as a member of the Board of the Field Foundation and as chairman of the Independent Aid Foundation, I have been happy to help in making modest contributions to the Southern Regional Council. I know George Mitchell well, as I presume you do. George and the Council have seemed to me to be able to keep a healthy pressure forward particularly in race relations, carrying many leading citizens of the South with them, in a way that few such organizations have been able to do. I have read their appeal and am very happy to express my warmest support of it. I know of your interest in the field of race relations. I know too how difficult it is to plant money where one can feel reasonably sure that the expansion will mean increased effectiveness. I feel sure that the Southern Regional Council can come as near measuring up to its ambitions, as represented by its proposed budget, as any agency anywhere.

I expect you know all of this, but I had to say it anyway. Perhaps you will be good enough to see that my concern is expressed in the appropriate place in the councils of the Foundation.

Incidentally, sometime when you are coming east, I hope you will let me know as I feel the need of a visit with you.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence E. Pickett

CC: George Mitchell

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Chester C. Davis,
Ford Foundation,
1440 Wentworth Ave.
Pasadena, 5, Calif.
June 25, 1951

Dear Mr. Davis:

The patterns of race relations in the South are undergoing revolutionary changes. As a life long student of this problem I would not have thought that change would ever come with the rapidity which characterizes the present situation.

This has been due (1) to the amazing development which has taken place among the Negroes themselves even in the so called backward "black belt" of the South. Education has done its work even there. (2) Recent Supreme Court Decisions have forced changes that have put the ballot in the hands of the masses of Negroes in all sections of the South, opened the graduate and professional departments of the universities to Negroes who can qualify. (3) The rapid expansion of Southern industry is creating man power problems that will profoundly change the employment patterns of Negroes. (4) All of this is being hastened by the international situation facing the Country.

The South is accepting these changes quietly and with a minimum of waste and emotion. I am encouraged and gratified that these changes could come so naturally and quietly.

This is due to the fact that over a long period of years there have been in the South a group of men who have recognized that changes were inevitable and have worked quietly from within to the end that the changes would come with a minimum of disruption and agitation.

The organization responsible for this is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. It is made up of Southerners of high standing and operates through a small but highly competent staff working with state and municipal governments, with the churches, schools and other agencies that can effect public opinion. This work has been done quietly and without agitation and is absolutely essential to the orderly development of this rapidly changing situation.

The Southern Regional Council is appealing to the Ford Foundation for financial help in carrying on this work. I do not believe that anywhere else will you have the opportunity to invest funds which will be so fruitful in effecting the solution of our number one national problem. If I can give you any further information I will be glad to do so.

with high regards,

(Will Alexander)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
1440 WENTWORTH AVENUE
PASADENA 5, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

July 3, 1951

Mr. Will W. Alexander
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for your letter of June 25. I appreciate having your comments on the very important subject of race relations and am particularly glad to have your endorsement of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Up to now we have had nothing but the finest of recommendation for this organization.

At the moment we are completely preoccupied with problems and programs bearing on world tensions which threaten peace, and are devoting all of our time to this very important subject. As soon as an opportunity permits us, we do hope to give attention to this subject of your letter; that, however, will not be until sometime this fall at least.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director

June 28, 1951

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Jonathan:

Upon my return to Pasadena from a trip abroad I found your letter of June 16th.

I am glad to know you hold the Southern Regional Council in such high regard. I will be glad to personally interest myself in the request of the Council for support from the Ford Foundation, although you should know that we are operating under a directive from our Trustees which restricts us from giving support to any activities that are purely local or regional in character. This directive was based on the assumption that local institutions should be supported locally, and regional institutions in the region which they operate. I might add on the positive side that we are giving our primary attention to projects which will contribute to the maintenance of peace and to projects which will help in meeting crises growing out of present world tensions.

With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Director

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

July 2, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Davis:

I have been told that the Southern Regional Council is asking a grant from the Ford Foundation.

For whatever my recommendation may be worth, I can earnestly and completely endorse the Council for its fine and courageous work in the field of inter-racial understanding in the South. It has been particularly valuable as a clearing house through which the white South has been able to see that part of the Negro South which so many do not know exists. As a newspaper publisher, I have also been impressed by the information program and have been able to use much of their material as a basis for editorial comment.

Sincerely,

HC:IB

Hodding Carter

Fund R

July 9, 1951

Mr. Hinton F. Longino
Retail Credit Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longino:

I wonder if it would be possible for you to return, at your early convenience, the copy of the master document on the Ford Foundation which Dr. Mitchell had me send you last April?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Elizabeth F. Rogers
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

7/11/51

TO: Mr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: EDGAR B. STERN

I thought you would like
to see Mr. Davis' reply to
my letter to him of June 21st,
copy of which I sent you.

10853

Ford. Found

c o p y

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN ST.,
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA.

c o p y

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

Mr. Edgar B.Stern
2110 American Bank Bldg.,
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your letter of June21 which you wrote in behalf of the Southern Regional Council. This will be very helpful. Up to now we have had nothing but very good reports on this organization.

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

July 25, 1951

Chester C. Davis, Esquire
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc. has submitted to the Ford Foundation a prospectus which seemed so complete to me that I at first regarded any comment on my experience with the Council as superfluous but my enthusiasm for that organization causes me to hope that you will bear with me while I tell something about the working of the Southern Regional Council in Tennessee. I am chairman of the Tennessee Division of the S.R.C.

My admiration for the Council really goes back about thirty years to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The S. R. C. grew out of that Commission and expanded the program to a truly southwide basis. During thirty years this has been the fountainhead of interracial cooperation in the South. Really, the S. R. C. seeks to raise the intellectual and economic level of low income masses in the South regardless of race. On that basis it has brought about a remarkable improvement in the Southern states.

You know already that the leaders in religion, education, business and general citizenship in the Southern states have held membership in the Southern Regional Council. I would like to tell you something of a few of the Tennesseans among that group.

We have as members Bishop Edmund P. Dandridge, head of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee, and Bishop Paul Kern of the Methodist Church. All of the leading institutions of learning are represented. I may cite, for instance, the Vanderbilt membership which includes the Chancellor of Vanderbilt, Dr. Harvie Branscomb, Dr. H. C. Nixon, Dr. Edwin Mims and others. Dr. William E. Cole, professor of Sociology of the University of Tennessee, is a director of the S.R.C. and one of the most active workers in this state. The Reverend George B. Myers of Sewanee is a long-time member.

We have in the Tennessee State Division a large Negro membership consisting of the leaders of that race, headed by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, long-time director and member of the Executive Committee of the S.R.C.

It is interesting to note, also, that Dr. Z. A. Looby of Nashville, recently elected as the first Negro city councilman of Nashville, is not only a member of the S.R.C. but has been a director and is still an active worker.

Rabbi Julius Mark, formerly of the Vine Street Temple in Nashville and who heads what I believe is the largest Jewish congregation in New York, was active in the state division before his departure. Rabbi Abraham Feinstein of the Ochs Memorial Temple in Chattanooga is a member of the state division's Executive Committee. These are merely typical of our Jewish representatives.

Although progress in Memphis has been slow, we are making headway there and we are proud to have Walter C. Chandler, former congressman and for years mayor of Memphis, as one of our members. Our Memphis membership also includes Ed Barry, leading Catholic layman. I think that any vote of Memphians would place these two as the outstanding and valuable leaders in that city.

The Tennessee Division has a varied membership for in the S.R.C. there are no problems of "management" and "labor". E. W. Palmer, head of the great Kingsport Press, one of the largest publishing houses in the world, is an active worker in the S.R.C. as is A. D. Huddleston, head of the great Aluminum Company of America at Alcoa, Tennessee, and on the other end, Paul Christopher of Knoxville, Tennessee, Southeastern executive of the CIO, carries a heavy load in the S.R.C. work.

The progress of the state divisions was hampered when the grants from the Rosenwald Foundation expired with the expiration of that Fund but I particularly want to emphasize that the S.R.C. has no "slants" or "sides". It seeks the truth and it expounds the truth. Several years ago when there was a serious racial disturbance at Columbia, Tennessee some of the inflammatory agencies in the East great exaggerated the racial angle. The S.R.C. sent its own research experts to Columbia and got the truth and won the respect of Negroes and whites alike.

On the other hand, the S. R. C. has never been timid and only the other day it answered Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi who had threatened to close the public schools of those states if segregation were abolished. As always, the S.R.C. in this case pleaded for calm reasoning instead of angry ultimatums.

We greatly hope that the Southern Regional Council will be able through aid of the Ford Foundation to resume its great work within the states. I think that all of the leaders in the South recognize that in our time racial differences will not be adjusted completely. I do not think that the S. R. C. aims at that but if its work is continued in education and research and in working with backward communities in the states we may, in the South, soon pass other sections of this country in true racial cooperation for the benefit of all classes.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

July 27, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you for your letter of July 25 and your high evaluation of the Southern Regional Council. We have had many good reports on the work of this organization.

At the present time, however, no consideration is going to be given to projects in the field of their interest pending a substantial move in the fields directly related to the relief of world tensions. I appreciate your taking the time to write me so fully and your letter will be useful at such time as we can consider the application of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

STANLEY NEWHALL, PRESIDENT
CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. FREDRICK T. FLYNN, SECRETARY
CHARLES E. STOLL, TREASURER
C. L. THOMAS, MEMBER

J. MANSIR TYDINGS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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W. H. PERRY, JR.
MISS JULIET POYNTER
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHARLES E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

September 7, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Perhaps you have already received a reply from the Ford Foundation, but I thought you might want to thank Mark Ethridge for his efforts.

I am sorry that the report is not favorable. You may need to develop a plan for sharing our experiences with South Africa.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director

August 28, 1951

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal
The Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

We are glad to have your endorsement of the request for a grant made by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. If the Foundation should decide to interest itself in the field of racial relations, a request from the Southern Regional Council would have serious consideration. However, we reached the conclusion some months ago that funds available to the Foundation should be used in support of projects which will contribute to maintaining the peace and to relieving present world tensions.

Sincerely yours,

Paul G. Hoffman

Director

(6)

August 23, 1951

Mr. Paul Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I understand that you have received a request for a grant from the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The request was made to the foundation late in May of this year. I would have written sooner concerning it except that I have just returned from an extended trip to the Middle East.

I do not know if this request comes under any of the provisions of the Ford Foundation but I do believe that the foundation's board will find it worthy of interest and consideration.

I have followed the work of the council and of its predecessor, The Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Rosenwald Fund board, of which I was a member along with Mr. Hutchins, made annual grants to the committee for what we considered extra good work.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

I hope this does some good -
Mark Ethridge

(7)

dismear command. Outside the smear goes on.

conceal as to reveal!
WALTER LOCKE.

a stack of forms to be given the brush-off. In-

Hoffman and the Ford Foundation: Man and Job Have Come Together

By MARQUIS CHILDS

Pasadena, Calif.

IN THE LAST 75 years American philanthropists have given away billions of dollars for libraries, hospitals, colleges, laboratories in every part of the world. But the Ford Foundtion tops them all, both in scale and in concept.

Here is an acumulation of a half-billion or more that will produce 30 to 40 million dollars a year and the idea is to spend this income as intelligently as possible so that it will promote peace and freedom in a world torn by war and threatened by totalitarianism. Some of the best brains in the country have been enrolled to make sure that this vast philanthropy contributes to these ends and not, as sometimes has happened in the past, to solve one problem only to create two others.

Still another reason the Ford Foundation is unique is its director. A prescription covering what we usually think of as the highest qualities in American life would add up to someone very like Paul Hoffman.

He is a doer. He has been an important part of the motorcar industry, which is the most dynamic sector of America's competitive system. He took a critical and pioneering government assignment as head of the Economic Co-operation Administration and did a superb job.

EARNEST CONVICTION

Now he has tackled the task of making over the world with the same cheerful yet earnest conviction that has characterized him throughout his career. There is nothing in the least arrogant or presumptuous in this. He believes that mankind through faith and reason and the techniques of modern science can avert the disaster seeming to hover darkly in the air, and move eventually into an era of peace and goodwill.

You cannot talk with Hoffman long without catching something of this hope and enthusiasm. Recently completing a trip around the world, he talks about some of the projects being worked up for the foundation with full realization of the dire plight of a large part of the human race.

For India the plan is to start a series of demonstration farm plots in various parts of the country showing how by improving methods of cultivation only slightly and by comparatively simple means the yield per acre can be doubled. The yield today is absymally low. Indians are to be trained to carry out this demonstration on an ever-widening scale. One or two earlier experiments have shown that the demonstration method takes hold quickly with the Indian peasant.

In Pakistan the Foundation plans to start a technical high school for young men and a domestic science school for girls. The great need in that new country—the fifth largest in terms of population in the world—is for trained experts to teach thousands of teachers who will in turn help to educate the masses in the rudiments of modern living.

For the Near East, too, one aim is to co-ordinate the various efforts now being made by a host of experts to raise the level of agriculture. In the first instance, at least, this will be by means of the simplest steps.

DISTINGUISHED PHILOSOPHER

On quite another line the Foundation is hoping to establish a chair of philosophy at the American University in Beirut to be filled at least part of the time by Charles Malik, ambassador of Lebanon to the United States. Malik is a distinguished philosopher and it is believed that his lectures will become a focus of understanding between the Arab world and the West. This would be the beginning of a much-needed bridge between the two so-different societies.

These are only a few of the ideas Hoffman throws out as he talks of the role of the Foundation. Of the many programs taking shape in this country, one is a series of radio programs called "The People Act."

Hoffman has sworn that he will never take another government job in Washington and when one sees him here on El Mirador Ranch started by his father in 1911, one can understand why. In the big rambling ranch house with the terrace and the rose garden that looks across a tree-filled arroyo, he and his wife welcome a constant succession of guests from every corner of the globe to say nothing of the goings and comings of the seven Hoffman children and their families. It is with this satisfying life as a base and a center that Hoffman works so perserveringly and so hopefully to spread understanding and reason. The visitor comes away feeling that the very existence of the man and what he stands for is in itself a portent of hope. It is one of those all-too-rare instances in which the man and the job have come together.—(c1951).

Steady Exodus

Milwaukee Journal

ONE SORT OF SETBACK the Russians are suffering in the struggle for Europe is revealed in new population figures for Austria. A marked drift of population from Vienna and the Soviet zone to the Western zone is shown.

The jointly ruled city of Vienna has lost 15.6 per cent of its population, compared with 1934, and the Eastern zone provinces of Lower Austria and Burgenland show substantial losses. Western provinces, however, show gains: Salzburg, Nearly 32 per cent, and Vorarlberg, nearly 25 per cent, for example. Upper Austria and the Tyrol together have gained about 22 per cent. The Western zone gains slightly more than offset the Eastern losses, to give an increase of 2.5 per cent for the country as a whole.

If exodus from behind the iron curtain were freely permitted, it seems likely that Soviet satellite manpower would suffer a decline disastrous to the Kremlin's hopes of world domination.

BISHOP'S HOUSE
222 EAST HARRIS STREET
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

October 24, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This morning, while going through some newspapers that have been in my office for some time, I came upon your esteemed letter of May 31st. I was absent from Savannah at that time of the year and upon my return your letter, somehow, escaped my attention. I apologize for being so late in acknowledging its receipt.

In any event, let me assure you that several months ago, at the request of Mr. Paul D. Williams, your President, I addressed a personal letter to Mr. Henry Ford, II, asking that a substantial grant of money be made to the Southern Regional Council in order that it might be able to carry out its most praiseworthy program.

I believe that it was Mr. Paul G. Hoffman who said in his reply that my request would be given every consideration.

With all good wishes, I remain, my dear Mr. Mitchell,

Very sincerely yours,

+Gerald P. O'Hara,
Archbishop,
Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
NOV 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 8, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very sorry that no acknowledgment was made to you when we received the eight volumes which you expressed to us in May. They are here and have been brought to the attention of those officers who will be directly concerned with the request from the Southern Regional Council. I hope you will excuse our oversight in acknowledging them.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

WHN:elm

Fd. Fdtn. file
GM

November 9, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mrs. Blizzard,

You remember one day last summer I spoke to you about the possibility of Mr. Coker's writing a note to Mr. Paul Hoffman, or to some member of the Ford Foundation, in support of the Southern Regional Council's request for a substantial fund with which to push our work in the South. Mr. Coker was at that time in Europe, but you felt sure that he would be glad to write such a note.

The Council's request to the Ford Foundation is still under consideration, though it should be decided upon soon. Since the Council's Atlanta Office, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, did not receive a copy of Mr. Coker's letter, I am wondering if something went wrong. The letter could have been written but no copy sent; or, as I can well understand, the whole matter might have been overlooked because of Mr. Coker's long absence from the office. Will you please check this up for me?

If the letter has not been written, and if Mr. Coker is willing to write now, I am sure his word would be most helpful to the Council, and I should appreciate it personally.

I am under the impression that a copy of the Council's formal request to the Ford Foundation was left with you. If I am mistaken in this, and if Mr. Coker would like to see a copy, I will have one sent immediately.

With kindest regards to you and Mr. Blizzard, I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

Mrs. A. W. Blizzard
Sinoco Products Co.
Hartsville, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Mitchell - For your information. This is a copy of a letter to J. C. Coker's secretary. Since the copy of the request hasn't yet come, I'm writing without sending it on.

J. M. Dabbs.

November 9, 1951

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5
California

My dear Dr. Hutchins:

I have written President Hoffman a supplementary note with reference to the proposed grant for the Southern Regional Council. I should be glad to discuss this personally with you some time when you are in the South or East if it should seem worth while. In some ways our efforts are futile until we make them more dynamic and forthright in the framework of a regional leadership and realistic basis. Now, in this transitional period, is the time we need to do more, not less.

At present we are decidedly on the "less" side.

I hope you are, as usual, moving with dynamic and satisfying steps.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh
enclosures

November 9, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, President
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Mr. Hoffman:

I am writing this additional note on behalf of the request of the Southern Regional Council which came to you in the early summer of this year.

It is a common place thing to say that we understand very well that there is no single immediate solution of our problem here, but that there are many approaches and solutions, all of which may well contribute progressively to the easing of tensions, the resolving of differences, and the regional and interregional adjustments which we all know will come in time.

It is sometimes said by leaders both Negro and white that much of the most effective procedures should come from the South and are likely to do so if we can maintain and strengthen a bridgehead in the South and if we can continuously recruit a large body of leadership. To do this and to initiate and promote a sound strategy and a wise agenda for integration, in my judgment, would constitute an unusual return for a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation. We all hope that you can give this request a very special consideration.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:ch
enclosures

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

NOV 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 12, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Doctor Mitchell:

In President Clement's absence, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 8.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of the letter which President Clement sent to Dr. Robert M. Hutchins of the Ford Foundation on June 5, 1951. I am also sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Paul Williams as you requested.

Yours very truly,

M. N. Turner
Secretary

Enclosure

COPY

Office of the President
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June 5, 1951

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Doctor Hutchins:

I understand that the Southern Regional Council has requested from your Foundation a sum of a little more than $1,300,000 for the support of a five-year State Action Program. I should like to voice my very strong approval of the Program and of the Council.

The program as I understand it is designed to improve human relations in an reas of our nation where we suffer most because of the poor rapport between the two major population groups.

The Council itself has a long history of straight thinking, courageous action in the area of human relations. It has been the major single organization which has worked effectively in the achievement of progress in this area. It is an interracial organization with wise leadership and sound administration. I most certainly hope that the Council's request will employ your favorable consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

COPY:

The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena 1, California

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1951
Southern Regional Office

November 14, 1951

Mr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research
in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Odum:

Thank you for your letter of November 9, enclosing your very clear and forceful statement and your letter to Mr. Hoffman.

You may be sure that we have the problems you refer to very much in mind. Unfortunately I do not plan to go East for some months. If you are ever out this way, please drop in to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins
Associate Director

RMH:ws

Hope we get results
I am planning to attend
DC 11-17

Ford

SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

A COUNCIL TO ATTAIN THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

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PAUL WEBBER
ORANGEBURG

November 17, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

I am sorry to have to transmit to you the enclosed letter from Mr. James Coker's secretary. Even without Mr. Coker's recommendation, I do hope that the appeal to the Ford Foundation will go through.

I doubt if I should approve of Mrs. Blizzard's old-fashioned Americanism; but since she has always been very friendly to me and my family--her husband was a colleague of mine at Coker--I imagine she put the matter before Mr. Coker in about as good a light as possible.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

SONOCO PRODUCTS COMPANY
HARTSVILLE, S. C.
Manufacturers of
PAPER CONES, TUBES, SPOOLS
PAPER SPECIALTIES

MAIN OFFICE
HARTSVILLE, S. C.

November 15,1951

Mr.James McB. Dabbs
Mayesville, S.C.

Dear Mr.Dabbs:

Mr.Coker returned from Europe soon after your visit last summer and I referred the Southern Regional Council's request to him. At that time he was very busy and placed the matter aside to consider it later.

When your letter of November 9th arrived I placed it with the original request and asked him for his decision. He thought about it for some time and then asked me to write you that he thought it unwise for him to ask this help of Mr.Hoffman at this particular time.

It seems that other committees with which he is associated are likewise appealing to the Foundation for funds at this time!

Perhaps some day we will have a realignment of political parties which will completely obliterate the necessity for such an appeal. Unless we all forget our petty prejudices and unite wholeheartedly for a change in our party platforms such that will restore the old fashioned Americanism, our future looks dire. We may not be able to achieve results in our lifetime but certainly we should all work for the future of our children and grandchildren.

Do stop by to see us when you are next in Hartsville.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs aw) Ethel L Blizzard
Secretary to Mr.J.L.Coker

RECEIVED
DEC 4 1951
Southern Regional Coun

November 27, 1951

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

The purpose of this letter is to call to your attention the importance and urgency of a request now before the Foundation. The support is requested for the Southern Regional Council.

The request outlines a workable and statesmanlike plan for offering leadership and skill to the onrushing forces of social change in the South today. Under present circumstances both resistance and change find vocal leadership and produce in plenty the noise and passions of conflict. What is needed is knowledge, example, and strong organization among the conscientious and moderate citizens of the South, willing full status for the whole people, and working for it through normal and local channels.

The Southern Regional Council is our best in leadership and conviction. It has built confidence and intimate personal knowledge reaching back thirty years. It last had important help from outside the region in 1949. While the Council has shown that it can survive--on a ludicrously inadequate basis--without outside help, it is clear that substantial sums not to be had in the South must be forthcoming. There is a further urgency as the Council's decisions for the coming year must be taken early in December.

The compelling pressure for change now demands informed and widely active leadership. This plan provides that. I urge that the Foundation take advantage of the eagerness of this movement to apply its forces in a really productive way, and match that eagerness and experience with funds adequate to its task.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

JAG:my

cc. P. W.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 7, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the copies of the statement of policy and aims drafted by the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting. I know that the officers of the Foundation will be pleased to have this succinct and thoughtful statement.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

WHN:elm

ing to night duty for an equal period.

Chatt. Times 1/8/52

FOUNDATION OFFER TO BE CONSIDERED

Public Meeting Tonight Will Decide on Action Called for by Ford Proposal

Chattanoogans will meet at 7:30 tonight at the public library to decide whether to accept or reject the Ford Foundation's offer of financial aid in co-ordinating adult education efforts here.

Every organization, small or large, which has an adult education program is requested to send representatives to the meeting, and every individual who is interested in any phase of adult education is urged to attend.

The planning committee, appointed at a November meeting when the plan was introduced, has recommended that the Ford offer be accepted, that the Chattanooga Public Library accept the responsibility as sponsor, and that an adult education council be established. If recommendations are adopted, much progress toward organization can be made at the meeting, for subcommittees have drafted a proposed constitution and a slate of officers for the council has been prepared, changes in both constitution and slate to be welcomed from the floor.

Membership in the council, if it is formed at this time, will not entail payment of dues, nor will such assessments be made in the future unless members so decide by majority vote. Miss Elizabeth Edwards, librarian, has served as chairman of the planning committee which includes representatives of 16 important local agencies—schools, clubs, Chamber of Commerce, YMCA and YWCA, and both white and Negro communities of this city.

This being strictly a pioneer experiment in co-ordinating adult education efforts, scope and work, the council would be defined by those who become council members. The Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education has offered

See Page Thirteen, Column Four

FOUNDATION OFFER TO BE CONSIDERED

From Page Three

$12,000 the first year, $8,000 the second, and $4,000 the third year to make possible a full-time paid co-ordinator and secretary. The sponsoring agency would furnish office space and equipment., plus $4,000 the second year and $8,000 the third year. Ford Foundation's "return" for aid would be only to observe the experiment, and, if it is successful, to incorporate chosen features in its proposed "model adult education plan" for use in many cities. Twelve cities of the nation have been offered the Ford aid, Chattanooga being the only one in this region.

National Catholic Welfare Conference

MOST REV. FRANCIS P. KEOUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD
RIGHT REV. MSGR. HOWARD J. CARROLL, GENERAL SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

MOST REV. MATTHEW F. BRADY
BISHOP OF MANCHESTER
CHAIRMAN

RIGHT REV. MSGR. FREDERICK G. HOCHWALT
DIRECTOR

REV. WILLIAM E. MCMANUS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

JAMES E. CUMMINGS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

January 8, 1952

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The attached carbon comes from Father Vince Flynn to demonstrate that he has made the approach to Mr. Hutchins as suggested in my recent letter to him. Although not a long letter it is quite persuasive and has the Flynn touch which usually produces very outstanding results.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

F. G. Hochwalt

Director
Department of Education

Enc.

January 2, 1952

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

Mr. Paul Williams of the Southern Regional Council has asked me to write you in support of a request for funds from the Foundation for the work of the Council. This I am very glad to do.

Frankly, I have not the technical competence to assess the merits of the council's plan. However, that is not the important thing; your experts can do that. The important thing in my mind is that the Regional Council has been doing an excellent job, and of course a much needed job in recent years. I have every confidence that the Foundation will consider seriously the best means to help its work.

Sincerely yours,

(Very Rev.) Vincent J. Flynn

Mr. Robert E. Hutchins
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasedena 5, California

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 14, 1952

Mr. M. A. Wright
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Mr. Hoffman has asked me to acknowledge your letter of February 11, in which you tell us that you have been elected President of the Southern Regional Council. We appreciate very much your notifying us of your election and will hereafter direct to you our correspondence regarding the project submitted by the Southern Regional Council.

I hope that you will enjoy your work with the Council, for it is certainly most worth-while.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

WHN:elm

Ford

February 26, 1952

Mr. Arthur W. Mitchell
Box 670
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are very grateful for your letter of February 18 with the news of your conversation with T. V. Smith. I am sure that the fact that you raised the matter with Smith will do a lot of good in itself, and his undertaking to talk to Hutchins might really be the thing that would shake it loose.

We will be grateful also for whatever you can do with Senator Douglas.

I have heard indirectly that the Ford Foundation is now actively screening its requests in the field of race relations, so along about now is a pretty good time to get them to remember us.

I am indeed sorry of the personal news. You have certainly both been kindness itself to me.

Marion Wright is going to be a good president, but he will need all the help you can give him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. We are having great success with the RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT pamphlet. Most of our State Divisions have bought good supplies and are sending it out to police people and sheriffs. We have sold it in big batches also to the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, our Jewish friends, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, the AME Church, and so on. We are already into a second printing, after a first one of 8,000. I am mailing you ten copies, in the hope that you can find ways to interest other people in making use of it. The best deal is for local committees to visit the chief or the sheriff and talk about what's in the pamphlet.

GSM:ec

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL
1ST DIST. ILLINOIS
~~CHICAGO ADDRESS:~~
~~417 EAST 47TH STREET~~

COMMITTEE:
POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

~~Washington, D. C.~~

BOX 676
PETERSBURG, VA.

Feb. 18, 1952.

Dr George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.,

Dear Dr. Mitchell;-

Thanks for your letter Jan. 23rd telling me of your finding of our request now before The Ford Foundation. I do hope that very soon we will be able to get favorable action on the matter.

Dr. T. V. Smith came to see me with reference to the matter early this week. We discussed the matter at length. He does not think it would do any real good for him to speak to Hutchins, as he is exceeding difficult to reach and to deal with. He does think that a word for him to Hoffman would help. He is sending that word direct to Hoffman this week. I am going to Washington in a few days and while there I shall try to reach others who might be able to help in the effort to get action from the Foundation. I hope to talk to Senator Douglas about the matter. He is in better position to speak to Hutchins than most any other man. I shall atleast make the effort and see what can be done from that angle.

I have been a little dilatory in writing you for two reasons, I was waiting to see Dr. Smith, and to Mrs. Mitchell and I are not getting along together very well and I have been compelled to go into court and ask for a divorce. The trouble has been brewing for a long time but lately it has become unbearable. I have been carrying a burden in that connection few men would or could carry. Now that I have carried the matter to court I hope it will be cleared up very soon. Then I can render some real service to our cause.

With very best wishes I am,

Very sincerely,

Arthur W. Mitchell

Arthur W. Mitchell.

C
O
P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

February 29, 1952

Mr. T. V. Smith
Syracuse University
Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship
and Public Affairs
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 22 to Mr. Hoffman, in which you recommend favorable consideration of the proposal from the Southern Regional Conference.

We have been very well impressed with the work of this organization and will consider their proposal very seriously as our program for work in this area develops. We appreciate having your letter of recommendation, and will incorporate it with their file.

Yours sincerely,

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

WHN:elm

Florida Southern College
Lakeland, Florida
March 9, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This sounds so friendly that I hope you have already been the beneficiary of your hopes and plans.

It was a delightful hour with you, and I hope to renew the association when you become my guest in Syracuse after my return home about June 1

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

t. v. smith.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR · *Washington 25, D. C.*

June 11, 1952

Mr. William H. Mims
Ford Foundation
914 Green Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Sir:

I have followed closely the yeoman work and increasing influence of the Southern Regional Council whose substantial contribution to better intergroup relations and adjustment during the last decade has been helpful generally in enlarging the opportunity and fair treatment of minorities in southern community life. As Assistant to the Administrator of the Federal Government's over-all Housing and Home Finance Agency, the influence of the Council has been helpful to the Racial Relations staff and the Agency in discharging our responsibility of advising and assisting the Agency and its constituents to assure equitable participation of racial minorities.

The Southern Regional Council is composed of men and women of accepted integrity and goodwill among both whites and nonwhites, and represents the one highly respected civic organization indigenous to the South which has for more than a decade been increasingly influential and effective in advancing intergroup adjustment. Indeed, its progress to date and the job still ahead are such as to merit solid and substantial financial support of this Council in order to extend its program effectively to meet the challenge.

I am happy, therefore, to write to you in behalf of the Southern Regional Council's application for financial assistance and sincerely hope that the Ford Foundation will see its way clear to consider this application favorably.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Horne
Assistant to the
Administrator

ff (safe)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

RECEIVED
APR 15
Southern Regional Council

April 9, 1953

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

Please forgive my delay in replying to your informative letter of March 25. As my secretary advised you, I was in the east for several weeks and since my return have been preoccupied with some pressing questions.

The entire file, including your letter, is being forwarded to the Fund for the Republic. In my judgment your work is extremely important, especially right now, and I hope it will be so regarded by the Fund for the Republic when it is organized for action. Some time during the summer I hope to be in Atlanta and to give myself the pleasure of meeting you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis

Associate Director

C
O
P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION

655 Madison Avenue,
New York 21, N. Y.

July 16, 1953

Mr. M. A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I had just written a memo to the President of the Foundation, Mr. Gaither, calling your letter of July 11 to his attention for consultation with the Fund for Advancement of Education, when your telegram was relayed to me from Pasadena. I am relieved that no fundamental conflict exists between your important work and that which the Fund contemplates financing. I am not familiar with what they are planning to do.

Thank you also for your personal note with respect to my resignation as Associate Director. This certainly does not mean any lack of interest in the problems with which you are dealing, and if during my remaining period of connection with the Foundation I have any chance to hit some licks for you, I will do so.

Sincerely yours,

S/ Chester C. Davis

Chester C. Davis

To Mr. Chas. Cole.

September 29, '53

Dear Charlie,

Greetings across the years.'

You are part of the Fund for the Republic, and my Council's 1951 application to the Ford Foundation now rests, I hope actively, before the F. for R. I get some hints that an hour of decision approaches remotely.

There's the long rigamarole in our original application, which still stands, and is exactly our request. I write to add a short argument, as buttress.

'Way back at the end of World War I a man named Will Alexander did a job on stopping the race riots in Oklahoma. Out of that, and some other experience, he hit on local interracial committees as an important Southern stpp. He spent the years from 1919 to about 1936 actively organizing such committees all over the South. They were hooked together in State Committees, and they in turn were federated into the(Southwide) Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Did a lot of good. Straightened out many local causes of injustice, helped mightily to reduce lynching, fathered the Myrdal study, etc., etc. In 1943-44 what survived of the interracial committees was hooked together with the Sociologists and with the wartime restlessness of the Negro Community into the Southern Regional Council. I struggled along, helped for years by the Rosenwald Fund, and with the end of that source, has kept going somehow ever since. Never mind what we've been doing; that's in the record, and is passable.

When World War II got going a great volume of mail, long growing, began to get just too big for its White House recipient to handle. White House called on Dr. Will for help. Dr. Will and others got the Rosenwald Fund, and others, to set up something called the American Council on Race Relations. The mails went to them. They took on the job of fostering North and West local and Statewide race relations services, much on the pattern of what had been started in the South many years before. In a short while these agencies got picked up by public treasuries, some as Mayor's Committees on Human Relations, some as State Commissions (Connecticut's a good example), and some as private shows. Within a few years almost every large city "above the line" that had a substantial Negro population had some such official or semi-official body. Dr. Will was in those years still titular head of the

Southern movement, and did not push the American Council on Race Relations into the South. Pretty soon it was possible to pull out the money from the American Council, and let the new public shows run along on their own, quite successfully and helpfully. Their officials have established for themselves a professional body called the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (save the mark) which limps, but does some good. But as to the South, it can do no more than accept as members any appropriate Southern people - a handful.

All of which is to say that out of the War and Post-War experience a skill developed in the South was exported to the North and the West, and took root, and runs itself. The while our Southerns remain with my tiny Council, and slits of work done by the Churches, and nothing else in the way of a race relations service for the whole shebang, from Virginia to Texas.

We've still got the skill, and I hope have improved on what we had. What we haven't got is money. This office here tries to serve the whole Region, which is absurd. I do have small outfits of my members state by state, with letter-head officers and treasuries containing sixty or maybe even two hundred dollars, and no paid officials, and not much done by purely volunteer people. Though on the 'phone I can galvanize them into action for something short-run. And we can't as yet and shouldn't as yet, get the needed service carried at State or City expense. Anything so organized now in 99% of the South would have to play go-slow, hold things back, quieten "restlessness", and generally with a dishonest and unacceptable-to-the-Negroes program, court political favor in a system of narrow franchise. No go. Andif you turn to business money, much the same result. Business men would shower out money to dam back the tide, but not to cut holes in the dikes. So, a vitally needed service limps in the very place of origin of nine-tenths of the trouble.

What I've asked the Fund for the Republic to do is to cut the circle, and put in enough money to enable the founding and the running for five years of an honest race relations service in each Southern State. It takes paid perseonnel, and both white and Negro personnel((the penalty of a divided economy), and it adds to to the million and a half I've asked for the whole five years. I don't want research (though I've asked for enough money to let us have three or four guys who in contact with an active field program could discover the research needs and pass them on to Colleges). I want action, in schools, courts, jails, housing, health, land tenure, transportation, and all the other areas of inequality and discrimination hereabouts. We are reasonable, and sober, and not hell-raisers, and we work through people who can get things done. But we have certainly been ill-found.

If such a service is operated in each State for five years I am confident that with the pace of things these days they would be picked up publicly in several of our States at the end of the five years, and privately in the rest, and they could be trusted to run in the grooves of honesty we would have cut.

Ponder.

Best, Charlie,

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-31[illegible]

RECEIVED
NOV 1
Southern Regional Council

October 30, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your informative letter of October 23 and the enclosures thereto. I am glad to be kept up to date on the progress which the Southern Regional Council is making, and also particularly pleased to note that you are having some success in obtaining financial support from sources other than the Ford Foundation.

We are, of course, keeping in close touch with the study being made by the Fund for Advancement of Education, and have already had several talks with them on the question of the implementation of their final report. I am happy to know that you are also in touch with them, and are planning to take full advantage of the work which they are undertaking.

When our program planning has developed further, we will, of course, be in touch with you again. Meanwhile, my best wishes for the continuing success of your organization.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

P.S. For your files, please note that our address is now 1 East 54th Street, and that we are an independently organized fund, and not part of the Ford Foundation.

Budget attached

March 15, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman;

You will recall our conference on March 11. The Southern Regional Council has reworked the budget proposal of March 3, and now proposes the appended figures.

This is based on regarding the first period of operation as stretching over eighteen months. We are agreed that getting twelve State organizations going will involve in some of the States delays of several months, and we can take into consideration a high proportion of lapses.

Internal budget figures for personal services, travel, etc., per State organization and per associate secretaryship and for the central office are substantially as submitted March 3.

Fund for the Republic assistance for the State organizations is calculated as extending, in maximum, for three and a half years; and assistance to the central office for three years.

We think this makes a feasible and resultful program, and that it has good promise of being picked up throughout most of the South as an on-going and independent group of private or public agencies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Budget under final proposal to Fund for the Republic - March 11, 1954

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

To raise themselves		From Fund for Republic	* Actual grant
1st 18 mos.	$ 21,600.00	$ 158,762.50	$ 158,800.00
2nd year	42,000.00	125,433.00	126,000.00
3rd year	72,000.00	97,533.00	97,600.00
Totals	135,600.00	381,728.50	382,400.00

CENTRAL OFFICE

To raise		From Fund for Republic	* Actual grant
1st. 18 mos.	$40,000.00	$ 74,646.25	$ 74,700.00
2nd year	55,000.00	22,847.50	24,000.00
3rd year (6 mos.)	27,200.00	12,325.00	12,400.00
Rem. 6 mos.	39,525.00		
Totals	161,725.00	109,818.75	111,100.00
Williamsburg Conference		6,500.00	6,500.00
Grand totals	$ 297,325.00	$ 498,047.25	$ 500,000.00

Payments of Grant to be as follows

April 1-1954 - Sept. 30, 1955 - $240,000.00

October 1, 1955 - Sept. 30, 1956 $150,000.00

October 1, 1956 - Sept. 30, 1957 $110,000.00

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
Mostly fair today and tomorrow; chance of showers late today.
Temperature Range Today-Max., 85; Min., 65
Temperatures Yesterday—Max., 84; Min., 69
U. S. Weather Bureau Report, Sect. 5, Page 10

NEWS SUMMARY AND INDEX, PAGE 71
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SECTION ONE

VOL. CIII ... No. 35,246. Entered as Second-Class Matter. Post Office, New York, N. Y. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JULY 25, 1954. Including Magazine and Book Review. TWENTY CENTS New York City 50 Mile Zone / Elsewhere Twenty-five Cents

SENATE FILIBUSTER HALTED BY RECESS UNTIL TOMORROW

Bipartisan Attempt Is Made to Put a Time Limit on Debate on Atomic Bill

END OF TIE-UP FORESEEN

Leader of Liberal Faction Says Odds Are 'Hopeless' in Fight Against Measure

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sunday, July 25—The Senate ended one of its longest sessions at 11:48 o'clock last night.

Conservative Senate Democrats had joined with Republicans in a bipartisan effort to crush the eleven-day-old filibuster on the atomic energy bill that has jeopardized the legislative program.

The recess was moved by Senator William F. Knowland, the Majority Leader, who was determined to beat down the filibuster when the Senate resumes tomorrow at 10 A. M.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon gaveled the recess after cutting short several efforts to prolong the session to the expected midnight conclusion.

With the recess, the Senate had been in almost continuous session for eighty-five hours and forty-eight minutes. But for a twenty-five-minute recess Friday night, the Senate would have surpassed the single session record of fifty-four hours and ten minutes set in 1950.

Within minutes after the conclusion of the session marked by the bitter fight over the Administration's atomic bill, Senators were on their way home, some of them for the first time since the round-the-clock session began Wednesday at 10 A. M.

End of Tie-up Foreseen

Weary and red-eyed from lack

Associated Press Wirephoto

AFTER THE HOUSE RECESSED: Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., Speaker of the House, as he left the chamber with Richard E. Jefford, carrying the mace as deputy sergeant-at-arms, when the House adjourned discussions of Administration's atomic energy bill at 3:13 A. M. yesterday.

WILD MILK TANKER CRASHES, 3 KILLED

Truck Speeds Downhill Out of Control at Liberty—10 Hurt, 13 Vehicles Smashed

Special to The New York Times.

LIBERTY, N. Y., July 21 — A fifteen-ton milk tank trailer-truck hurtled down a hill here out of control this afternoon, rammed a smaller truck from behind, and caused a spectacular multiple crash in which three persons died and ten were injured.

Altogether, thirteen vehicles

FORD FUND SCORES INQUIRY CHARGES

Upholds Work of Foundations Against 'Sheerest Nonsense' Heard by House Group

By LUTHER A. HUSTON
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24—The Ford Foundation charged today that it had been publicly maligned by witnesses at Congressional hearings.

It asked the committee before which the witnesses had appeared

HOUSE UNIT PARES 13% OF FOREIGN AID EISENHOWER ASKED

5 Billion Voted as Bill Goes to Floor—U. N. Loses All Technical Help Funds

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24 — A 13 per cent slash in funds requested by President Eisenhower for the Mutual Security program was recommended to the House of Representatives today by its Appropriations Committee.

In a bill reported for consideration next week, the committee allowed $5,208,419,979 to carry forward foreign aid activities in the 1955 fiscal year, which started July 1. This was $812,213,554 less than the President had proposed.

The total included $2,895,944,000 in cash and $2,312,475,979 in authority to disburse unexpended funds previously appropriated.

Outlays for the technical cooperation program were reduced $30,028,000 below the requested $131,528,000. The committee disallowed the entire $17,958,000 asked for technical assistance activities of the United Nations.

With Congress striving for early adjournment, the committee took the extraordinary step of reporting the appropriation bill before enactment of the basic authorization measure, which now is awaiting Senate consideration.

Ceiling on New Funds

The authorization measure, passed by the House and approved by the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, put a ceiling on new funds to be appropriated without limiting the use of about $2,600,000,000 in unobligated appropriations carried over from last year.

The House voted an authorization of $3,338,000,000, compared with the $2,895,944,000 of new appropriations approved today by its Appropriations Committee. A reduction in the authorization to $3,100,000,000 was approved by

NATO STUDY FINDS NEXT WAR ATOMIC, ALL-OUT AT START

Holds First Targets Will Be Enemy's Forces, Not the Big Population Centers

By BENJAMIN WELLES
Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, July 24—A report on the most comprehensive study of atomic warfare yet made in the Western World has been given to the British Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The study is the result of at least nine months' exhaustive examination and planning by experts under the direction of Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander of the Atlantic treaty forces in Europe.

These experts have been principally American, according to information available here, because of the paramount position of the United States in developing nuclear weapons for the defense of the Atlantic allies and the rest of the free world. However, senior British and other Allied officers have been connected with the study from its start last autumn.

In the last month President Eisenhower, the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's tri-power Standing Group, or high military directorate, in Washington, have been fully informed about the conclusions reached.

'Cosmic Top Secret'

The details are classified "cosmic top secret," the highest security category, but it is said on high authority that two main deductions have been drawn:

1. That warfare in future will inevitably be "atomic." In other words, the belief of certain of the Atlantic powers that war can remain "conventional" because no antagonist will wish to be the first to use nuclear weapons is ruled out.
2. That the peak of destruction in any future war will come at

Plane Loss Laid to Peiping; U.S. Carriers Rush to Scene

Dulles Says Reds 'Deliberately' Downed British Craft in Which 3 Americans Died—London Agrees, Orders Protest

By WALTER H. WAGGONER
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24—The United States ordered two aircraft carriers today to the area off Hainan Island where a British airliner was shot down yesterday by Chinese Communist aircraft.

The two ships, the Hornet and

Text of the Dulles statement is published on Page 3.

the Philippine Sea, and their fighter planes were directed to "cover and protect" further rescue and search operations being made by other United States ships and aircraft already in the vicinity where eight of the seventeen passengers have been rescued.

Among those who perished were three Americans, Leonard Lee Parish of Iowa Park, Tex., and his two sons, Laurence, 4 years of age, and Phillip, 2.

The American survivors were Mrs. Leonard L. Parish and a daughter, Valerie, 6, and Peter S. Thacher of Stonington, Conn. All are in Hong Kong, receiving "the best medical treatment available," the State Department said.

In a statement announcing the dispatch of the aircraft carriers, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles accused the Chinese Communists of having "deliberately" shot down Britain's Cathay Pacific airliner, and he declared:

"The United States Government takes the gravest view of this act of further barbarity for which the Chinese Communist regime must be held responsible."

The Secretary reported that Britain had informed the United States that she had instructed her diplomatic representative at

Continued on Page 3, Column 1

Some in Vietminh, Angered, Say Red Allies Forced Pact

By TILLMAN DURDIN
Special to The New York Times.

GENEVA, July 24—Evidence has accumulated here that Vietminh leaders are not entirely happy about the peace settlement for Vietnam. A number of members of the Vietminh delegation have declared openly that pressure from Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov forced their regime to accept less than it rightfully should have obtained here.

In private discussions, officials of the Communist-led Vietminh have complained about the armistice terms, which, when fully implemented, will leave them the part of Vietnam north of a line near the Seventeenth Parallel. They have declared that recent

RHEE TO PRESS U. S. TO AID DRIVE NORTH

South Korean Chief to Reach Washington Tomorrow—To Discuss Asian Pact

By GREG MacGREGOR

SOVIET ASKS WEST TO JOIN IN PARLEY ON EUROPEAN PACT

Notes to U.S., Britain, France Urge Wide Security Talks With Red China Present

REJECTION IS PREDICTED

Washington Calls Plan Blow at NATO-E. D. C. Line-Up—London and Paris Wary

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, July 24—The Soviet Union delivered notes tonight to the United States, Britain and France proposing a new conference on European security problems.

All interested European states and the United States should participate, the notes said. The conference would be held within a few months. Communist China would be an observer at the proposed meeting.

The Soviet proposal had been clearly foreshadowed in an editorial in Pravda, official Communist party newspaper, and statements by Tass, the Soviet news agency, following the Geneva agreement on Indochina. It was accompanied by an attack of particular severity on United States atomic and hydrogen bomb policy.

[In Washington, officials viewed the notes as another Soviet attempt to head off full realization of a European Defense Community, and an effort to strike a psychological blow in the wake of the Geneva agreements ending hostilities in Indochina. United States rejection of the proposal was indicated.

[In London also, officials expected that, after discussions in the Cabinet and with Britain's allies, the Soviet proposal would be rejected. Paris official quarters were not impressed by

last night.

Conservative Senate Democrats had joined with Republicans in a bipartisan effort to crush the eleven-day-old filibuster on the atomic energy bill that has jeopardized the legislative program.

The recess was moved by Senator William F. Knowland, the Majority Leader, who was determined to beat down the filibuster when the Senate resumes tomorrow at 10 A. M.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon gaveled the recess after cutting short several efforts to prolong the session to the expected midnight conclusion.

With the recess, the Senate had been in almost continuous session for eighty-five hours and forty-eight minutes. But for a twenty-five-minute recess Friday night, the Senate would have surpassed the single session record of fifty-four hours and ten minutes set in 1950.

Within minutes after the conclusion of the session marked by the bitter fight over the Administration's atomic bill, Senators were on their way home, some of them for th[illegible] time since the round-the-c[illegible] session began Wednesday at 10 A. M.

End of Tie-up Foreseen

Weary and red-eyed from lack of sleep, a great many foresaw no end of the legislative logjam that has halted the Senate machinery.

There were signs that the legislative tie-up might disintegrate before tomorrow when a vote on a Republican closure petition, a move to limit debate, was to come to a vote.

The bipartisan effort would isolate the filibustering Democrats, tighten parliamentary procedures to keep them from introducing multiple amendments and use floor tactics that would limit the ability of foes of the atomic bill from "talking it to death."

While one leader of the group of Democrats fighting to scuttle the Administration's atomic bill admitted the battle now was one of "hopeless odds," other leaders said that it would be futile to give up the fight now with victory in sight.

Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the Minority Leader, called for the end of the bitter fight. The Democratic leader presented for unanimous consent an agreement to limit debate on the atomic bill, starting tomorrow. This was predicated on the withdrawal of the closure petition.

The agreement was doomed before it was presented. Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Independent, said he would object. One

Continued on Page 56, Column 3

Major Sports News

BASEBALL

The Cleveland Indians extended their American League lead to two and a half games yesterday by defeating the Yankees, 5 to 4, in the Stadium. Larry Doby's two-run homer in the tenth inning provided the winning margin. Meanwhile, the Giants lost for the 2nd straight time to the Milwaukee Braves, 5 to 4. The Dodgers beat the Cardinals, 7—6, in eight game.

GOLF

Snead routed Dutch Harrison 7 and 6, to gain the quarter-final round of the national golf tournament at St. Paul. Frafaci and Joe Gagliardi reached the final in the metropolitan amateur championship at Forest Hills, L. I.

HORSE RACING

[illegible] paying $21.30, capturing the Franac Handicap at [illegible]. Tiger was second, Hannigan third. [illegible] the $58,800 Mon[illegible], defeating fa[illegible].

(Section 5).

Associated Press Wirephoto

AFTER THE HOUSE RECESSED: Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., Speaker of the House, as he left the chamber with Richard E. Jefford, carrying the mace as deputy sergeant-at-arms, when the House adjourned discussions of Administration's atomic energy bill at 3:13 A. M. yesterday.

WILD MILK TANKER CRASHES, 3 KILLED

Truck Speeds Downhill Out of Control at Liberty—10 Hurt, 13 Vehicles Smashed

Special to The New York Times.

LIBERTY, N. Y., July 21 — A fifteen-ton milk tank trailer-truck hurtled down a hill here out of control this afternoon, rammed a smaller truck from behind, and caused a spectacular multiple crash in which three persons died and ten were injured.

Altogether, thirteen vehicles figured in the disaster.

The tanker lost its braking power on the slope of Route 17, which becomes North Main Street in this village, gateway to the Catskill vacation area. Liberty was thronged with week-end shoppers from near-by resorts when the chain accident started at 2:05 P. M.

Southbound, accelerating at a deadly rate, its horn blaring frantically, the runaway tanker hit the vehicle ahead with an impact sufficient to telescope two parked cars like opera hats.

A northbound jeep, striving vainly to avert disaster, ended up on the west side of the street with the tanker, both jammed between a half-toppled telegraph pole and the wall of an old house. One of those killed was a woman pedestrian, pinned between the jeep and the pole in a tangle of twisted steel and shattered glass.

Flames Attract Crowd

Flames seethed from the massive vehicle—filled with milk that was later condemned and pumped out—attracting virtually the entire population of the village.

A plan to have Route 17 bypass Liberty has been in the blueprint stage in the hands of the New York State Department of Public Works for several years, according to municipal sources here. The accident was regarded as sure to spur a move to get action on the project.

The tanker ultimately came to rest about 100 yards north of the center of the community, where North Main Street intersects Chestnut Street (Route 52) in the business section.

Although differing in details, the crash was strikingly similar to one at near-by Wurtsboro on June 8, 1951. Liberty is thirty miles northwest of Middletown and Wurtsboro is ten miles north-northwest of Middletown.

In the previous accident a trailer-truck laden with bottled gas went out of control on a mountainous stretch of Route 17. It ripped up a line of eleven cars, killing four persons and injuring sixteen.

Those killed were:

DIAMOND, Martin, 26 years old, a commercial designer, of 1600 Union Street, Brooklyn. He was at Monticello for the week-end, living at a bungalow colony run by his father, Samuel, of the same Brooklyn address. He leaves a brother and five sisters.

KLEINMAN, Mrs. Selma, 42, a manicurist at Grossinger's, one of the best-known resorts in the area. Mrs. Kleinman was the pedestrian involved in the crash.

WOLF, Robert F., 21, of 1006 Grant Avenue, the Bronx. He

Continued on Page 44, Column 3

WHEN you think of writing—Think of Whiting. WHITING PAPER COMPANY—Advt.

FORD FUND SCORES INQUIRY CHARGES

Upholds Work of Foundations Against 'Sheerest Nonsense' Heard by House Group

By LUTHER A. HUSTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24—The Ford Foundation charged today that it had been publicly maligned by witnesses at Congressional hearings.

It asked the committee before which the witnesses had appeared to denounce what it said was "irresponsible testimony" that "could cause grave damage" to science, education and all private philanthropy.

The foundation scorned implications in the testimony that it used its resources for un-American or subversive activities, for political purposes or for attempts to influence legislation. Officers and trustees of the foundation, it asserted, are not "dupes or plotters" but "respected men of wide experience and alive to their responsibilities."

H. Rowan Gaither Jr., presi-

Continued on Page 47, Column 1

which started July 1. This was $812,213,554 less than the President had proposed.

The total included $2,895,944,000 in cash and $2,312,475,979 in authority to disburse unexpended funds previously appropriated.

Outlays for the technical cooperation program were reduced $30,028,000 below the requested $131,528,000. The committee disallowed the entire $17,958,000 asked for technical assistance activities of the United Nations.

With Congress striving for early adjournment, the committee took the extraordinary step of reporting the appropriation bill before enactment of the basic authorization measure, which now is awaiting Senate consideration.

Ceiling on New Funds

The authorization measure, passed by the House and approved by the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, put a ceiling on new funds to be appropriated without limiting the use of about $2,600,000,000 in unobligated appropriations carried over from last year.

The House voted an authorization of $3,338,000,000, compared with the $2,895,944,000 of new appropriations approved today by its Appropriations Committee. A reduction in the authorization to $3,100,000,000 was approved by the two Senate committees.

The House Appropriations Committee devoted much of its report on the bill to a stinging rebuke of the Foreign Operations Administration, which is in charge of Mutual Security, for "fiscal irresponsibility."

The agency, headed by Harold E. Stassen, was accused of speeding up expenditures at the end of the last fiscal year "in a deliberate effort to tie up or dispose of available funds before the June 30 deadline."

"The finger," the committee said, "points clearly to various

Continued on Page 6, Column 3

treaty forces in Europe.

These experts have been principally American, according to information available here, because of the paramount position of the United States in developing nuclear weapons for the defense of the Atlantic allies and the rest of the free world. However, senior British and other Allied officers have been connected with the study from its start last autumn.

In the last month President Eisenhower, the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's tri-power Standing Group, or high military directorate, in Washington, have been fully informed about the conclusions reached.

'Cosmic Top Secret'

The details are classified "cosmic top secret," the highest security category, but it is said on high authority that two main deductions have been drawn:

1. That warfare in future will inevitably be "atomic." In other words, the belief of certain of the Atlantic powers that war can remain "conventional" because no antagonist will wish to be the first to use nuclear weapons is ruled out.
2. That the peak of destruction in any future war will come at the outset and will not develop gradually as was the case in World War II. Briefly this means that the issue will be determined by the active forces in being when the conflict breaks out and it opens to question any plans for gradual mobilization.

The new NATO atomic study is said to rule out the view held by some top British strategic thinkers that atomic warfare will strike first at major centers of population, capital cities, industrial centers and ports.

This belief is challenged by

Continued on Page 6, Column 5

vicinity where eight of the seventeen passengers have been rescued.

Among those who perished were three Americans, Leonard Lee Parish of Iowa Park, Tex., and his two sons, Laurence, 4 years of age, and Phillip, 2.

this act of further barbarity for which the Chinese Communist regime must be held responsible."

The Secretary reported that Britain had informed the United States that she had instructed her diplomatic representative at

Continued on Page 3, Column 1

Some in Vietminh, Angered, Say Red Allies Forced Pact

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to The New York Times.

GENEVA, July 24—Evidence has accumulated here that Vietminh leaders are not entirely happy about the peace settlement for Vietnam. A number of members of the Vietminh delegation have declared openly that pressure from Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov forced their regime to accept less than it rightfully should have obtained here.

In private discussions, officials of the Communist-led Vietminh have complained about the armistice terms, which, when fully implemented, will leave them the part of Vietnam north of a line near the Seventeenth Parallel. They have declared that recent successes had given the Vietminh a dominating military position in Indochina. Within another year, they said, its forces not only could have driven the French from North Vietnam but could have taken most of the South.

Vietminh delegates also have cited what they termed the headway their troops and collaborators were making in Laos and Cambodia. They believe they eventually could have gained control of these countries and added two satellite states to their sphere of domination.

If the French settlement in

Continued on Page 3, Column 6

RHEE TO PRESS U. S. TO AID DRIVE NORTH

South Korean Chief to Reach Washington Tomorrow—To Discuss Asian Pact

By GREG MacGREGOR

Special to The New York Times.

SEOUL, Korea, July 24—President Syngman Rhee leaves tomorrow for Washington to play for his big stake: He will make a personal plea for the United States' support to drive communism out of North Korea by force.

Dr. Rhee says the Communists have broken the Korean truce agreement on at least forty occasions by bringing illegal arms into the northern region.

"You give us your money and we will give you our sons to stop Red aggression," the President is expected to tell the American public.

Most of all, Dr. Rhee would like to see United States soldiers fighting side by side with his own troops. Since he is a realist as well as a shrewd politician, he will be glad to settle for an assurance of more money and arms to make the South Korean Army strong enough to do the job by itself. Even now it is the largest and strongest non-Communist army in Asia, but Dr. Rhee wants it to be invincible.

There will be other things on the mind of the 79-year-old President, who will arrive in Washington Monday—more economic aid for long-term rebuilding and a discussion of the mutual security pact concluded between the United States and South Korea last year. He also will give his views on uniting free Asia against the Communists.

This is how a leading Korean

Continued on Page 2, Column 5

ence on European security problems.

All interested European states and the United States should participate, the notes said. The conference would be held within a few months. Communist China would be an observer at the proposed meeting.

The Soviet proposal had been clearly foreshadowed in an editorial in Pravda, official Communist party newspaper, and statements by Tass, the Soviet news agency, following the Geneva agreement on Indochina. It was accompanied by an attack of particular severity on United States atomic and hydrogen bomb policy.

[In Washington, officials viewed the notes as another Soviet attempt to head off full realization of a European Defense Community, and an effort to strike a psychological blow in the wake of the Geneva agreements ending hostilities in Indochina. United States rejection of the proposal was indicated.

[In London also, officials expected that, after discussions in the Cabinet and with Britain's allies, the Soviet proposal would be rejected. Paris official quarters were not impressed by the Soviet action.]

War Spirit Laid to U. S.

Analogous notes containing the Soviet proposals were handed to the United States Chargé d'Affaires, Walter N. Walmsley Jr., and to representatives of Britain and France by Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov.

The note to the United States, somewhat longer than the others, contained about two extra pages devoted to criticizing United States "political and military figures" and "persons occupying responsible positions in the Government apparatus," who were charged with stirring up war hysteria expressly directed against Russia and China.

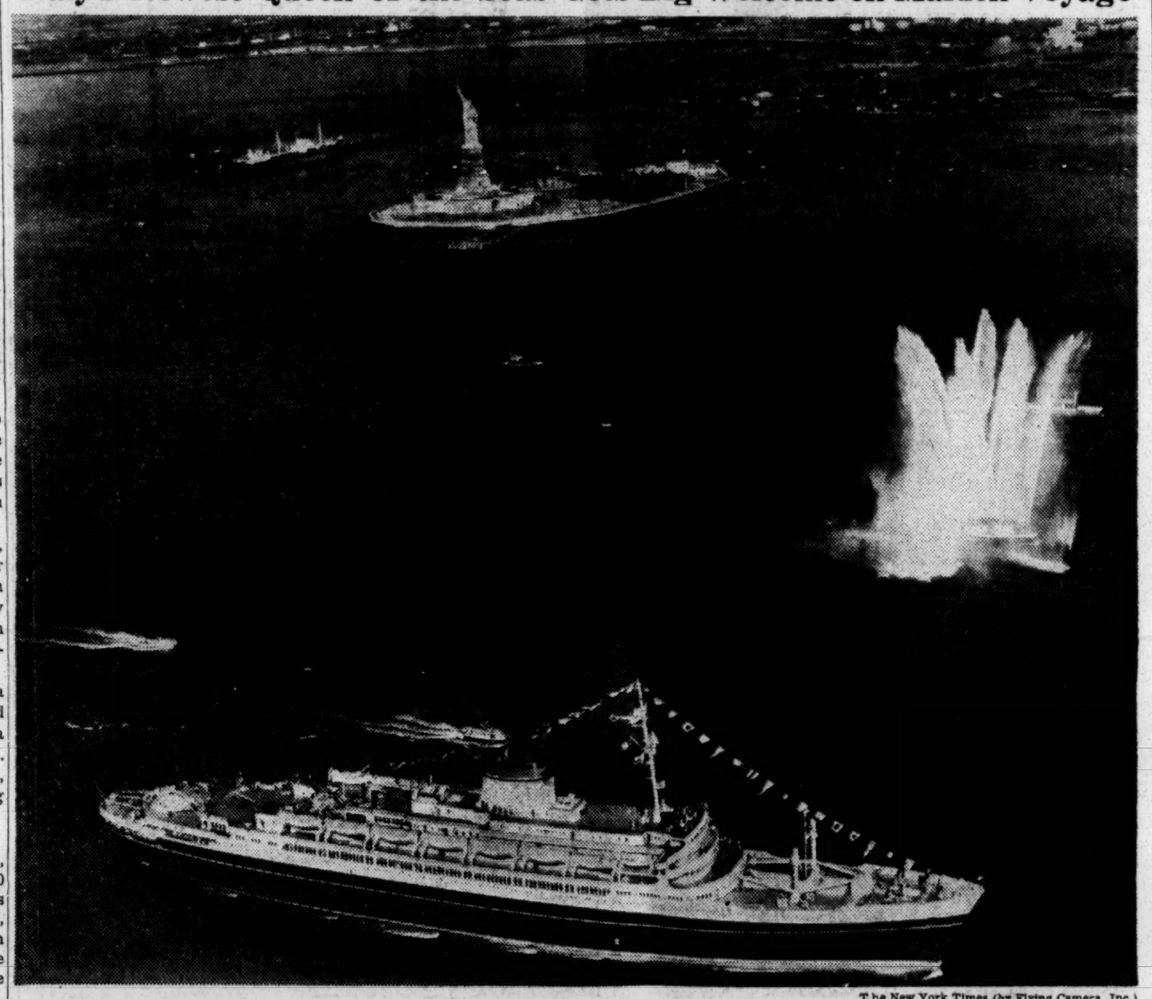
The notes addressed to Britain and France were couched in somewhat more moderate tones.

The conference was proposed "to exchange opinions on the question of establishing a system of collective security in Europe." The notes did not propose specific agenda or a time or place, but it strongly indicated that the main topic would be the Soviet security proposals rejected at the Berlin conference of the Big Four foreign ministers earlier this year. They emphasized that other states "should have an opportunity not only to state their attitude toward the proposals of the Soviet Government, but also to advance their own proposals."

In subject-matter the meeting would closely resemble the Berlin conference except that it would be confined to European

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Italy's Newest Queen of the Seas Gets Big Welcome on Maiden Voyage



The New York Times (by Flying Camera, Inc.)

The Cristoforo Colombo is hailed by spray from a fireboat as she sails past the Statue of Liberty upon arrival here.

By GEORGE HORNE

New York's traditional welcome for maritime royalty was extended yesterday to the new Italian queen of the seas. Bearing the name of the great Genovese seafarer who sailed his caravels westward across the Atlantic 462 years ago, the 29,100-ton liner Cristoforo Colombo docked at West Forty-fourth Street after an eight-day crossing from the Mediterranean. She carried 1,075 passengers, including a delegation of Italian shipping officials and naval officers. The twin-screw turbine liner is capable of better than 26 knots and is the fastest of the overseas liners of the country's rapidly growing merchant marine. She places the capstone on a post-war shipbuilding program that has more than replaced Italy's heavy war losses and has placed her among the leading maritime nations. The liner is manned by a crew of 580 seamen under command of Capt.

Continued on Page 59, Column 1

Bonn Aide's Defection Deliberate, U.S. Officials Who Knew Him Say

By TAD SZULC

The vanishing in East Germany of Dr. Otto John, former head of West Germany's internal security agency, has the appearance of a carefully considered act by a man with a brooding personality who was often given to flights of idealism.

This evaluation has been made by persons who have known Dr. John well in recent years. They have come in contact with him, both officially and socially, in the course of their duties with United States Government organizations in Germany.

One point on which all the sources were agreed was that Dr. John had performed an often "outstanding" job in eradicating Communist subversive activities in West Germany.

He was said to have broken up large numbers of secret Communist cells. During Dr. John's tenure as security chief, these sources declared, the Allied occupation authorities had little worry about internal security problems.

In piecing together a picture of the personality and background of the West German official, who had risen from a wartime role as a British intelligence agent in Portugal to the leadership of the Bonn Government's counter-intelligence agency, considerable reluctance was encountered on the part of past and present officials to discuss the John incident.

Security considerations counted to a large extent for this attitude, while some persons found it inadvisable to debate the case of a man who has apparently turned his back on the West after having been for years the recipient of complete trust

Continued on Page 31, Column 1

And p. 48.

FORD FUND SCORES INQUIRY CHARGES

Continued From Page 1

dent and trustee of the foundation, replied in trenchant terms to what he called the "sheerest nonsense" heard by the Special Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations of the House of Representatives. Representative B. Carroll Reece, Republican of Tennessee, is chairman of the group.

The committee ended public hearings after eleven witnesses had testified in opposition to tax exempt foundations. Only one witness was heard in defense of the foundations.

Interested organizations, however, were asked to file sworn statements setting forth their positions. Mr. Gaither's statement on behalf of the Ford Foundation was filed today.

The Carnegie Corporation was the first large philanthropic organization to assail the committee's action in ending hearings without permitting public rebuttal by the foundations. It filed a statement on July 11, accusing the committee of questioning the corporation's Americanism by a "shocking combination of innuendo and implication."

By ending the hearings, the Carnegie group asserted, the committee had denied it the right to reply publicly to "completely unfounded charges."

On Wednesday the American Council of Learned Societies filed a statement assailing the Reece group for having closed the hearings and denying that any of its activities were subversive or un-American. This statement said that any denial of the right to answer publicly charges made in public was a "form of subversion" itself.

The Ford Foundation was established in 1936, but its income until 1948 was relatively small. The settlement of the estates of Henry Ford and his son, Edsel, greatly expanded its resources.

Accordingly, a new program was drawn up and put into effect in 1950. From January, 1951, to Dec. 31, 1953, Mr. Gaither reported, the foundation committed a total of approximately $119,000,000, most of it in the field of education. About $87,500,000 went to institutions operating in the United States and $19,000,000 to United States institutions operating abroad. The amount that went directly to foreign institutions was $12,500,000.

Public Reply Preferred

"Every cent of this money has been spent for one ultimate purpose—a stronger American society and a stronger free world," Mr. Gaither asserted.

He said that the Ford organization had hoped to have the opportunity of replying in public to the charges made against it. He called the committee's decision to discontinue public hearings and limit the defense to written statements "a puzzling and unexpected act of injustice."

The foundation was complying with the request to file a statement, Mr. Gaither said, because it was imperative that the committee receive all the information it needed to complete its inves-

Associated Press

TELLS OF OPERATIONS: H. Rowan Gaither Jr., president of the Ford Foundation.

the committee could render a great public service if, when it made its report to Congress, it did these things:

"First, it can dispel public misunderstanding by denouncing all irresponsible testimony given in its public hearings insinuating that foundations have been party to a subversive conspiracy;

"Second, it can restate and reaffirm the vital role of private philanthropy in America and in the free world;

"Third, it can encourage the maintenance and growth of conditions under which philanthropy can flourish as an integral and indispensable part of the total American democratic system; and

"Fourth, it can testify to the adherence of the vast part of American philanthropy to the law, to public policy and to our national objectives."

Special Tasks Depicted

Giving for the public good, Mr. Gaither asserted, is a "productive characteristic" of American life. Americans give an estimated total of $5,600,000,000 a year to the private causes they wish to support, he said. Less than 3 per cent of that amount, however, comes from foundations.

Mr. Gaither cited the elimination of the causes of human suffering, whether due to physical or social factors, as a field in which foundations were particularly able to organize and conduct searches. He mentioned juvenile delinquency and the fight against cancer as basic types of work in this field that had been supported by the large foundations.

Frequently, he said, only a foundation can take on such responsibilities because of the difficulties in obtaining continuous public financial support for them.

The Ford Foundation does not "attempt to promote any particular point of view," he also asserted, in its approach to the problems of education.

"It is governed by the belief that in democratic countries there should be no single school of thought concerning education and no central point of control, either in the hands of government or in the hands of some private group," he said.

Two Groups Sponsored

Two independent, nonprofit organizations have been established by Ford to advance education. One is the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the other the Fund for Adult Education.

The major objectives of the first fund are to clarify the functions of the education system so they can work together more effectively; to improve the preparation of teachers at all levels; to improve curricula; to develop increased financial support for educational institutions and to equalize educational opportunity.

As of the end of 1953, the foundation had made grants of $30,850,580 to this fund; the fund had disbursed $22,242,568 to hundreds of colleges, school systems and teachers in each of the forty-eight states.

Up to the end of 1953, also, the foundation had made grants of $22,400,000 to the Fund for Adult Education. Of this sum, $9,000,000 had been allotted to extend and develop educational television.

Mr. Gaither said that the foundation's programs to assist foreign economic development, research and training in overseas problems and educational activity on international affairs had bulwarked policies of the American Government.

"Operating in countries on the border of the Communist world, as we do, has its risks," he declared. "The foundation has not, of course, worked in Communist countries, and we would withdraw our support from a country the minute a Communist take-over appeared inevitable. But we are willing to enter the fight to help people protect their freedom—even though at times the tide seems to be running against them, even though their country may not do everything to our liking. The alternative is to leave the field to communism."

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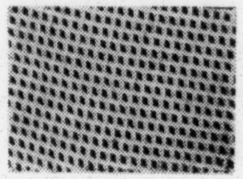

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"form of subversion" itself.

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The foundation was complying with the request to file a statement, Mr. Gaither said, because it was imperative that the committee receive all the information it needed to complete its investigation. To leave the investigation "in any sense incomplete," he declared, would be a disservice to the public.

Members of the committee's staff and witnesses obtained by the staff, he went on, put before the committee "a theory about foundations which is erroneous and which could cause grave damage."

"This theory," he said, "appears to be about as follows:

"'Most trustees of most foundations have had so little time to spare from other activities that the foundations have been taken over by staff members, who are running them for their own purposes.

"'These schemers really make the decision as to how foundation money is spent; they have a master plan for society; and they are intent upon reshaping the country to fit that plan.

"'To this end they have engineered a giant conspiracy, subverting our people, our institutions and our Government to produce the major political, social and economic changes of the past fifty years.

"'Their partners in this conspiracy include the faculties and administrators of American colleges and universities, the members of the learned and educational organizations of the country, and public servants in state and Federal Government.'"

'Historic Changes' Cited

Mr. Gaither said that as far as such a theory applied to the Ford Foundation it was false. He believed it also was false for "thousands of other American foundations."

"In attempting to portray the historic changes of the twentieth century as the result of a conspiracy," he asserted, "the theory ignores such factors as two World Wars; an economic depression of global proportions; the emergence of the United States and Russia as world leaders of conflicting ideologies; the rise of nationalism and new nations in the less developed parts of the world, and vast scientific and technical change.

"A main element of the theory is that the conspiracy has long been spreading through levels of American education. So, one can only wonder how a situation has escaped detection by thousands of local school boards, Parent-Teacher associations and school teachers. I think the theory is an insult to the common sense of American people, who have probably been the objects of conspiracy and whose major [illegible] it is said to have dictated. Contrary to the notion educational system has perverted, we share with Americans the view that [illegible] and private schools serve us well and deserve credit for the advance as a nation have [illegible]

[illegible]ial usefulness of [illegible]ould be destroyed, [illegible] declared, if the [illegible]ory advanced at [illegible]earings were accepted.

[illegible] suggested that American democratic system; and

"Fourth, it can testify to the adherence of the vast part of American philanthropy to the law, to public policy and to our national objectives."

Special Tasks Depicted

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November 1, 1955

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 K. Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Unfortunately, we have nothing of value on Dr. Benson and Harding College. However, I am forwarding your letter to our affiliated group in Arkansas with the request that they write you.

I believe also that the Anti-Defamation League has kept pretty close tabs on Harding College and should have a good file.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

cc. Nat Griswold
HCF/ys

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

October 25, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I hope all is going wellwith you. The UAW-CIO in Detroit is involved in quite a controversy with the Detroit press and the conservatives on "who is running the Detroit schools." In this connection they are very interested in getting any material and information on Dr. Benson, president of Harding College. Could you be of some help on this? They are especially interested in any material and information on this Dr. Benson and Harding College since 1950.

I would appreciate hearing from you on this. This is for a very good cause and it will be well used.

Thanks very much for your assistance.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

FORD FUND NAMES A SIXTH DIRECTOR

Dr. T. H. Carroll, Business Dean of North Carolina U., to Join Foundation Panel at Once

The $500,000,000 Ford Foundation, in keeping with the gradual widening of its endowment operations, has appointed Dr. Thomas H. Carroll, dean of the University of North Carolina's School of Business Administration, as a sixth associate director.

The foundation will announce today that the old panel of five assoicate directors has been enlarged to include Dr. Carroll, who was elected by the trustees to take over some of the administrative responsibilities of reviewing prospective grants and making recommendations. Last June the 17-year-old foundation, completing the second full year of its new "active program," reported that it had appropriated $37,805,235 during 1952 alone.

Dr. Carroll's appointment is scheduled to become effective immediately, but for some time to come he will be shuttling between New York and Chapel Hill, N. C., carrying out the duties of two posts. His resignation from the university faculty is not to take effect until June, 1954, and he is planning to handle his school job over week-eends and his Ford Foundation tasks on a regular five-day-a-week basis.

In his new post Dr. Carroll will join these five associate directors: Robert Maynard Hutchins, former President and Chancellor of the University of Chicago; Dyke Brown, former assistant dean of Yale Law School; Milton Katz, former ambassador in Europe of the Economic Cooperation Administration; William McPeak, former executive secretary of the Ford Motor Company Fund, and Don K. Price Jr., former associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House.

The panel of six associate directors does the bulk of the investigation into the merits of thousand-dollar and million-dollar requests for foundation funds and reports to the president and director, H. Rowlan Gaither Jr. and to the trustees.

The scope of the fund's operations can be seen in this partial breakdown of grants made last year: $22,065,232 to advance education in America; $11,537,361 to support activities promising significant contributions to world peace; $1,289,000 for projects designed to strengthen free institutions; $2,094,800 to advance knowledge of human behavior.

Dr. Carroll, who is 39 years old, was a member of the study commission on policy and program for the Ford Foundation from 1948 to 1949. Dean at the School of Business Administration at Chapel Hill since 1950, Dr. Carroll served as dean of the Syracuse University College of Business Administration from 1946 to 1950.

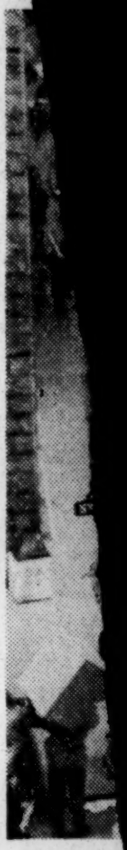
At the end of the war he was officer in charge of the officer candidate section of the Bureau of Navy Personnel in Washington, and was released from active duty in 1946 with the rank of commander.

[From Late Editions of Yesterday's TIMES.]

WOMEN'S CLUB MOVES

Civic Group Holds Reception at New Park Avenue Offices

The Women's City Club of New held a reception last opening o e secon



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Vice President Elected By Fund for Republic

Jay Te Winburn

W. H. Ferry

The Fund for the Republic announced yesterday the election of W. H. Ferry as vice president. In making the announcement, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the organization, said Mr. Ferry had withdrawn from partnership in Earl Newsom & Co., public relations counsel, of 597 Madison Avenue.

The Fund for the Republic, a non-profit organization, is devoted to the promotion "of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Paul G. Hoffman is chairman of the board. It was established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation with a grant of $15,000,000 "to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect those rights."

French Accent Road Signals

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
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MITCHELL SVIRIDOFF
VICE PRESIDENT
DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Make file "Mississippi Meeting" & file in Ford Fd. in front

January 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Unfortunately, I've got too much booked for February 16. Could we make our Mississippi meeting March 1 and 2 instead?

Sincerely,

Mike

Mitchell Sviridoff

May 23, 1951

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

We have done a good deal of thinking and some discussing on ways to do the things called for in your speech to the Southern Sociological Society.

For us, the key problem is ways of getting the South, using the advice of social science people and lawyers, to decide on things to be done in a variety of fields. This, I take it, is what you mean by drafting agenda.

We are concerned for various reasons to make the effort to reach agreement on the things to be done a democratic effort. Social planning is bereft of most of its value unless the means to implement the planning are prepared pari passus with the plans. The actual means used can theoretically be either by agreement by one or more powerful political parties, an extensive propagandist campaign, or agreement from a broadly representative and effective caucus of the leadership of voluntary agencies and interest groups.

The Council is not likely to be in a position any time soon to enlist directly the agreement of political parties. It can influence public opinion with greater or lesser speed and breadth, depending in part upon the Council's own degree of organization out over the South. We suppose that our greatest effectiveness would be in drawing together the leadership of various agencies and interest groups.

We further think that the way to get them together is by certain areas of interest, as law enforcement, administration, health, education, housing, agriculture, and employment on merit. The religious field is another,

and a fruitful one. It has begun to cut its own channels of consultation across the lines of race through the Southern office of the National Council of Churches, and I suppose we had best not try to compete with that.

Something of the same thing could be said about graduate and professional education, through the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education.

But, in the other fields, democratic consultation on a Southwide or sub-regional basis across the lines of race hardly exists.

We suppose that the Southern Regional Council, when strengthened as to funds and staff, could in a carefully worked out time series convene as to each interest area, selected Negro and white leadership. The Council would determine the list of those to be invited, invite them, arrange the facilities for the conference, provide a secretarial service and the availability of social science people. We suppose that such a meeting would ordinarily not exceed eighteen to thirty-five people. Then it would be up to the membership of the interest group, white and Negro, to discuss next steps. In most cases the expected pattern would be a formal statement by the Negro leadership present of a program of complete and immediate integration. Most of the white persons present would in all probability respond with offers of concession and some vague statements as to a time schedule when certain improvements might be effected. Whereafter, there would be good likelihood that the meeting would draw up a list of things to be done at once, pretty soon, and a little later. The summarized proceedings of such a meeting ought (with the agreement of the meeting) to be made public and to be specifically circularized to large numbers of people in that field of interest concerned.

The Council's services would be available to each such meeting for supply of facts, and the Council or other agencies (often university bodies perhaps) might be commissioned by the meeting to obtain additional facts for planned subsequent meetings.

It might also be suitable to convene interest group people for smaller areas than for the South as a whole. This we think would come after Southwide meetings. The smaller meeting could be state by state or for sub-regions.

It seems to us that a proposal of this kind gives full opportunity for statement of the uncompromising position, if such be held, by each racial group, and full opportunity also for agreement as to things that can be done here and now.

We do not think that the Council itself, in consultation with its friends and members over the South, can draw up, field by field, time schedules of when things are to be done. In the first place, formal agreement by Negro leadership to postponement of full integration is probably unobtainable, and, from the point of view of their continuing drive, of doubtful value. And yet we all in the South do understand that some things can be done now and other things can be done later, and when we get together we can agree on what these are. We can't agree on more general issues of this sort, but we can agree on specific things like opening of hospitals to practice by Negro physicians, enacting tight municipal ordinances for

housing standards, or a widespread campaign to improve equality in law enforcement and decency in police administration.

The proposal also involves, though in a most informal way, something which the South does not have: a series of interest group "parliaments". These would provide as a by-product a strengthened habit of give-and-take consultation; and the much greater strengthening of that habit is one of the hopes of the whole South.

Do you think that if we sent the entirety or the substance of your address to the Ford Foundation and accompanied it by a proposal for such a series of meetings carried through over a period of several years, this would fairlyfaccord with the thing you had in mind? If so, we would be disposed to draw up the proposal in considerable detail and send it off with your address as a supplementary supporting memorandum to the Ford Foundation.

If we are wide of your mark, let us know and we will try again.

I will be happy to come to Chapel Hill at any time when you have time for further conversation. Perhaps I could bring down Paul Williams or Marion Wright, or bring along Mozell Hill, or some other non-staff member of the Council's inner circle in order that policy people would be participants.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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May 25, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I have the honor to send with this letter a request to the Ford Foundation on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. By express we are sending several exhibits which graphically present certain aspects of our work.

We sincerely believe that the Southern Regional Council embodies principles enunciated by the Ford Foundation when it was created.

In our appeal we have endeavored to present a fairly complete picture of our Council as briefly as possible. Frequently, however, the spirit behind an organization such as ours cannot be translated into words. For this reason, we cherish the hope that the trustees will be so impressed with our report that they will afford us the opportunity to make a personal presentation at such a place and time as they may name. If this opportunity comes, I would suggest that Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, who is chairman of our executive committee, and Dr. George S. Mitchell, our executive director, join with me for a full dress presentation.

The next fifteen years are crucial ones for the South. We can already envision the pace of change. Many of the decisions which the South will have to make require a thoughtful climate of opinion such as can be made possible only by an organization composed of Southern people representing broad cross-sections of life. These decisions can be made bravely and sensibly by utilizing the network of responsible friends we can call on whose names do not often appear in the headlines, but who are precisely the ones who can get work done in their communities for the furtherance of the democratic processes in the South.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDWier

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Office of the President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

June 5, 1951

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Doctor Hutchins:

I understand that the Southern Regional Council has requested from your Foundation a sum of a little more than $1,300,000 for the support of a five-year State Action Program. I should like to voice my very strong approval of the Program and of the Council.

The program as I understand it is designed to improve human relations in an area of our nation where we suffer most because of the poor rapport between the two major population groups.

The Council itself has a long history of straight thinking, courageous action in the area of human relations. It has been the major single organization which has worked effectively in the achievement of progress in this area. It is an interracial organization with wise leadership and sound administration. I most certainly hope that the Council's request will employ your favorable consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

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June 6, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am advised by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, that a request has been presented to the Ford Foundation covering a five-year program of activity for the Council.

Having worked with the Council from its inception, I hope you will permit me to express my full convictions as to the worthwhileness of the Council's activity and of the seriousness of the need which is covered by this request. I heartily agree with what the Council says that though it is doing a good job, it is hardly scratching the surface in terms of the herculean task that needs to be done because of the lack of financial resources. I would emphasize, also, that it is the only agency working at the solution of these problems in terms of an all southern enterprise. As such, it has missed the belaboring which has been heaped upon outside organizations. I further agree that because of its experience over the past several years, that it is the agency best suited to move forward into a greatly expanded effort. More than this, I am sure you appreciate fully the national and international implications of the work the Southern Regional Council is doing.

I hope very much, therefore, this program falls within the purview of the Ford Foundation's activity, and that it will give favorable consideration to the request.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson
President

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
TWENTY SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNSYLVANIA
Telephone: RIttenhouse 6-9372

June 8, 1951

Mr. Chester Davis
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, Calif.

Dear Chester:

George S. Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, has sent me a copy of the request which the Council has made to the Ford Foundation.

For a number of years, as a member of the Board of the Field Foundation and as chairman of the Independent Aid Foundation, I have been happy to help in making modest contributions to the Southern Regional Council. I know George Mitchell well, as I presume you do. George and the Council have seemed to me to be able to keep a healthy pressure forward particularly in race relations, carrying many leading citizens of the South with them, in a way that few such organizations have been able to do. I have read their appeal and am very happy to express my warmest support of it. I know of your interest in the field of race relations. I know too how difficult it is to plant money where one can feel reasonably sure that the expansion will mean increased effectiveness. I feel sure that the Southern Regional Council can come as near measuring up to its ambitions, as represented by its proposed budget, as any agency anywhere.

I expect you know all of this, but I had to say it anyway. Perhaps you will be good enough to see that my concern is expressed in the appropriate place in the councils of the Foundation.

Incidentally, sometime when you are coming east, I hope you will let me know as I feel the need of a visit with you.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence E. Pickett

CC: George Mitchell

C
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P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION

914 East Green Street

Pasadena 1, California

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

June 8, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 6e Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Anna Lord Strauss mentioned the application of the Southern Regional Council when I was discussing problems of mutual interest with her in New York on Monday. She showed me a copy of your application and I suggested she leave it with the New York office; therefore, I am glad to have the copy you sent me, and I shall examine it with interest.

We have delayed taking any steps in the field of group relations hoping to find someone of balanced judgment and wide experience to advise us as to the policies we should follow.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

Clear copy Onion Skin

Jonathan Daniels June 9 draft

Dear Paul,

The Southern Regional Council is asking the Ford Foundation to put some money into it.

This is the group in the South that has always worked at our two-race society in a statesmanlike way. They have stayed away from bold promises, and have helped things get better by pointing out the next place to push, and by asking useful people to push at that point.

The South does possess the power of getting these things done, largely within itself; it is that power which the Council has organized and led.

Now it's time to do the job in detail, State by State. Like everything else, that means paid pwople with time and special knowledge to give it. Some money wo ld enable the Coucil's general program to be picked up vigorously in each State. Then local leadership, in both races, working together, can follow a pace adapted to the situation in each one. We have a cryin gap here in North Carolina between white and Negro leadership in all these matters. I don't suppose there'll be full agreement anytime soon, but we could

agree on a lot of things, and with somebody to keep pushing, get them done in a satisfying way.

The Council's people over the South, and here in North Carolina, are sensible citizens, thoughtful of the future/ They are the right people to trust.

I've read the proposal. It's practical, and it would work. I hope you will give us all a chance to move ahead that way.

Sincerely.

Rough draft ...

Dear Paul:

I have known for a long time the Southern Regional Council and the people who run it. And I have read through their request to the Ford Foundation. I think it is something the Foundation should do.

The South is changing rapidly. A whole new set of habits and attitudes is being born. Somebody has to guide the change, and from the inside. Somebody has to know what's happening and must get the facts out to the Southern public with the kind of interpretation and advice which will complete the change with the minimum of waste and emotion and fear.

What the Council did on the matter of Negro police is a good illustration of what I mean. They found out what was occurring city by city, showed that it worked well, and got the facts to police chiefs all over the South. Year by year the number of Negro policemen employed in the South has grown, and the whole thing has gone through smoothly and satisfyingly. On surveys, and on court proceedings, they've done the same kind of thing; got local people to do a job in detail.

The Council has a talent for restating for use in the South the modern democratic doctrine. It is more important than ever that that be done on a much larger scale.

This is a group that has been working at the Southern job in one way or another for thirty-odd years. They have accumulated confidence, friends, and influence. Their methods and manners have met the test. They have pretty good ideas of what to do, and the South is ready to take more and more guidance from them.

Sincerely,

Gateway
Gleaneroy Omnibus
MADE IN U.S.A.

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FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY
PUBLISHERS OF
The Informer Group Of Papers
Houston, Texas

2418 Leeland Avenue P. O. Box 3086

June 12, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
President
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Sir:

I know the flood of requests that your Foundation must be receiving for projects that each writer thinks is most important. But I don't write so much as a vice president of the Southern Regional Council as I write as a Negro, interested in the problem of bringing democracy to America, particularly in the Southland.

We all know the second-class citizenship that Negroes have suffered from in the South. But I have a suspicion that there are a very few of us, even those of us who live down here, who appreciate the great and rapid change that has taken place in the attitude of the masses of people on this question in the last five years. I firmly believe that what is needed most at this minute is direction, and something firm that the people can wrap their changing views around.

The Southern Regional Council is one organization that furnishes facts, that can give sense of direction to the people who have these changing ideas, and who are willing to move forward in a realm that is new to them, but in a direction which wipes out and reduces the second-class citizenship area.

Already, on the limited means that the Southern Regional Council has had to work with, there has been a very marked change in the newspapers, in the attitude of police forces toward employing Negroes, in the attitude of the police and of others toward Negroes generally. There have been changes in attitude, through factual data furnished by the

Southern Regional Council, among YMCA's, churches, and a great number of other institutions and organizations that form the structure around which our civilization is built here.

These facts have been gathered painstakingly, and they have been stated without animus and with great persuasion by the Southern Regional Council, which is composed of white and black who live in this medium and who know the people, and who know a good deal about their frame of mind. I feel that if this work could be assured of continuance, and could be extended, it would probably be as great a force in changing the untoward conditions in our double democracy as anything else that we do. There is a lot of talk about violence that may come from court action, but if the Southern Regional Council can furnish the facts, and the calm, sure voice, based upon logic, reason and understanding, which it has furnished in a limited way in the past, I think that we will avoid any clashes and move on with greater impetus from day to day and from week to week in overcoming our weakness.

I therefore join in asking that you do give very careful and thorough consideration to the request of the Southern Regional Council, submitted to you in its pamphlet under date of May, 1951.

With many thanks for whatever consideration you give to it, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley
President

/d

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DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I hope you will not mind my volunteering this letter in support of the application submitted by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

During the last twenty years I have worked with or been acquainted with pretty nearly all agencies working on a south-wide basis in the area of improving human relations. As a Negro university president, I am constantly face to face with the problems of human relations across the South and as Chairman of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations I see something of the magnitude of the problems here.

It is my opinion that the Southern Regional Council can more readily than any other agency direct and develop the thinking of the South in the areas outlined in their application. I very much hope that the Ford Foundation will grant the funds requested.

Respectfully yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db
cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

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June 17, 1951

Dear Dr. Colwell:

Several of us had hoped that you would be in Atlanta shortly, so that we might talk to you about a matter that deeply concerns us and with regard to which we are certain that you can be of immeasurable aid to us--that of the appeal of the Southern Regional Council to the Ford Foundation. We have no question as to the merit of the appeal, either standing alone or relative to rival efforts to win support, but we feel that a word from you to Mr. Huchins might win a far more sympathetic hearing. With all my heart, I ask you to speak such a word.

I cannot know how familiar you are with the nature and work of the Council. There are many of your friends who can assure you of its immense and unique usefulness. You may remember best the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which was established after World War I as the work of Dr. Will Alexander, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Dr. Plato Durham, Dr. Howard Odum, and Dr. Charles Johnson. With the backing of the great foundations it did a work of reconciliation and pioneering beyond estimate. About ten years ago, as a result of South-wide meetings of mind among whites and Negroes, the Commission was reorganized on a broader base as the Southern Regional Council. It carries on a broad program of its own and sponsors state divisions and state and local committees of inter-racial cooperation. It has an exceedingly impressive record: Negro police, better handling of race news, community self-surveys, research in Southern problems, etc. Its director, George Mitchell, is one of the noble people of the earth--warm, shrewd, brave, and intelligent. Your sister-in-law, Mrs. Massee, is his neighbor and friend. He has a splendid staff.

Since the folding up of the Rosenwald fund the Council (nearly) has been done to death with fund-raising. Certain of the big foundation people took the position that they had put in something like a million dollars, and now it was time for the South to carry its own burdens. Well, I don't have to spell that out to you. If the South were ready to carry its own burdens, we might not even need the Council.

As things stand, our membership is in fact growing steadily and the number of the thousand dollar and five thousand dollar grants is holding up. But twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars a year--a handsome sum only if you have to raise it in the South--will simply not do the job that has to be done, particularly if the whole staff and all the associated amateurs have to break their hearts to raise it.

One of the things that the Council will certainly continue to do as long as it exists is to try to broaden its base of membership.

Among the people actively interested in the Council are Bishop Moore, Ralph McGill, several leading Catholics, Leonard Haas, nearly all the principal Negro college presidents and other leaders in the Negro group, Dr. Odum, Guy Johnson, etc. You need have no fears as to the Council's integrity or as to the responsibility of its leadership.

You will know best what good you can do us in this appeal. You will know best how to approach Mr. Huchins. You may be sure that all the necessary official steps have been taken. We have no doubt that Mr. Huchins would want to turn to you for advice on a Southern matter. Beyond what I am enclosing, is there anything else that you would like to see or know about the Council?

I would like to take this opportunity to do what I have had it steadily in mind to do--to express my deep gratification at the news that you are coming back to Atlanta. You must know that I remember you always with pride and pleasure. Emory, I think, has done herself proud.

Before you come back South, please hit as hard a lick for the Council as you can. When you get here, you will be proud that you did. There is so much that needs some kind of intelligent and good-spirited attention here, and the resources are so limited. I do not criticize the grants of the Ford Foundation, but honestly one dollar for the Southern Regional Council would be worth a hundred or a thousand of those already appropriated for certain other purposes!

John Griffin and I agreed that I would write this letter. He would second all of it, including my enthusiasm over your coming back here.

Cordially and sincerely,

Glenn W. Rainey

(I am, God have pity on the Council, Chairman of its Finance Committee.)

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EDGAR B. STERN
2110 AMERICAN BANK BLDG.
NEW ORLEANS 12

June 21, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis,
Member of the Board of Directors,
Ford Foundation,
1440 Wentworth Avenue,
Pasadena 5, California.

My Dear Mr. Davis:

I hope I am not presuming in addressing this letter to you. I take the liberty of doing so because of my deep interest in the welfare of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, Georgia. I have been informed that this organization has recently made an appeal to the Ford Foundation for financial support. I have had the opportunity of reading a copy of this appeal and would like to state that I think that it is a fair statement of the history of the past and of the present objectives and procedures of this Council. I have followed its program over a good many years, having been a member of it and of its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, for a long period. I have continuously been impressed with the soundness and sanity of the approach of this group toward the very complicated race question in the South. I believe they have proceeded with vision and aspiration mingled with realism and good sense.

I have been interested in the race question in the deep South for many years, and have had the privilege of serving in a number of enterprises that have to do with the welfare of the Negro group, including some ten years of service as a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, and for the past twenty-one years I have served as president of the board of trustees of Dillard University. As a former trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund I also had frequent occasion to consider these problems.

I am not one of those Southerners who feels that the solution of these problems can be found entirely in the South, and among Southerners. On the other hand, I do believe that citizens of this region, where the percentage of Negroes to the total population is so much greater than in other parts of the country, there is perhaps a certain special contribution to be made by those who are close to the problem in its more acute phases, and who necessarily should learn something from experience, and direct contacts. If this be true, I think the Southern Regional Council makes an especially useful and valuable contribution towards the improvement of race relations, being an essentially Southern organization and directly spreading the knowledge of and sympathetic understanding for this complicated problem in this region.

I am convinced that the Ford Foundation could accomplish a very useful purpose in giving financial security for the maintenance and enlargement of the useful and constructive functions of this Council.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar B. Stern

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THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Bldg.,
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your letter of June 21 which you wrote in behalf of the Southern Regional Council. This will be very helpful. Up to now we have had nothing but very good reports on this organization.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

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AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York, Room 5101

June 25, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is in reply to your letter of June 13 addressed to Pete about the application which you recently made to the Ford Foundation. Pete has been in Venezuela for about three weeks and is likely to remain there for another week or ten days.

I have just returned from a Latin American conference at Stanford University, where I had two or three good talks with Howard Tolley who is now working for the Ford Foundation, particularly as an advisor to Chester Davis. Tolley knew about your application; Chester had called him and was interested primarily in your politics and the general standing of the Council.

I spent about 30 minutes with Tolley describing you and the work of the Council, giving him the names of its officers and suggesting that he get in touch with Charles Johnson at Fisk. The latter suggestion was made particularly because Chester had indicated to Tolley that the Ford people wanted to do something in the field of race relations, and that they would be interested in finding some man to act on a short-term consulting basis to tell them about the problem and what they should do with various types of applications which they have been receiving. I pointed out to Tolley that you would probably be the best person available for this consultant's post, but that since you had forwarded this application, the Ford Foundation might have to hire someone else as their advisor in the whole field of race relations. I also tried to impress him with the fact that should they move in this field without having the blessing of Charles Johnson they would automatically be creating the suspicion of many persons who have spent their lives in this area.

It appeared that Chester's main inquiry about you had been how far you had gone with Henry Wallace and the people around him during the last campaign. I assured him that you had never even started in that direction and that your skirts were entirely clean. I mention this point now because in any of your further negotiations with the Ford people this angle is a point to keep in mind. It was Tolley's thought that Bob

Hutchins would probably figure more heavily in decisions on requests of the type which you have submitted than either Chester or Paul Hoffman.

As soon as Pete returns, I will, of course, bring your letter to his attention. In the meantime, I think that my talk with Tolley may have done you some good. If there is anything further, don't hesitate to let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jim

/t/ James G. Maddox

JGM:sks

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director

June 28, 1951

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Jonathan:

Upon my return to Pasadena from a trip abroad I found your letter of June 16th.

I am glad to know you hold the Southern Regional Council in such high regard. I will be glad to personally interest myself in the request of the Council for support from the Ford Foundation, although you should know that we are operating under a directive from our Trustees which restricts us from giving support to any activities that are purely local or regional in character. This directive was based on the assumption that local institutions should be supported locally, and regional institutions in the region which they operate. I might add on the positive side that we are giving our primary attention to projects which will contribute to the maintenance of peace and to projects which will help in meeting crises growing out of present world tensions.

With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed Paul)
Director

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July 2, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Davis;

I have been told that the Southern Regional Council is asking a grant from the Ford Foundation.

For whatever my recommendation may be worth, I can earnestly and completely endorse the Council for its fine and courageous work in the field of inter-racial understanding in the South. It has been particularly valuable as a clearing house through which the white South has been able to see that part of the Negro South which so many do not know exists. As a newspaper publisher, I have also been impressed by the information program and have been able to use much of their material as a basis for editorial comment.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter

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THE FORD FOUNDATION
1440 WENTWORTH AVENUE
PASADENA 5, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

July 3, 1951

Mr. Will W. Alexander
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for your letter of June 25. I appreciate having your comments on the very important subject of race relations and am particularly glad to have your endorsement of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Up to now we have had nothing but the finest of recommendation for this organization.

At the moment we are completely preoccupied with problems and programs bearing on world tensions which threaten peace, and are devoting all of our time to this very important subject. As soon as an opportunity permits us, we do hope to give attention to this subject of your letter; that, however, will not be until sometime this fall at least.

Sincerely Yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

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THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

CHESTER C. DAVIS
Associate Director

July 27, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you for your letter of July 25 and your high evaluation of the Southern Regional Council. We have had many good reports on the work of this organization.

At the present time, however, no consideration is going to be given to projects in the field of their interest pending a substantial move in the fields directly related to the relief of world tensions. I appreciate your taking the time to write me so fully and your letter will be useful at such time as we can consider the application of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

August 23, 1951

Mr. Paul Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I understand that you have received a request for a grant from the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The request was made to the foundation late in May of this year. I would have written sooner concerning it except that I have just returned from an extended trip to the Middle East.

I do not know if this request comes under any of the provisions of the Ford Foundation but I do believe that the foundation's board will find it worthy of interest and consideration.

I have followed the work of the council and of its predecessor, The Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Rosenwald Fund board, of which I was a member along with Mr. Hutchins, made annual grants to the committee for what we considered extra good work.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

THE FORD FOUNDATION

914 East Green Street

PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

Paul G. Hoffman
Director

August 28, 1951

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal
The Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

We are glad to have your endorsement of the request for a grant made by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. If the Foundation should decide to interest itself in the field of racial relations, a request from the Southern Regional Council would have serious consideration. However, we reached the conclusion some months ago that funds available to the Foundation should be used in support of projects which will contribute to maintaining the peace and to relieving present world tensions.

Sincerely yours,

Paul G. Hoffman
Director

BISHOP'S HOUSE

222 East Harris Street

Savannah, Georgia

October 24, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 6e Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This morning, while going through some newspapers that have been in my office for some time, I came upon your esteemed letter of May 31st. I was absent from Savannah at that time of the year and upon my return your letter, somehow, escaped my attention. I apologize for being so late in acknowledging its receipt.

In any event, let me assure you that several months ago, at the request of Mr. Paul D. Williams, your President, I addressed a personal letter to Mr. Henry Ford, II, asking that a substantial grant of money be made to the Southern Regional Council in order that it might be able to carry out its most praiseworthy program.

I believe that it was Mr. Paul G. Hoffman who said in his reply that my request would be given every consideration.

With all good wishes, I remain, my dear Mr. Mitchell,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Gerald P. O'Hara
Archbishop,
Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta

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November 9, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, President
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

My dear Mr. Hoffman:

I am writing this additional note on behalf of the request of the Southern Regional Council which came to you in the early summer of this year.

It is a common place thing to say that we understand very well that there is no single immediate solution of our problem here, but that there are many approaches and solutions, all of which may well contribute progressively to the easing of tensions, the resolving of differences, and the regional and interregional adjustments which we all know will come in time.

It is sometimes said by leaders both Negro and white that much of the most effective procedures should come from the South and are likely to do so if we can maintain and strengthen a bridgehead in the South and if we can continuously recruit a large body of leadership. To do this and to initiate and promote a sound strategy and a wise agenda for integration, in my judgment, would constitute an unusual return for a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation. We all hope that you can give this request a very special consideration.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

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November 9, 1961

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5
California

My dear Dr. Hutchins:

I have written President Hoffman a supplementary note with reference to the proposed grant for the Southern Regional Council. I should be glad to discuss this personally with you some time when you are in the South or East if it should seem worth while. In some ways our efforts are futile until we make them more dynamic and forthright in the framework of a regional leadership and realistic basis. Now, in this transitional period, is the time we need to do more, not less.

At present we are decidedly on the "less" side.

I hope you are, as usual, moving with dynamic and satisfying steps.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

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enclosures

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November 27, 1951

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

The purpose of this letter is to call to your attention the importance and urgency of a request now before the Foundation. The support is requested for the Southern Regional Council.

The request outlines a workable and statesmanlike plan for offering leadership and skill to the onrushing forces of social change in the South today. Under present circumstances both resistance and change find vocal leadership and produce in plenty the noise and passions of conflict. What is needed is knowledge, example, and strong organization among the conscientious and moderate citizens of the South, willing full status for the whole people, and working for it through normal and local channels.

The Southern Regional Council is our best in leadership and conviction. It has built confidence and intimate personal knowledge reaching back thirty years. It last had important help from outside the region in 1949. While the Council has shown that it can survive--on a ludicrously inadequate basis--without outside help, it is clear that substantial sums not to be had in the South must be forthcoming. There is a further urgency as the Council's decisions for the coming year must be taken early in December.

The compelling pressure for change now demands informed and widely active leadership. This plan provides that. I urge that the Foundation take advantage of the eagerness of this movement to apply its forces in a really productive way, and match that eagerness and experience with funds adequate to its task.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

Department of Education

1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.

Washington 5, D. C.

January 8, 1952

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The attached carbon comes from Father Vince Flynn to demonstrate that he has made the approach to Mr. Hutchins as suggested in my recent letter to him. Although not a long letter it is quite persuasive and has the Flynn touch which usually produces very outstanding results.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Director
Department of Education

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THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

January 7, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the copies of the statement of policy and aims drafted by the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting. I know that the officers of the Foundation will be pleased to have this succinct and thoughtful statement.

Yours sincerely,

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

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January 2, 1952

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

Mr. Paul Williams of the Southern Regional Council has asked me to write you in support of a request for funds from the Foundation for the work of the Council. This I am very glad to do.

Frankly, I have not the technical competence to assess the merits of the council's plan. However, that is not the important thing; your experts can do that. The important thing in my mind is that the Regional Council has been doing an excellent job, and of course a much needed job in recent years. I have every confidence that the Foundation will consider seriously the best means to help its work.

Sincerely yours,

(Very Rev.) Vincent J. Flynn

Mr. Robert E. Hutchins
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

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Mr. Chester C. Davis,
Ford Foundation,
1440 Wentworth Ave.
Pasadena, 5, Calif.
June 25, 1951

Dear Mr. Davis:

The patterns of race relations in the South are undergoing revolutionary changes. As a life long student of this problem I would not have thought that change would ever come with the rapidity which characterizes the present situation.

This has been due (1) to the amazing development which has taken place among the Negroes themselves even in the so called backward "black belt" of the South. Education has done its work even there. (2) Recent Supreme Court Decisions have forced changes that have put the ballot in the hands of the masses of Negroes in all sections of the South, opened the graduate and professional departments of the universities to Negroes who can qualify. (3) The rapid expansion of Southern industry is creating man power problems that will profoundly change the employment patterns of Negroes. (4) All of this is being hastened by the international situation facing the Country.

The South is accepting these changes quietly and with a minimum of waste and emotion. I am encouraged and gratified that these changes could come so naturally and quietly.

This is due to the fact that over a long period of years there have been in the South a group of men who have recognized that changes were inevitable and have worked quietly from within to the end that the changes would come with a minimum of disruption and agitation.

The organization responsible for this is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. It is made up of Southerners of high standing and operates through a small but highly competent staff working with state and municipal governments, with the churches, schools and other agencies that can effect public opinion. This work has been done quietly and without agitation and is absolutely essential to the orderly development of this rapidly changing situation.

The Southern Regional Council is appealing to the Ford Foundation for financial help in carrying on this work. I do not believe that anywhere else will you have the opportunity to invest funds which will be so fruitful in effecting the solution of our number one national problem. If I can give you any further information I will be glad to do so.

With high regards,

Will W. Alexander

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"Topknot"
LINVILLE FALLS,
NORTH CAROLINA

7th
March
1951

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

A few random impressions about our appeal to the Ford Foundation:

1) It will be important to show that, if our request should be granted, the grant will yield substantial results justifying the expenditure of that amount of money.

The migration of Negroes from the South has been a development of recent years (that is, on a large scale) and represents the draining from the South of the best Negro brains and skills. This produces an annual economic loss of some magnitude. I hope that some figures might be developed which would approximate this loss in dollars and cents.

Negro periodicals and literature seem to make it clear that this migration has been induced in large part by Southern discriminations against the Negro. The program of SRC reduces these discriminations and consequently enlarges opportunity for the Negro in the South and gives him a more congenial climate in which to live.

The Ford grant would, therefore, directly tend to arrest the migration of Negroes from the South and consequently to that extent to improve the Southern economic situation.

2) The problem of the Negro migration is national. All Northern cities which have been overwhelmed by the influx have suffered along with the South by this shifting of people. Southern poverty imposes a drain upon the entire nation.

I believe that it is important for us to stress that we are not asking for money entirely for Southern benefit.

3) I believe it is important to show, as fairly as it can be shown, that results have been accomplished even upon our very small budgets. To support that thesis it seems to me that we might have exhibits along the following lines:

a) In a certain year there were no Negro policemen in the South. In that year SRC issued its first pamphlet on that subject. This was followed by others which should be listed by dates. A chart might be attached showing increase in number of Negro policemen by years as they correspond to publications and other action by SRC.

b) Per capita expenditures for white and Negro school children in a certain year for each of the Southern states should be set out.

SRC's first publication about these discrepancies should be stated and dates given for each subsequent publication touching that subject. A chart might be prepared showing steady reduction of the discrepancies corresponding roughly to the activities of SRC in calling them to public attention.

c) The same method would be pursued about discriminations by professional groups against Negroes, public housing, etc., etc.

4) The economic loss to the South by maintaining dual school systems, etc. might be shown, thereby developing the tremendous saving resulting from merger of such systems. The Council's publications establishing this drain on Southern resources would show that its efforts have been along the line of putting an end to such unnecessary drain. Action of various border states in opening graduate and other schools might be shown to parallel fairly closely SRC's action in this field. Just around the corner is a field which, surprisingly, NAACP does not seem to have entered - that is, the public library. There are amazingly few libraries open to Negroes on the same terms as whites in the South. It is inevitable that unless they are opened, the South must spend millions to bring the Negro library standards up to those of whites.

5) The enforced breakdown of segregation, which is imminent, will impose great strains on Southern communities. There should be some organization, amply equipped and financed, to conduct discreet educational campaigns designed to relieve the tension flowing from abolition of segregation. The ace card in such a program is the overwhelming evidence that where segregation has yielded to pressure, legal or otherwise, the adjustment has been made ~~gradually~~ quickly and satisfactorily. The argument behind the propoganda would be that what has been true in one area ~~and~~ relationship between the races should be equally true in another.

The whole point that I am trying to develop is that we must make a showing that the Ford people could expect a return from use of their funds and that the benefits would not be merely sectional. To use Mr. Williams' idea, we must relate what happens in the South to the nation and the rest of the world.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:L

cc - Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Same letter to: Marion A. Wright
Grace T. Hamilton
Harry V. Richardson
Harold L. Trigg
Rev. V. J. O'Connell
Howard Odum
John A. Griffin
Morris Abram
A. W. Dent
James M. Dabbs
Guy B. Johnson

Foundations - Ford Fdn.

Enclose: Self addressed, stamped envelope

April 5, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Special Committee which met March 3 went very carefully over the draft presented them then of a request from the Council to the Ford Foundation. As far as the staff could accomplish it, the suggestions made by the Special Committee have been incorporated in this new draft.

If you will take the time to criticize it, that will be much appreciated. You will notice that the paragraphs have been numbered to facilitate corrections. Your comments ought to reach the Council's office by April 15.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

F. F.

(22)

1201

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time sh AA26 NSB061 d day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1951 APR 16 AM 10 34

NS LLG034 PD=NEWORLEANS LA 16 901A=

DR GEORGE MITCHELL= TO ATLANTA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE

ATLA=

FORD FOUNDATION REQUEST EXCELLENT IN EVERY RESPECT=

A W DENT=

RECEIVED
APR 16 1951
Southern Regional Council

EASY WAY to TELEGRAPH
...lift telephone receiver..call WESTERN UNION..from home, office or coin box
WHEN YOU SEND A TELEGRAM THE CHARGES WILL ... APPEAR ON YOUR NEXT TELEPHONE BILL

ATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 3, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here are the original and one carbon of the request to the Ford Foundation. As you will see, it is a complete statement of our request, including the budgets. The only additional things will be the audit, a copy of the Treasury letter granting us tax exemption, and the various exhibits of our publications and effectiveness.

As to the other approach to May for aid from the Ford Fund, here are the major facts:

Oscar Cohen, of the Anti-Defamation League in New York, broached the subject of aid to SRC at a luncheon with May some months ago. (We have worked in close cooperation with ADL and they are well acquainted with our financial plight.) Cohen suggested, through Alex Miller, the Southeast Director of ADL, that we send him, Cohen, a memorandum on the Southern Regional Council for use with May. We supplied a copy of the revised Whitney memorandum. We have not heard in detail what Mr. Cohen has done, but we do know that May told him that there was a meeting coming up in Detroit on Monday at which the matter might suitably come up. Alex Miller today sent to May several letters, drawn from our files, commending the Southern Regional Council. As I remember, no set amount was specifically requested, but we suggested aid in the amount of $30,000.

Best of luck in the effort. Let us know when the appointment comes through. Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

P.S. You will recall that we hoped to salvage the original appeal enclosed for use with the Foundation Board. The carbon may be left with Mr. May.

HCF:er
Encls.

Dictated but not read

ANNA LORD STRAUSS
27 EAST 69TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr Mitchell,

I have just talked with Scott Fletcher of the Ford Foundation about your work.

I suggest that you send your request to Chester Davis at the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

In your letter I suggest that you say that you have talked with me and that I hope that Mr Davis will discuss the matter with me when we meet on June fourth.

I do want to congratulate you on the excellent presentation which you have developed.

It was a great pleasure talking with you the other day and I am much impressed by the valuable work that you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Lord Strauss

May 23rd

May 23, 1951

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

We have done a good deal of thinking and some discussing on ways to do the things called for in your speech to the Southern Sociological Society.

For us, the key problem is ways of getting the South, using the advice of social science people and lawyers, to decide on things to be done in a variety of fields. This, I take it, is what you mean by drafting agenda.

We are concerned for various reasons to make the effort to reach agreement on the things to be done a democratic effort. Social planning is bereft of most of its value unless the means to implement the planning are prepared pari passus with the plans. The actual means used can theoretically be either by agreement by one or more powerful political parties, an extensive propagandist campaign, or agreement from a broadly representative and effective caucus of the leadership of voluntary agencies and interest groups.

The Council is not likely to be in a position any time soon to enlist directly the agreement of political parties. It can influence public opinion with greater or lesser speed and breadth, depending in part upon the Council's own degree of organization out over the South. We suppose that our greatest effectiveness would be in drawing together the leadership of various agencies and interest groups.

We further think that the way to get them together is by certain areas of interest, as law enforcement, administration, health, education, housing, agriculture, and employment on merit. The religious field is another,

and a fruitful one. It has begun to cut its own channels of consultation across the lines of race through the Southern office of the National Council of Churches, and I suppose we had best not try to compete with that.

Something of the same thing could be said about graduate and professional education, through the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education.

But, in the other fields, democratic consultation on a Southwide or sub-regional basis across the lines of race hardly exists.

We suppose that the Southern Regional Council, when strengthened as to funds and staff, could in a carefully worked out time series convene as to each interest area, selected Negro and white leadership. The Council would determine the list of those to be invited, invite them, arrange the facilities for the conference, provide a secretarial service and the availability of social science people. We suppose that such a meeting would ordinarily not exceed eighteen to thirty-five people. Then it would be up to the membership of the interest group, white and Negro, to discuss next steps. In most cases the expected pattern would be a formal statement by the Negro leadership present of a program of complete and immediate integration. Most of the white persons present would in all probability respond with offers of concession and some vague statements as to a time schedule when certain improvements might be effected. Whereafter, there would be good likelihood that the meeting would draw up a list of things to be done at once, pretty soon, and a little later. The summarized proceedings of such a meeting ought (with the agreement of the meeting) to be made public and to be specifically circularized to large numbers of people in that field of interest concerned.

The Council's services would be available to each such meeting for supply of facts, and the Council or other agencies (often university bodies perhaps) might be commissioned by the meeting to obtain additional facts for planned subsequent meetings.

It might also be suitable to convene interest group people for smaller areas than for the South as a whole. This we think would come after Southwide meetings. The smaller meeting could be state by state or for sub-regions.

It seems to us that a proposal of this kind gives full opportunity for statement of the uncompromising position, if such be held, by each racial group, and full opportunity also for agreement as to things that can be done here and now.

We do not think that the Council itself, in consultation with its friends and members over the South, can draw up, field by field, time schedules of when things are to be done. In the first place, formal agreement by Negro leadership to postponement of full integration is probably unobtainable, and, from the point of view of their continuing drive, of doubtful value. And yet we all in the South do understand that some things can be done now and other things can be done later, and when we get together we can agree on what these are. We can't agree on more general issues of this sort, but we can agree on specific things like opening of hospitals to practice by Negro physicians, enacting tight municipal ordinances for

housing standards, or a widespread campaign to improve equality in law enforcement and decency in police administration.

The proposal also involves, though in a most informal way, something which the South does not have: a series of interest group "parliaments". These would provide as a by-product a strengthened habit of give-and-take consultation; and the much greater strengthening of that habit is one of the hopes of the whole South.

Do you think that if we sent the entirety or the substance of your address to the Ford Foundation and accompanied it by a proposal for such a series of meetings carried through over a period of several years, this would fairlyfaccord with the thing you had in mind? If so, we would be disposed to draw up the proposal in considerable detail and send it off with your address as a supplementary supporting memorandum to the Ford Foundation.

If we are wide of your mark, let us know and we will try again.

I will be happy to come to Chapel Hill at any time when you have time for further conversation. Perhaps I could bring down Paul Williams or Marion Wright, or bring along Mozell Hill, or some other non-staff member of the Council's inner circle in order that policy people would be participants.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

May 26, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We have got the Ford request off. The exhibits will go Monday.

Fleming and I have considered very closely whom we should invite to write. The list now is Charles Johnson, Dent, Archbishop O'Hara, Alfred Mynders, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, Rufus Clement, Carter Wesley, Will Alexander, Patterson at Tuskegee, Mrs. Tilly through Wilson to Hoffman, Clarence Pickett, Edgar Sterne, and Coker.

We think also of asking Mrs. Roosevelt to write Chester Davis.

Here is the kind of letter that we are sending to the people who are to do the letter writing.

The list is short on business people. Coker and Colonel Palmer, we suppose, will have to be the two. I have established no contact with Palmer, and think therefore I should ask you to personally write Palmer in order that Palmer should send the letter on to Hoffman. Unless you direct otherwise, I will suppose that you can do that.

If any of these names seem to you unwise, let me know. It will be several days before most of them go out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Dictated 5/25/51, but not read

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(58)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1951 MAY 28 PM 12 24

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O.SFC278 12 COLLECT=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 28 843A=

GEORGE S MITCHELL= 155 - 39

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA

OUR ONLY INFORMATION IS FOUNDATION ADDRESS 1440 WENTWORTH

AVE PASADENA 5=

EDWARD HOWDEN=

RECEIVED

MAY 28 1951

Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 30, 1951

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Miss Anna Lord Strauss was in Atlanta a couple of weeks ago, and I told her of the Southern Regional Council's forthcoming appeal to the Ford Foundation. She knows pretty well what we do, and I do hope that it will be possible for her to talk with you about it when she is out there June 4.

Here is a copy of our request, the formal original of which went into the Foundation three or four days ago.

Some exhibits to accompany the request are being forwarded by express and should be available to you in a few days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 31, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I consulted Msgr. by phone as to how to handle this and have followed as best I could the Monsignor's ideas.

I am having copies of the other letters sent to me, but I thought that perhaps the Archbishop would prefer to send the copy of his letter to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 31, 1951

Mr. Glenn W. Rainey
120 Third Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Glenn:

Here is the final draft of the request to the Ford Foundation. An original has been mailed out to them at 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

I have learned that Mr. Colwell won't come to Atlanta until September.

Would you consult John and the two of you decide wheter it would be right for one or both of you to write to Colwell and ask him to apprise Mr. Hutchins of Mr. Colwell's interest?

I think it would do a lot of good. My guess is that Hutchins would not finally make up his mind on any Southern matter without knowing what Colwell thought. A strong letter from you or from John to him would be very important.

Paul Williams has explored pretty carefully the procedure, and it includes about a dozen letters. I am asking our closest friends to write them. Part of the strategy requires copies of such letters to come to this office. So if you write Colwell, I hope you will be good enough to send a copy to the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

May 31, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We have sent off to the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, a final form of our request to the Foundation. It asks for $1,344,825 to cover a five-year program. That is enough to enable us to put a strong organization in each State, service those organizations well, and do for them and for the South as a whole a job of research interpretation. We accompanied the appeal with careful exhibits displaying the Council's activities in the past.

A copy of the request is enclosed.

Paul Williams has talked at length with people close to the Ford Foundation, and he advises that we ask about a dozen of our closest friends to write strong letters on the Council's behalf to persons they may know and have links with on the Ford Foundation. It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be sent to this office.

We would greatly like for you to write Mr. Chester C. Davis, at the address given above.

If in your own judgment your letter would do most good sent to Robert M. Hutchins or Paul G. Hoffman, well and good, but our guess was Davis.

Not a long letter, but one giving one, two, or three good arguments why the Ford Foundation should give sympathetic consideration to our appeal when it is processed and reaches the trustees for action.

I think a good deal will depend on your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
/Encl.

May 31, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We have sent off to the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, a final form of our request to the Foundation. It asks for $1,344,825 to cover a five-year program. That is enough to enable us to put a strong organization in each State, service those organizations well, and do for them and for the South as a whole a job of research interpretation. We accompanied the appeal with careful exhibits displaying the Council's activities in the past.

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We would greatly like for you to write Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, at the address given above.

If in your own judgment your letter would do most good sent to Paul G. Hoffman or Chester C. Davis, well and good. But our guess was Hutchins.

Not a long letter, but giving one, two, or three good arguments why the Ford Foundation should give sympathetic consideration to our appeal when it is processed and reaches the trustees for action.

In Paul Williams' letter to the Ford Foundation, he has asked for

opportunity for a personal appearance and has proposed that the ones to go be himself and you and me. We can't know when or if, but I should think it would be some time off.

I think a great deal will depend on your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 31, 1951

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

We have sent off to the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, a final form of our request to the Foundation. It asks for $1,344,825 to cover a five-year program. That is enough to enable us to put a strong organization in each State, service those organizations well, and do for them and for the South as a whole a job of research interpretation. We accompanied the appeal with careful exhibits displaying the Council's activities in the past.

A copy of the request is enclosed.

Paul Williams has talked at length with people close to the Ford Foundation, and he advises that we ask about a dozen of our closest friends to write strong letters on the Council's behalf to persons they may know and have links with on the Ford Foundation. It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be sent to this office.

We would greatly like for you to write Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, at the address given above.

If in your own judgment your letter would do most good sent to Paul G. Hoffman or Chester C. Davis, well and good, but our guess was Hutchins.

Not a long letter, but giving one, two, or three good arguments why the Ford Foundation should give sympathetic consideration to our appeal when it is processed and reaches the trustees for action.

I think a good deal will depend on your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encl.

May 31, 1951

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

The Council is making a major appeal to the Ford Foundation. Here is a copy of the request. It has had the painstaking thought of our Executive Committee and of a Special Committee appointed by Paul Williams. We have sent the original off to Mr. Paul G. Hoffman as President of the Ford Foundation. Along with it goes a set of exhibits of what the Council has been doing in the past.

Paul Williams went to Detroit and inquired closely of friends there as to the best means of furthering this appeal. He advises us to get about a dozen people who know the Council, and whose views would be really influential with the Ford Foundation, to write in to this or that Foundation board member.

We have asked Charles Johnson, Ralph McGill, President Dent, Alfred Mynders, Carter Wesley, Mr. James L. Coker, Dr. Patterson at Tuskegee, and a few other such persons, to write in.

Will you be good enough to write for us?

It ought to be a letter not long, but with room enough to develop an argument or two in favor of the Council's way of working at these things. Our own guess was that, of the trustees proper (Paul G. Hoffman, Robert M. Hutchins, Chester C. Davis, and Henry Ford II), Chester Davis would be most interested in a letter from you. But make your own choice.

We are advised by Paul Williams that it will be important for copies of the letters to be available for his use a little later on. If you will be good enough to have a copy sent to

this office -- or if you should prefer, to Paul Williams, 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia -- that will be helpful.

You will see from the copy of the request that we have asked for money to enable the Council to spread its work effectively out to the various Southern States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 31, 1951

Dr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

We have sent off to the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, a final form of our request to the Foundation. It asks for $1,344,825 to cover a five-year program. That is enough to enable us to put a strong organization in each State, service those organizations well, and do for them and for the South as a whole a job of research interpretation. We accompanied the appeal with careful exhibits displaying the Council's activities in the past.

A copy of the request is enclosed.

Paul Williams has talked at length with people close to the Ford Foundation, and he advises that we ask about a dozen of our closest friends to write strong letters on the Council's behalf to persons they may know and have links with on the Ford Foundation. It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be sent to this office.

We would greatly like for you to write Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, at the address given above.

If in your own judgment your letter would do most good sent to Robert M. Hutchins or Chester C. Davis, well and good, but our guess was Hoffman.

Not a long letter, but giving one, two, or three good ~~reasons~~ arguments why the Ford Foundation should give sympathetic consideration to our appeal when it is processed and reaches the trustees for action.

I think a good deal will depend on your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encl.

June 1, 1951

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Informer
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

The Council is making a major appeal to the Ford Foundation. Here is a copy of the request. It has had the painstaking thought of our Executive Committee and of a Special Committee appointed by Paul Williams. The membership of the latter Committee was Charles Johnson, Marion Wright, Grace Hamilton, Harry Richardson, Harold Trigg, Father Vincent O'Connell, Howard Odum, John Griffin, Morris Abram, A. W. Dent, J. M. Dabbs, and Guy Johnson (as proxy for Dr. Odum).

We have sent the original of the request off to Mr. Paul G. Hoffman as President of the Ford Foundation. Along with it goes a set of exhibits of what the Council has been doing in the past.

Paul Williams went to Detroit and inquired closely of friends there as to the best means of furthering this appeal. He advises us to get about a dozen people who know the Council, and whose views would be really influential with the Ford Foundation, to write in to this or that Foundation board member.

We have asked Charles Johnson, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, President Dent, Alfred Mynders, James L. Coker, Dr. Patterson at Tuskegee, and a few other such persons, to write in.

Will you be good enough to write for us?

It ought to be a letter not long, but with room enough to develop an argument or two in favor of the Council's way of working at these things. Our own guess was that, of the trustees proper (Paul G. Hoffman, Robert M. Hutchins, Chester C. Davis, and Henry Ford II), Paul Hoffman would be most interested in a letter from you. But Make your own choice.

We are advised by Paul Williams that it will be important for copies of the letters to be available for his use a little later on. If you will be good enough to have a copy sent to this office -- or, if you should prefer, to Paul Williams, 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia -- that will be helpful.

You will see from the copy of the request that we have asked for money to enable the Council to spread its work effectively out to the various Southern States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

P.S. The address of the Ford Foundation is 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

June 1, 1951

Mr. Ralph Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ralph:

Here is a copy of a letter I have just sent Clarence Pickett.

If he should call on you for advice or help, I wanted you to know about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.: 2

June 1, 1951

Mr. Clarence Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Clarence:

Here is a copy of a major appeal that the Council is making to the Ford Foundation. You will see that we are asking for enough to enable the Council to put a good office in each Southern State and to supply the States and the South in general with material that will interpret modern research in this whole field.

Paul Williams, as President of the Council, was lately in Detroit and consulted friends there as to the best means of furthering our appeal. He advises that it will be proper and most wise to ask a few close friends to write directly to members of the Board of the Foundation.

We are asking Charles Johnson, A. W. Dent, Archbishop O'Hara, Alfred Mynders, Ralph McGill, Rufus Clement, Carter Wesley, James L. Coker, Col. E. W. Palmer, Dr. Patterson, and three or four more, to write such letters.

Would you be so very kind as to write, yourself, to Hoffman, or to Chester Davis or Hutchins or whomever you know best?

We are told that it is material to the strategy for copies of the letters to be available to Paul Williams a little later on. So a copy ought to be sent, if you would, to him at 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia.

Certainly not long, but not so short but what it can develop an argument.

Our appeal has gone to the Ford Foundation at 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, along with a lot of exhibits.

We are delighted with the news that the American Friends Service Committee has had fresh help. The Friends are perfectly adapted to do the kind of conciliatory job the South needs, and all of us rejoice in their willingness to take on more of the load.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

June 1, 1951

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

We have sent off to the Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, a final form of our request to the Foundation. It asks for $1,344,825 to cover a five-year program. That is enough to enable us to put a strong organization in each State, service those organizations well, and do for them and for the South as a whole a job of research interpretation. We accompanied the appeal with careful exhibits displaying the Council's activities in the past.

A copy of the request is enclosed.

Paul Williams has talked at length with people close to the Ford Foundation, and he advises that we ask about a dozen of our closest friends to write strong letters on the Council's behalf to persons they may know and have links with on the Ford Foundation. It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be sent to this office.

We would greatly like for you to write Mr. Chester C. Davis, at the address given above.

If in your own judgment your letter would do most good sent to Paul G. Hoffman or Robert M. Hutchins, well and good, but our guess was Davis.

Not a long letter, but giving one, two, or three good arguments why the Ford Foundation should give sympathetic consideration to our appeal when it is processed and reaches the trustees for ~~action.~~

I think a good deal will depend on your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:bj
Encl.

June 1, 1951

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

For the last four or five months the Council has been cooking up a major appeal to the Ford Foundation. The Executive Committee and then a Special Committee went through it two or three times. Here is the final result. An original has gone off to the Ford Foundation at 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

Meanwhile, the President of the Council, Paul Williams, in Richmond, has made a trip to Detroit for close inquiry as to the best means of furthering our appeal. He advises that our chances will be much helped by getting about a dozen carefully chosen people to write to some member of the Foundation proper. The Board proper is Paul G. Hoffman, President, Robert M. Hutchins, Chester C. Davis, and Henry Ford II. In addition, they have a lot of prominent people on advisory commissions.

The others we have asked to write are Charles Johnson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Alfred Mynders, President Dent, President Clement, Will Alexander, Dr. Patterson of Tuskegee, James L. Coker, Col. E. W. Palmer, Archbishop O'Hara, and two or three others.

Would you be so good as to write for us? Pick your own Board member, but our choice for you would be Hoffman. Not too short a letter, and certainly not over a couple of pages, but long enough to develop one or two arguments for the way the Council goes about these matters.

It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be available to Paul Williams later on. So an extra

copy should be made and sent either to Paul at 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia, or to me here.

You have helped the Council mightily at other times, and we are grateful for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

June 1, 1951

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Jonathan:

We have been fitting together for the last several months a major appeal to the Ford Foundation. Here it is. The original has gone off to the Foundation at 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California, along with exhibits.

The President of the Council, as you know, is Paul Williams, of Richmond. He has lately been out to Detroit to inquire very closely as to ways of furthering our appeal. He advises that our chances will be considerably helped by about a dozen letters from people who know the South and who know what the Council does. We are asking for such letters from Charles Johnson, Dent at Dillard, Rufus Clement, Carter Wesley, Col. Palmer (Kingsport), James L. Coker, Patterson, etc. Also Ralph McGill.

Will you be good enough to write a letter? It ought to be not brief, but long enough to develop an argument or two in favor of people in the South taking on still more of the job and doing it more or less in the spirit that the Council has shown.

It is an important part of the strategy for copies of such letters to be available to Paul Williams a little later on. So a copy ought to be sent to him at 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia, or to me here.

The trustees proper seem to be Paul G. Hoffman, President, Robert M. Hutchins, Chester C. Davis, and Henry Ford II. Your letter would go to your own choice. We thought Hoffman, but maybe you know one of the others especially. Or maybe somebody on one of

the numerous advisory commissions is your special friend.

We will be grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

June 1, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
RFD #3
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Here are copies of letters such as we have sent to ten or twelve people over the South.

We would greatly like for Mr. James L. Coker to write such a letter. I suppose he ought to write to Paul Hoffman.

We have never had any direct contact with Mr. Coker, and I doubt that a letter from me would swing a letter from him to Hoffman. Would you take charge of trying to get Coker to write? It may mean the bother of a visit, but our business supporters are so few that I think it would be of the greatest value to have Mr. Coker write.

On second thought, would not Chester davis by Coker's best target? Mr. Coker's name carries agricultural connotation.

And will you safeguard the point with Mr. Coker that a copy of the letter should be sent either to this office or to Paul Williams, 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

June 1, 1951

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm, RFD #3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

We have at last sent off to Paul Hoffman our appeal to the Ford Foundation. Here is a copy of it. It was worked on a lot by the Executive Committee and by a Special Committee which Paul Williams set up (Charles Johnson, Wright, Mrs. Hamilton, Richardson, Trigg, Father O'Connell, Odum, Griffin, Abram, Dent, Dabbs, and Guy Johnson as proxy for Odum).

The original appeal is accompanied by a set of exhibits, which, incidentally, have been expressed out to Pasadena in a neatly made plywood box which the Commission evidently used for expressing exhibits, and which survives in good order.

You will see that what we have asked for is money enough to put a vigorous office in each Southern State (except Oklahoma) and for a real job of research interpretation.

We are corresponding back and forth with Dr. Odum about a supplementary appeal incorporating some of the proposals he made in his Atlanta speech three weeks or so ago.

Paul Williams went out to Detroit lately for the purpose of inquiring very closely as to the best way of furthering our appeal. He advises us to get about a dozen select persons to write in to some member of the Ford Foundation. The Foundation's address is 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California. Of the trustees proper -- Paul G. Hoffman, Chester C. Davis, Robert M. Hutchins, and Henry Ford II -- take your pick. Our guess would be Hutchins.

Paul Williams tells us that it is important to the strategy for copies of these letters to be available to Paul a little later on. So would you be kind enough to mail a copy to me or to Paul? Paul's address is 3320 Gloucester Avenue, Richmond 22, Virginia.

The letter ought to be neither short nor long. A couple of pages at the most, but long enough to develop an argument or two in favor of the way the Council works.

The others we are asking to write in this way are Charles Johnson, Dent, Alfred Mynders, Ralph McGill, Archbishop O'Hara, Carter Wesley, James L. Coker, and three or four more perhaps.

Advise me as to others, please.

Whoever gets your letter will, I am sure, be grateful for the wisdom coming out of your years in this cause.

Kendall Weisiger and I went the other afternoon to a memorial in a Negro church in Atlanta for Ashby Jones. Not what I had anticipated. Few present had any recollection of Dr. Jones, and most of the effort went into raising money to pay for a new church building.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 31, 1951

Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara
223 Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

My dear Archbishop O'Hara:

As Msgr. McNamara will perhaps have told you, the Southern Regional Council is making a major request to the Ford Foundation for aid to cover a five-year program. A copy of the request, which has just gone to the Ford Foundation, is enclosed. With it went substantial exhibits of what we have done in the past.

You will see that this is a request for $1,344,825 to be spent in five years. It will enable us to put a strong State office in each Southern State and develop a vigorous local movement on behalf of equal opportunity and broadened human understanding. The total sum will cover also enough money for a program of research interpretation through which we hope to get into the mind of the South the things which modern inquiry is bringing out in the field of human relations.

Paul Williams has recently made a trip to Detroit, in the course of which he inquired very closely as to our best strategy in furthering the request. He advises that we should ask about a dozen of the Council's best friends to write independently to one or the other of the Ford Foundation trustees. The actual trustees are Paul G. Hoffman, Chester C. Davis, Robert M. Hutchins, and, I believe, Mr. Henry Ford II. We would greatly like for you to write to one of them. Our own suggestion would be Mr. Hoffman, who is the head of the Foundation.

Mr. Hoffman's address is The Ford Foundation, 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

The South is obviously in for a period of major adjustment in popular human habits. We all know that there is in the South a high tradition of just and temperate and religious attitudes

in race relations. The task is to strengthen these forces with greater knowledge and greater stimulus, so that within a comparatively short time this finer tradition, broadly spread among the people, can ease the transition to a truly Christian society.

The purpose of the Council is to provide, in sincerity and in temperateness, the modern knowledge which will sustain the South's own effort to deal with its problems.

A transition is inevitable, but rapid change in peace and with agreement must be managed and organized; if things are left alone, the changes threaten to make wounds that will last a long time.

You have had the most intimate experience of the relationship between injustice in the social order of the South and the problem of world order.

If you will be so good as to write as a Southerner experienced in the world's modern conflict, we are sure your views would be persuasive.

It is important to the success of our appeal that copies of these choice few letters be available to Paul Williams. I would therefore be grateful if you would let him have a copy of your letter. Paul's address is 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 1, 1951

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

We have spent the last few months working over a major appeal to the Ford Foundation. Here it is. The original, with a lot of exhibits, has gone out to Paul G. Hoffman, as President of the Ford Foundation, at 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

Paul Williams, as President of SRC, went out to Detroit a couple of weeks ago and inquired very closely as to the best means of furthering our appeal. He advises that a few Southern persons who know the Council pretty well should write in to this or that individual member of the Ford Foundation's Board. The trustees proper, so far as we know them, are Paul G. Hoffman, Chester C. Davis, Robert M. Hutchins, and Henry Ford II.

We have asked Charles Johnson, Dent, Ralph McGill, Rufus Clement, Dr. Alexander, James Coker, Archbishop O'Hara, Clarence Pickett, and three or four more such people to write in in this way.

Would you be so very kind as to write a letter of this sort? Our own choice of the man for you to write to would be Chester Davis, but make your own selection. The letter ought to be neither brief nor long, but it should develop an argument or two in favor of Southern people themselves doing still more to quicken the pace of change, and, if you agree, in pretty much the Council's spirit.

It is important to the strategy for a copy of each such letter to be available to Paul Williams a little later on. His address is 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia.

We would be deeply grateful for your real kindness in this way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

JONATHAN DANIELS

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

1540 Caswell St.
Raleigh, N. C.
June 4, 1951

Dear George:

I will be glad to write the Ford Foundation, and I do happen to know Paul Hoffman fairly well, as I served on the Public Advisory Board of ECA during his chairmanship. I think, therefore, that it would be better if my letter went direct to him than through channels.

Now: I am sure if I go to work on this thing I can come up with a fairly good letter about why the Council should have this money, but I am also confident that if you wrote a letter for me presuming that I knew Paul Hoffman fairly well and telling him about the Southern Regional Council, it would be a more effective statement. I, of course, would revise the letter if necessary to make it sound like me.

If you will shoot along a draft, I will send it along to Hoffman, or time it to go in accordance with your plans.

Sincerely,

Jonathan

June 6, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I promised you a copy of the Ford request.

If this comes through, the South can do itself proud.

What is your considered opinion as to the man to write the Ford people from Kentucky? Whoever is to do it should write a page or so giving some pretty strong arguments for proceeding in the Council's manner. Ford Foundation address: 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California. I suppose the man to write to would be Robert M. Hutchins, but perhaps Chester Davis or Paul Hoffman.

It is an important part of the strategy for a copy of the letter to be available to Paul Williams in Richmond. So a copy of it ought to go either to him there at 3320 Gloucester Road, or to me here for him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encl.

Dictated but not read

June 11, 1951

Mr. Clarence E. Pickett
American Friends Service Comm.
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Clarence:

Our humble thanks for your most kind letter to Chester Davis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 11, 1951

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

Our humble thanks for your most kind letter to Chester Davis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

-1 Copies sent PW 6/8/51

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 6, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am pleased to enclose a copy of a letter I have just written to Mr. Chester C. Davis. I hope this will be of help.

I have read with much interest the request, and commend you and all others who worked on it. It is certainly an ably prepared statement.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

p

COPY

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 E. Green Street
Pasadena 1, Calif.

June 12, 1951

Dr. F. D. Patterson, President
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

Your letter of June 6 arrived immediately after my return from the East. The application by Dr. George Mitchell on behalf of the Southern Regional Council came to my desk at the same time.

Anna Lord Strauss, and others, have spoken to me of the Council and its work. You may be sure that I shall read the application with care and will discuss it with my associates here. Thank you very much for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Chester C. Davis
Associate Director

Ford Foundation letters

June 13, 1951

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

We asked the following people to write letters in to this or that figure in the Ford Foundation: Charles Johnson, A. W. Dent at Dillard, Archbishop O'Hara, Alfred Mynders, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, Rufus Clement, Carter Wesley, Will Alexander, James L. Coker, F. D. Patterson, Jonathan Daniels, Edgar Sterne, Col. Palmer at Kingsport, Clarence Pickett.

In addition, we want to get somebody appropriate from Kentucky; Charles Wilson if workable; and Dr. Howard Odum.

If you will advise us on others, we would like to know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Ford Foundation Letters

June 13, 1951

Mr. R. W. Hudgens, Director
American International Association
for Economic and Social Development
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5117
New York 20, New York

Dear Pete:

For the last several months we have been boiling up (or down) a major request to the Ford Foundation. Here it is. It went to Hoffman two or three weeks ago. We have sent a copy also to Chester Davis, who has acknowledged it with some evidence that he knows who we are and what it is all about.

I saw Dr. Will the other afternoon at his farm, and he said by all means to ask you to be in touch with Chester Davis about us.

Here is a good show that ties together the best of the South. It has struggled all these years, as you know. The network of confidence which it has built up is priceless. And the time to use the network is now. This is a scheme for getting a good State office in each Southern State working at our kind of thing and in our spirit. It is a conservative budget. It does not ask to blow this office up into a great monster; it keeps this office small and puts the money on work with people in the States.

If there is any chance to steer the South and bring about changes (local and in detail) with no more than a digestible amount of hatred and fear, that chance is bound up with what our kind of people can do. But going around and begging two dollars here and ten dollars there from every good friend I've ever had or can make is unseemly. Somebody has to float a real effort. The Ford people have said

they are out really to get some things done. We think this is the way to do it hereabouts.

I know you are busy, but do read through the request and, if you agree with our proposal, talk with people who can get something done about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

June 14, 1951

Dr. Geo. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I arranged yesterday about the James Coker letter to the Ford Foundation. Mr. Coker was in Europe, but his long-time secretary, Mrs. Blizzard, whom I have known for even longer, said that she would see that the matter was handled. She seemed very glad to do it, and daid that she would send a copy of the letter to you. My understanding is that she will send the letter herself, for Mr. Coker, though she may get particular authorization from him by wire. However, she said she had authority to handle whatever came up. He is not expected back till July 22, and I told Mrs. Blizzard that that would probably be too late. So I feel sure she is not planning to wait till he returns. Mrs Paul Hoffman is a personal friend of Mr. Coker, and I think the letter will go to him. If you do not receive a copy of this letter within a reasonable time, you might remind Mrs Blizzard of it. The initials are A. W., I believe.

Our state Executive Board meets June 21. I will ask at that time about possible subscriptions to the Nairo Reporter.

Kindest regards, as ever.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 18, 1951

Mr. A. W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dent:

That was a grand letter to Hoffman. Nothing is more encouraging than the warm opinion of one's friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 18, 1951

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Informer
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

It was mighty kind of you to write so cordially and helpfully about our Ford request. Other people's letters have been good, too; Dent's, Patterson's, and Clarence Puckett's we have seen so far. We understand that Mr. James L. Coker in South Carolina is a personal friend of Hoffman's and will write Hoffman.

If the Ford people will put up the money, we can make things really step in these Southern States.

According to our papers here, Texas handled MacArthur about right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Paul Christopher

Gordon Hancock

Grace Hamilton

Marion Wright

Guy Johnson

Harold Driggs

John H. Wheeler

Harry V. Richardson

Fr. O'Connell

Morris Abram

CC: Paul Williams

Same letter to all members of
Executive and Special Committees
not asked themselves to write
Ford

June 19, 1951

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Here is a copy of Paul Williams' letter to the
Ford Foundation.

We solicit your interest and friendly influence
toward its going through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

May 25, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I have the honor to send with this letter a request to the Ford Foundation on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. By express we are sending several exhibits which graphically present certain aspects of our work.

We sincerely believe that the Southern Regional Council embodies principles enunciated by the Ford Foundation when it was created.

In our appeal we have endeavored to present a fairly complete picture of our Council as briefly as possible. Frequently, however, the spirit behind an organization such as ours cannot be translated into words. For this reason, we cherish the hope that the trustees will be so impressed with our report that they will afford us the opportunity to make a personal presentation at such a place and time as they may name. If this opportunity comes, I would suggest that Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, who is chairman of our executive committee, and Dr. George S. Mitchell, our executive director, join with me for a full dress presentation.

The next fifteen years are crucial ones for the South. We can already envision the pace of change. Many of the decisions which the South will have to make require a thoughtful climate of opinion such as can be made possible only by an organization composed of Southern people representing broad cross-sections of life. These decisions can be made bravely and sensibly by utilizing the network of responsible friends we can call on whose names do not often appear in the headlines, but who are precisely the ones who can get work done in their communities for the furtherance of the democratic processes in the South.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:er

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 20, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for a copy of Paul William's letter to the Ford Foundation. It seems sufficiently clear and appealing to get a hearing. I do not know what I can do, but if I can do anything to push the matter along, you may count upon me for it.

Cordially yours,

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:j

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 22, 1951

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

We are deeply grateful for that fine, warm, and thoughtful letter to Chester Davis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 28, 1951

Mr. James G. Maddox
American International Association
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5101
New York 20, New York

Dear Jim:

I am all appreciation for your letter of June 25.

You did just the thing that needed to be done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1951
Southern Regional Council

American International Association
for economic and social development

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20 · NEW YORK · ROOM 5101

June 25, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is in reply to your letter of June 13 addressed to Pete about the application which you recently made to the Ford Foundation. Pete has been in Venezuela for about three weeks and is likely to remain there for another week or ten days.

I have just returned from a Latin American conference at Stanford University, where I had two or three good talks with Howard Tolley who is now working for the Ford Foundation, particularly as an advisor to Chester Davis. Tolley knew about your application; Chester had called him and was interested primarily in your politics and the general standing of the Council.

I spent about 30 minutes with Tolley describing you and the work of the Council, giving him the names of its officers and suggesting that he get in touch with Charles Johnson at Fisk. The latter suggestion was made particularly because Chester had indicated to Tolley that the Ford people wanted to do something in the field of race relations, and that they would be interested in finding some man to act on a short-term consulting basis to tell them about the problem and what they should do with various types of applications which they have been receiving. I pointed out to Tolley that you would probably be the best person available for this consultant's post, but that since you had forwarded this application, the Ford Foundation might have to hire someone else as their advisor in the whole field of race relations. I also tried to impress him with the fact that should they move in this field without having the blessing of Charles Johnson they would automatically be creating the suspicion of many persons who have spent their lives in this area.

It appeared that Chester's main inquiry about you had been how far you had gone with Henry Wallace and the people around him during the last campaign. I assured him that you had never even started in that direction and that your skirts were entirely clean. I mention this point now because in any of your further negotiations with the Ford people this angle is a point to keep in mind. It was Tolley's thought that Bob Hutchins would probably figure more heavily in decisions on requests of the type which you have submitted than either Chester or Paul Hoffman.

As soon as Pete returns, I will, of course, bring your letter to his attention. In the meantime, I think that my talk with Tolley may have done you some good. If there is anything further, don't hesitate to let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James G. Maddox

JGM:sks

NEW HOPE FARM
ROUTE 3
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

June 25, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear George,

I am attaching a letter which I have sent to Chester Davis.

Rex Tugwell was here the other day and I had a long talk with him about your situation. He was interested and agreed that early in September he will have a personal talk with Huchins, with whom he has been in contact about the problem of the general policy of the Ford Foundation.

It would seem to me desirable for you to put in his hands by the first of September a detailed account of the situation in the South and what your organization is doing to meet it. Rex is eager to be helpful and is I think in a position to do so.

Blessings!

W. N. A.

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 25, 1951

Mr. Carter Wesley
P.O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Many thanks for sending on the letter from the Ford Foundation.

They apparently are hung up on the matter of setting up screening machinery on applications in this field. I only hope they don't stay hung too long.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

June 23, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending you herewith the original of a letter received from the Ford Foundation, so that you can have it in your files, I will make a copy for my own files here so you can keep this.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Incl. 1

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

June 18, 1951

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Carter Wesley
President
Freedmen's Publishing Company
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Your letter of June 12th has unfortunately arrived in Mr. Hoffman's absence from Pasadena, but I shall see that it is brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

The proposal submitted by the Southern Regional Council is at this time being carefully considered by the officers of The Ford Foundation. However, due to the fact that the Foundation is endeavoring to work out its general program in the whole field of inter-racial relations, it may be some time before a decision can be reached on this particular proposal.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.

Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.
Assistant to the Director

JMMcD/pdd

June 28, 1951

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm, Route 3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

That was a wise and effective letter to Chester Davis. Thank you.

And thank you for talking with Rex. I will write him in ample time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 28, 1951

Mr. Glenn W. Rainey
120 Third Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Glenn:

That was a hard-hitting letter to Colwell. We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

July 5, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Very many thanks for writing to Mark Ethridge. I do hope he will write us a good letter.

Letters have gone in to the Ford Foundation from Clarence Pickett, Dr. Patterson of Tuskeegee, Dent at Dillard, Will Alexander, J. L. Coker of Hartsville, Jonathan Daniels, Carter Wesley, Edgar Stern, and others.

I think they will show some reluctance to aid an organization which technically comes within their ban on aid to local and regional bodies; but the Southern Regional Council is really a body to do for a national and international problem what no national organization could do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

STANLEY NEWHALL, PRESIDENT
CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. FREDRICK T. FLYNN, SECRETARY
CHARLES E. STOLL, TREASURER
C. L. THOMAS, MEMBER

J. MANSIR TYDINGS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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COLEMAN WRIGHT

July 3, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Ilness of my father, and a great deal of out of town work away from the office, have made it impossible for me to give time to your request. Add that I have not found a permanent secretary to write my letters.

I hope that this late effort will be effective nevertheless.

Cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings

JMT:ohg

July 3, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 5
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Publisher
Courier-Journal & Times
6th and Broadway
Louisvil e, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Enclosed is a copy of a request to the Ford Foundation as made by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

If the request is granted the Council will be in position to render a very important service to the South. I know that you appreciate, and have personally supported the Council's work.

We feel that a letter from you to Mr. Paul Hoffman, giving strong arguments for supporting the Southern Regional Council, would greatly enhance our chances for obtaining a grant.

I would appreciate having a copy of your letter to Mr. Hoffman, and any suggestions you might have for us which will help the cause along.

Cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings
Chairman, Kentucky Division,
Southern Regional Council

JMT:ohg

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

July 6, 1951

Dear George:

I am enclosing a letter I just received from Paul Hoffman of the Ford Foundation. I hope the Council will be able to meet the qualifications for a grant.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jonathan

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

July 3, 1951

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Jonathan:

Mighty kind of you to write Paul Hoffman and to send us his letter.

We had heard from another source, too, that they have made a rule against helping local or regional organizations. But it is only by accident that we would fit that definition.

If they think about it carefully, they will see (as we abundantly said in our application) that we are dealing with a national and an international problem. The problem happens to be concentrated in twelve or thirteen states. And there is no way to do through a national program what a body of Southerners of both races can do. The nation's way to get things done in the South is for Southerners themselves of both races to be enabled to do the things needful. Whatever may be a national program in this whole field, something additional has to be done in the South. We offer to do that additional and at the same time stay in step as well as may be with national solutions.

I wish you would ponder about this. It is quite a problem to get the Ford Foundation to understand it. I will be coming through Raleigh (driving) on Saturday, the 14th, and again on Friday, the 20th, of July, and I will try to find you. It may be that one more letter from you would set that point straight.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

July 9, 1951

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dept. of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hancock:

I had not realized that the Saturday date for meetings makes it so hard for you to come. I will hope that future ones can be put on another day.

Thank you a lot for getting in touch with Douglas Freeman. I judge from his letter that he is not writing to the Ford Foundation for us now, but that later on, if you were to ask him again to do so, he would be willing—if there seems evidence that the Ford people are seriously considering us.

We have had pretty good letters back from members of the Ford Foundation to various ones who wrote the Ford Foundation for us. We judge that the Ford Foundation has not yet established much machinery for screening applications in the field of race relations. And also that they are putting in most of their time on world economics and peace. Yet they do write cordially about the Council, and we have had some pretty big guns to write to them. My own guess is that the Ford Foundation will get around to our application industriously this fall. And I feel sure that a letter from Douglas Freeman along about then would do a lot of good.

I have set my calendar to keep you reminded.

We have still got the whole task that you laid out in your statement back in 1943. I deeply believe though that it can be done.

I will be in Richmond in the course of the Philadelphia trip some time in the middle of this month, and I will try to find you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Fifth of July
1 9 5 1

GORDON B. HANCOCK

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia

My dear Dr Mitchell:

It distresses me greatly when I find myself unable to attend the executive meetings. The fact is, the saturday meetings necessitate my overnight travel in order to meet my congregation on sunday morning, and this does not leave me fresh and vigorous as I must be in order to handle my large sunday morning congregations. We are just completing our social center at a cost of more than $80,000 and I have to be "on the ball" as you may well imagine.

Enclosed is a letter from Dr Freeman whom I wrote upon receipt of your letter stating that you were trying to contact the Ford Foundation. I know Dr Freeman if anybody can make the necessary appeal, so I am counting on keeping him lined up when the proper time comes.

Faithfully Gordon B Hancock

DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN

RICHMOND 26, VIRGINIA
HOME: 5100 HARLAN CIRCLE
MAIL: POST OFFICE BOX 8748

June 28, 1951

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I shall do anything I can to further the work of your Southern Regional Council, but I question whether an appeal to the Ford Foundation at this time will serve any useful purpose. The reason I say this is that I recently wrote a friend of mine who is one of the Trustees and asked him about the program. His reply led me to believe that the program had not yet been formulated to the point where it included anything that would be helpful to such work as yours. It may be, therefore, that we have to "pass the hat" until the Ford Foundation decides what it is going to do.

With best regards,

Faithfully yours,

D. S. Freeman

D. S. Freeman

DSF:mwa

The Chattanooga Times

July 30, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Here is a letter I got from Chester Davis. I suppose they have already notified you of the disappointing decision.

Since, however, there is a hint of future consideration, I am wondering if they could not be induced to replace the Rosenwald Fund as a minimum immediately. No doubt you have already worked on this as you are always up to the minute on thinking these things out.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Myndens

Alfred Myndens
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl.

The Chattanooga Times

July 25, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I felt that your file for the Ford Foundation was so complete that I couldn't add anything but maybe my letter which was mailed today will have a little effect.

I attended the meeting of the Chattanooga Interracial Committee when the young Negro doctor was welcomed and I told him that I represented you.

I suppose you are familiar with the makeup of that committee. Confidentially, its leaders are of the class that would want to let sleeping dogs lie and even to give a sleeping dog a sleeping pill if it awoke. Dr. Fowle, the chairman, is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, our richest church. They do a good work and I would not disparage that but I think that Dr. Fowle would be horrified at being drawn into cooperation with the S. R. C.

Rabbi Abraham Feinstein of the Ochs Temple told me that if I would get him some data he would suggest at the next meeting of the Chattanooga Interracial Committee that it affiliate officially with the S.R.C. It is my opinion that it would start a fuss and that nobody would profit.

Congratulations on the open letter to Byrnes, Talmadge and Wright. It was very fine.

On the Ford matter I enclose a clipping from the editorial page of The Times about Benson Ford. I carried a column some months ago about the gifts of the Fords of $1,000,000 for a home for the National Conference of Christians and Jews in New York. This merely shows that they are interested in interracial cooperation. I likewise enclose a clipping from The Times about the Ford Foundation venture here.

With highest personal regards, I am

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encls.

Friday, July 20
1951

FORD FOUNDATION PLANS TEST HERE

Will Conduct Experimental Work in the Development of Adult Education

Chattanooga has been selected as one of the test cities in which the Fund for Adult Education, a part of the Ford Foundation, will conduct experimental work in the development of adult education programs, it was disclosed here yesterday. Further information is expected shortly.

In a letter to Miss Elizabeth Edwards, librarian of the Chattanooga Public Library, Miss Martha C. Howard, assistant to C. Scott Fletcher, president of the Fund for Adult Education branch, stated:

"The activities in such test cities will be used for the purposes of evaluation which we are sponsoring and of a community-wide adult education program as a whole. A regional consultant will be available for Chattanooga as with our other test cities. Mr. Robert J. Blakely, a member of our staff who maintains an office in St. Louis, will probably be in touch with you in the near future."

Wrote for Information

When objectives of the Ford Foundation were announced recently, Miss Edwards wrote for information on the Fund for Adult Education and gave a resume of local programs and needs. She wrote with the indorsement of the local library board, and also as a member of the adult education committee of the League of Women Voters, of which Mrs. W. B. Richardson is chairman.

At the state league meeting in Knoxville in May, Mrs. Richardson had discussed the committee's plans with Miss Anna Lord Strauss, former national league president, who had just been made a director of the Ford Foundation, and Miss Strauss suggested that the local group ask the foundation for assistance.

While particulars of the Ford Fund program here have not been obtained, the correspondence of Miss Edwards and Miss Howard gives interesting clues, and background information also.

Anxious for Program

On May 15, Miss Edwards wrote Dr. Fletcher:

"I have read with great interest the accounts of your foundation and of your appointment to direct the Fund for Adult Education. For many years now I have attended library meetings and heard the library discussed as the People's University or, on the other hand, the Library of the People's University. I am not worried about what agency sponsors an adult education program, but anxious that the community have a good program.

"Two years ago the local League of Women Voters made a survey of adult education in Chattanooga. We have a public vocational high school which has excellent courses on such trades and vocations as real estate, auto mechanics, dressmaking, cake decoration, etc. The University of Chattanooga offers late afternoon and evening classes at regular fees. A small extension division of the University of Tennessee was established last year. Outside of these courses, the League of Women Voters committee sent questionnaires to over 100 clubs and organizations, hoping to find that many people are pursuing an educational program through organized clubs. Some club programs are excellent, but most are restricted by availability of local speakers.

"To cite two examples: The Mental Hygiene Association sponsored a series of four film discussions on child development at the First Christian Church. The attendance

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"To cite two examples: The Mental Hygiene Association sponsored a series of four film discussions on child development at the First Christian Church. The attendance was so large that it was necessary to move the meetings from the church schoolroom to the main auditorium. The Public Library announced a series of five evening sessions entitled "Finance Forum for Women." The registration was 179 and the attendnace record was excellent.

"The league survey recommended: "The first work which we should promote in Chattanooga is a compilation of our resources; the second, a co-ordination of present resources, and third, suggestions for supplying the most fundamental programs not now met by any school, association, or program."

Need Is Felt

"As librarian of the Chattanooga Public Library, I have felt for some time the responsibility for promoting an adult education program of free, non-credit courses or discussions. We also feel the need for a clearing house of information on educational programs. We made an effort to keep this information in the form of a calendar last fall, but the effort fell through due to shortage of library staff. The library board indorses my writing you to find out what help your foundation can supply. We need help in the organization of a community program, in the ascertaining of needs and interests, and in the execution of any recommended program. The Public Library will agree to take initiative and responsibility, or to cooperate with other agencies."

In the absence of the president, Miss Howard answered the letter: "We appreciate your interest in the activities of the Fund for Adult Education. While your objectives in promoting an adult education program in Chattanooga coincide, apparently to a large extent, with what we are hoping to accomplish, we are not at the present time offering aid to local groups, but are confining support to national organizations." She sent further information about Ford Foundation adult education plans and promised more later. Then this week came the letter announcing that Chattanooga was to be a test city for developing an adult education program for general use.

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., MONDAY, JULY 16, 1951.

Next to the News

BY ALFRED MYNDERS

HERE is a sentence from an article in the current Life magazine: "No healthier antidote than this could be concocted for the lethargy, vaccilation, confusion and smug cynicism that have tended to poison the mind of West Europe these last five years." Since those things have poisoned the mind of the United States also, what is the "antidote" to which that sentence in the Life article refers? It is the Eisenhower personality—"his energy, resolution, lucidity and almost boyish enthusiasm." The United States may ask for some of that antidote next year.

And one wonders—what makes Ike Eisenhower so universally popular? The title of Life's article is "Optimist in Arms" and it is about the success Eisenhower has already made with European rearmament. "For the American people, the most heartening truth about West Europe today is that the most popular man in these war-weary nations is an American general with a famous and captivating smile."

————*

ONE tries to imagine Eisenhower on the same spot where one saw Douglas MacArthur, on the rostrum of the Joint Session speaking with such impressive dignity his well-thought piece. Eisenhower probably would have grinned. And yet, Eisenhower, as a picture in Life shows, was solemnity itself at the ceremony in St. Paul's Cathedral when he presented the roll of honor of 28,000 Americans based on Britain who were killed in World War II.

The Life article speaks of the perils still ahead in Europe, and it concludes:

"But, if only for these two or three years, the most solid reason for hope of success is simply Eisenhower's individual greatness. Ike's ability to work with men of many nations is matched by his singular capacity to inspire mediocre men to superior attainment. He has a couple of impressively powerful weapons with which to work. One is the full force of the U.S., which Europeans know Eisenhower effectively represents and commands; another is the yearning of all Europeans—a yearning that becomes ever keener as they slowly pull themselves from the quicksand of fearful fatalism—to gain protection against another world catastrophe. But this American general's not-at-all-secret weapon that can be most effective is simply his vast store of plain, hard, unvarnished American confidence. That is the best therapy possible for Europe today."

"Hard, plain, unvarnished American confidence." How America itself could do with a spot of that, nowadays.

————*

BENSON FORD, vice-president-general manager of the Lincoln-Mercury division of the Ford Motor Company, has been elected Protestant national co-chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, according to announcement received recently by the local chapter of the national conference.

The annopncement was made by Thomas E. Braniff, president of the Braniff International Airways, and Roger W. Strauss, chairman of the board of the American Smelting and Refining Company, who are the Catholic and Jewish co-chairmen, respectively, of the national conference.

Mr. Ford succeeds Charles E. Wil-

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Mr. Ford succeeds Charles E. Wilson, who resigned shortly after his appointment last winter as director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Mr. Wilson held the post from 1947-51. Prior to that, the Protestant co-chairmanship was held by Newton D. Baker, secretary of war in President Wilson's cabinet during World War I, and Nobel Prize Winner Dr. Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington University (St. Louis). Mr. Baker, a founder of the national conference, served as co-chairman from 1928-37; Dr. Compton from 1937-47.

————*

IN STATEMENTS accompanying the announcement, both Mr. Braniff and Mr. Straus warmly praised the new incumbent for his willingness to serve the civic life of the nation.

"Mr. Ford continues a brilliant history of Protestant leadership in the work of the national conference," Mr. Straus declared. "The organization was founded in 1928 to combat prejudice among American groups and to promote justice, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholic and Jews. The nation has made good headway toward building a social order founded on the religious ideals of brotherhood but much remains to be done. We are fortunate that in Mr. Ford our top leadership has drawn from the younger leaders."

Benson Ford is president of the board of trustees of the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit. He also is a trustee of the Ford Foundation and of the Henry Ford Trade School.

August 1, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I am very grateful for your letter of July 30 and for Chester Davis's letter to you.

We have been hearing straight along that they are busiest in the other field, but I think there is cause to suppose that they will get around to considering us closely in the late autumn. What information I have leads me to be encouraged about prospects of a substantial grant from them.

Meanwhile, people in the American Friends Service Committee have promised to try to raise from a couple of small foundations enough to tide us through until a decision is made by the Ford Foundation. If that works out, we will stay on our legs for the rest of the year anyway.

Your letter to Davis was a quite exceptionally fine one, and we are grateful to you for it.

Thank you also for going to the meeting of the Chattanooga Interracial Committee. Their invitation was the first friendly move they had made, and I did not want to be less than courteous.

We are delighted that Chattanooga is doing the experimental program in adult education.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

August 13, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I was to send you copies of the letters written to the Ford Foundation.

Herewith are two copies each of the letters by Carter Wesley, Hodding Carter, Edgar Stern, Clarence Pickett, F. D. Patterson, A. W. Dent, Alfred Mynders, and Will Alexander.

Additionally, there are two copies of a letter from Glenn Rainey to Professor Colwell, who was closely associated with Chancellor Hutchins at the University of Chicago.

We know that a letter was written by Ralph McGill, but we have not been supplied with a copy. Perhaps you have? And you have a letter from Archbishop O'Hara.

We think that the following have written but do not know for sure: Charles Johnson, R. W. Hudgins, James L. Coker, and Jonathan Daniels. We don't know whether Palmer at Kingsport wrote or not.

I don't know yet whether Charles Wilson wrote. Mrs. Tilly is handling him.

I return in a separate envelope, so as to keep it unconfused, your correspondence with Walter Reuther and Thomas Starling and Paul Sifton and Paul Christopher.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchelll
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 17, 1951

Mr. Rexford Guy Tugwell
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Rex:

Dr. Will told me I ought to write you along about now and give you in some detail what the situation is in the South and where our Council comes in in doing something about it. This arent our application now pending with the Ford Foundation. Copy of the application herewith.

This is a society on the turn between agricultural and industrial predominance. So it is a society of a divided mind. Politically and socially it holds to doctrines useful in a plantation economy; its daily practical concern is to operate the machines and traffick of an industrial boom.

The industrial growth comes at it from two directions. In peace times the South has proven its pulling force; in war preparation we get an extra intake to use the power and people and space.

Industry is an equalizer, offering much the same wages to all who can train themselves to do its jobs. And equal pay means equal homes, equal gallonage of water consumption, and equal standing as men.

Arthur Raper said a year ago that even in our agriculture we could leave behind the idea that prosperity depends upon keeping cheap, black labor. Machines can do the c heap labor. Wherefore our institutions can change.

Add to these things what is at heart their reflection, the growth of political democracy. In Georgia in two years' time the total of qualified voters rose from somewhere around 350,000 to over a million, and at least 100,000 of the new voters were Negroes. In the whole South the growth in Negro voters in the last ten years has been from a few scores of thousands to almost a million. And the white vote has swollen too. Add the last war for Democracy and today's ideological warfare and the vigorous protest of three million migrant Negro ex-Southerners living in the North. Add civil rights and the law of the land.

Clear enough that the South has a vast mental adjustment to make in a short period of years. Clear also that forces are at work which will put through that mental adjustment, willy-nilly. Clear that the process could be speeded up. And clear again that it is most easily to be speeded up by action on the part of Southern people raised up in it. Essentially, that's the case for our Council.

The Council and its tradition are old, as these things go. It has fingered out all over the South the people of both races who are willing to get things done. We know, or can quickly find out, how far almost anybody of prominence in this field will go and how to move him. We have a long friendship with the churches, Protestant and Catholic--and we reach into the Jewish community. The press knows us and thinks pretty well of us. We are the only widespread interracial organization in the South, and we have earned and held the respect of both parts of this divided society. We have some existing organization of our members in all but two of the Southern States--practically speaking, in all but Oklahoma.

Our members are used to passing the word along about violence or injustice, perceived or feared. On their own, they try to get order and justice. At our request, they will do extra things. Within their State organizations, they draw up programs and choose committees to work on prisons or schools or courts or employment or newspapers or rumors. We send them all a monthly publication to give them facts and steering and encouragement. But at most, we are only three of four thousand, and the only paid personnel is in Atlanta, and we get done about what you would expect would be done by conscientious and overburdened volunteer people.

Now the paradox is that the North and West, free of the traditions that shackle the South, provide themselves with paid professional people to produce interracial adjustment. We instance in our request Connecticut. Sixty thousand Negroes and a legislative appropriation of $55,000 a year to make things healthy. The same thing has spread far in the North and the West. And here in my hand is a bulletin describing sixty-two mayors' Commissions on Human Rights--or some such name--stretched from Lodi, New Jersey, to Seattle. State commissions and city commissions raise money from nearly all of the public and do their work professionally. And here sits the South, fons et origine of the problem, and no mayors' commissions and no State commissions and no public money and no paid personnel. One little thin magazine called New South, printing 5,000 copies most months, speaking the truth. The hard driving courage of the NAACP does a lot to bring people around. But a crucial Southern resource is us and the church people and our school friends and thoughtful members in colleges and universities and the people we know in business and in labor--plus the South's own knowledge that it has a better job to do. And devotion and duty that call people to risk and sacrifice and strain on behalf of decency to come.

What we want is a white man and a colored man, each paid $6,000, and a clerk-typist for each of the States in the South. This would let us do widely and in detail the kind of thing that our one paid office (in Atlanta) has been

getting done. We leave aside Oklahoma, and we propose half of an office for Kentucky. But for the others, about that much. The Council itself as a South-wide membership organization would dissolve, and our members would become members only of their appropriate State organizations. The Council would link the State organizations and pay the basic personnel and do what we call research interpretation. Presumably, the Council would be then but a board of seventy-odd Southern people.

The Atlanta office, for the job of research interpretation, would have four or five well-paid social science people. They would keep up in economics and sociology and anthropology and in education, and they would rewrite what was written elsewhere so that people hereabouts would use it, and the Council would get it out. The job in the States would be manysided. One thing would be to do in each State in each year a couple of home town self-surveys--a proven method, bringing out every available local, democratic resource. For another, it would head a non-political movement for advance in respect for everybody's human dignity. It would watch the courts. It would link itself to action people in local communities all over the State and then work with the churches and the press and with people's own organizations. It would move toward a goal of equal opportunity. It would try also to find ways to gain responsible public assent to the teaching of human relations in the schools and elsewhere. And we could do a good deal about employment and training.

As to whether we know how to do these things or not, I can only say that we have had a good hand in some pretty useful things that have been done. We led the movement to get Negro police taken on in Southern cities. We led the movement to get Southern white newspapers to treat Negro news with dignity and fairness. In the old days, Dr. Will and people who worked with him had a whole lot to do with bringing down the lynching figures. I myself had a hand in speeding up the flow of educational and other services to returning Negro veterans. We help to crack exclusively white professional associations. We steer the South to open all the processes of local and State government to Negro participation. We work at housing and health and employment and in every field of growth, collect the facts, print them, and argue temperately what they mean.

A sample of the kind of thing we would work on if we had the money is the matter of equal chances in the courts of law. The whole South, as a matter of course, operates, through attorneys and judges and prisoners, a chuckling conspiracy to let Negroes off with light sentences for crimes against other Negroes. In consequence, Negro homes, Negro businesses, and Negro people are not safe. And educated Negro opinion bitterly resents the degraded, clowning conduct which wins the light sentence. This old habit, proceeding darkly underneath, gets a spotlight from atop the world. In rape cases, or sometimes in murder cases, Scottsboro, Martinsville, Groveland, Willie McGee. We know the things to do to get the South brought around in five or six years' time to award pretty nearly equal penalties for everybody. We have as members and friends the kind of people who could do it. We will push at it; but for lack of funds and of people paid to get things done, it will be slow and weak.

An essay could be written, and for useful reasons has not been written, on the role of Southern women in all these things. The people of the South are church-goers. And the one organization that most Southern women work with is the church.

And all the churches have stated progress of advance in the field of racial adjustment. The hierarchies have approved. This Council has long had the knack of getting sincere local concern in the spirit of the official pronouncements. Time after time, place after place, it can be done through the churchwomen. And they show courage and persistence and a quiet delight in winning their goals. Our links are informal but they are strong. And they reach, or can reach, to the humblest and furthest communities.

As to money. The Council set up shop in 1944, basing its work on what had been done by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it. Until 1949 it had an annual grant from the Rosenwald Fund of somewhere around $25,000. G. E. B. helped for the first five years. With foundation money and what it could raise from churches and from its members, it spent each year $55,000 or $60,000. Since 1949 we've had a rough time. We are down to a budget of $35,000 a year. We get small sums from various foundations. A thousand here, $2,500 there. Our members pay in five or six thousand. We sell a thousand or two worth of pamphlets. The Methodists give us $2,700 or $2,800. The Northern Presbyterians and the Southern Presbyterians and the Episcopalians chip in, officially. Two or three Catholic dignitaries help us substantially from their private purses. The Friends have helped us. Several of the big unions help us--some CIO and one AF of L. The rest comes from those of our members who can send us $10 or $25. Last year over half of what we got came from within the South. But try as we may, we have not found rich Southern people who are willing to give good sums. Southern businesses are still leery--though a few do help us. And the big foundations are apt to say that there is money in the South and we ought to get it. It isn't a miracle that we have kept alive, but we have kept alive by devoting an unfair amount of time to begging.

All I am saying is that the changes are going to be made, but that they will be made with more grace and with more speed and with fewer people hurt if a body of people within the South has the means to find and tell the truth.

Devotedly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

September 3, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Got your letter yesterday about a New York trip. Wired David Freeman up there and asked for a date for you and Morris. He telephoned me a couple of hours later. Said their new president, Case, had only been on the job a few weeks, and he (Freeman) was satisfied that it was still some time before the Fund for the Republic would have its plans prepared for action in the field of race relations. They did not have unlimited funds, and not all that they had was to go into race relations. And we are asking for a goodish amount, over a million dollars. The Urban League and the NAACP are asking for sums certainly no smaller. So he did not see any real advantage in our going to the expense of sending you and Abram up to see them at this time. If we had some strikingly different proposal to make at this juncture, even that could be done by mail.

I told him that we had supposed that it was about time that they took some of their things off the stove now. Well, in effect, he said they hadn't cooked that much. I happened to know that Morris Abram was heading northwards anyway about mid-month, so I compromised with making a date for Morris Abram to see David Freeman 11:00 a. m. Tuesday, September 15, at 655 Madison Avenue. I think that will do good all around, and at minimum expense.

Thank you for being willing to go, but as it turns out, that can be put off for a later time.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education has one or two of its big wheels hereabouts today, and we are providing a bi-racial luncheon at 63 Auburn for them. Incidentally, Freeman made it clear that adequate interchange occurs between the Fund for the Republic and Fund for the Advancement of Education on our request. Early in the game the F. for A. of E. had sent to F. for R. for all F. for R. had in re us. And the F. for A. of E. big wheel (nomine, Coombs) hereabouts had telephoned in to F. for R. two days ago for further advice.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, September 3, 1953

James Coker promptly and gladly accepted membership on the Board, so no need to write if you haven't already.

Board now contains 41 or 42 accepted persons and enough letters out to bring it up to fifty.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

September 8, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Emily Calhoun, from her remorseless tickler, turns up a note that as about now I am to send you scraps of info on program which you could use in making a sort of progress report to Chester Davis.

Police Education

A good deal of time, particularly in the early part of the year, has gone into that queer, but we suppose resultful, business of getting local committees of church women to take our pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT along on a visit to the sheriff. The map we keep in the office shows this has been done in 145 counties now. Mrs. Tilly has revived the program in the late summer, and various of the States have been supplied with maps showing the counties not yet visited. Mrs. Tilly will go out to New Orleans, Little Rock, Dallas, and Houston in November to get this matter going energetically in the Southwest.

Negro Policemen

We have collected the figures on the use of Negro police in Southern cities and counties annually since 1945. Here is a table.

We have just sent out the 1953 questionnaire, and the answers are flowing back in now. Pleasant feature is the surprisingly nice remarks which so many of the chiefs and sheriffs send in.

Guilford County, N. C.—"We have one colored deputy sheriff, and his work has been excellent. We pay him a full-time salary and furnish him with a car that is equipped with a radio."

Travis County, Texas—"We find our colored deputy sheriff very efficient."

Panama City, Florida—"This man has made us a good policeman. I think any city or county should have colored police where they have a colored population."

San Antonio, Texas--Nine Negro policemen, plus two plainclothesmen and one Negro policewoman. "Applicants are appointed on the basis of grade made in entrance examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission, and after clearing physical examination and character reference check. Promotions are based on examination grades which combines written examination, efficiency, and longevity. Neither race nor color are a factor in either qualifying function."

Gulfport, Mississippi--"These two men are doing a fair job."

Hot Springs, Arkansas--"Satisfactory. They are street men in colored district."

Conway, S. C.--"Negro police have been a big help in law enforcement in the Negro section of the city."

Lenoir, N. C.--Two Negro policemen. "Results, very good."

Columbus, Georgia--"These officers are doing a good job."

Melbourne, Florida--"We have a fine man and are well pleased with him."

Durham, N. C.--"The use of Negro police officers has proved very satisfactory in this city. This city is thoroughly sold on making use of Negroes as law enforcement officers."

Indianola, Mississippi--"Our negro policeman, Nathaniel Jacks, has been and still satisfactory in ever respect, he works with his own color, and is LAW & ORDER with his race. He is called upon many times by the Law Enforcement Officers of this community to work with them, our policeman is an asset to our City, he is polite, honest, and respected by both races, white and Colored."

Macon, Georgia--Four Negro policemen, four Negro policewomen. "We hired two Negro officers in 1951 as an experiment, but found them to be entirely satisfactory, so added two more in 1952."

Louisville, Kentucky--"They have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment by white officers."

Rock Hill, S. C.--"We think our colored officers have done a fine job."

Lake City, S. C.--"The Col. policemen are doing a good job. They really work out well hear."

Deland, Florida--"We find Negro policemen are a great help. Would not be without one."

My own measurement of this whole movement about Negro police is what is said in this remark space. For the first two or three years we got many saucy answers. By 1951 they had come down to a single chief, who scrawled across his questionnaire, "No FEPC in Pascagoula, Miss." 1952 and thus far in 1953, not a single such reply.

Of course, SRC can make no claim to having engineered this growing acceptance of Negro policemen. But we have served helpfully by making information available to a great many chiefs and sheriffs on the point; and in city after city when local opinion was bearing down on officialdom to take the step, arguments we were able to supply were useful to the asking groups.

Race in the News

Unfortunately we have not been able to work out any measurement of the growth of the better practices we recommended in our 1949 pamphlet RACE IN THE NEWS; but from scanning the leading papers in the many Southern cities where I have traveled in the course of the past year, I would say that between half and two-thirds of the principal daily newspapers in the South have substantially improved their practice in these matters.

The Women Sit in the Courts

Mrs. Tilly, who operates the Fellowship of the Concerned, reports continuing progress in getting groups of local church women to sit as observers in their courts. Many of the women's groups are interested in temperance, and they often write in that their court visits have convinced them more than ever that crime and drink run together.

The Courts and the Schools

The biggest problem coming up in the South now is the impending decision of the Supreme Court on the education cases. We have served for a year as a center for educating a long succession of special and local correspondents for newspapers and national magazines on the question. Most issues of NEW SOUTH for the last year have publicized one or another aspect of the matter. As examples: In May 1952 we showed how segregation is curling up at the edges in Kentucky. In July 1952 we described the methods used by a group in St. Louis in planning step-by-step for integrated schools. In November '52 we printed material about the controversy at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, re opening the School of Theology to Negroes. In December '52 we discussed the development of the school cases before the Supreme Court. The February 1953 issue took up the battle in South Carolina over the constitutional amendment which removed the requirement that the State operate public schools. The May and July issues were given almost wholly to the school question.

Beginning in mid-summer of this year we determined to try very hard to work out local bi-racial discussion groups on the school matter. All but two or three of our State organizations have reported special school volunteers or special committees to build up information as to the approaching problem of conformance with whatever the Court may rule. These correspondents or committee people have been convened once. The staff in Atlanta has put much time on preparing the

first of two discussion leaflets. It is called QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS: THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS. At the printer's now, and it should come out in four or five days.

We have already begun to interest church, educational, civic, and other organizations throughout the South in starting discussion groups to take up the substance of this first pamphlet. The next publication will provide an outline for building up information on differences between white and Negro schools in each community. We have reasoned that it is needful for the issue of integration to escape the closed doors of offices of State superintendents of education and governors and State attorneys general, and to get out to everyday citizens. If we can succeed in getting widespread local discussion in an informed way, we will build a beginning bridge between white and Negro PTA's and white and Negro teachers. We think also that the first group of local citizens who meet regularly and work out the facts on this question will have an excellent chance of setting public opinion when the crux of the matter is actually faced, town by town, across the South. People will remember that particular persons had been interested in informing themselves, and it will be natural for others to turn to them for facts and views. This matter of getting the South as a whole informed on the issues of integration and ways in which it could be accomplished is the major program of the Council for the remaining months of this year.

We are now at a place where we greatly need the paid personnel, State by State, which we want the Fund for the Republic to enable us to have. All very well for the staff here to write letters to the National Council of Negro Women and the Division of Christian Relations of the Southern Presbyterian Church, etc., etc., urging that they, through their own channels, set up local discussion groups. Right and proper also to urge our own volunteer State people to do what they can. But we need not be deluded into thinking that much will result unless it is somebody's full-time business to go and get discussion groups set up. With the materials in hand and people to push them, we can really get the South to understand. It is this long-range, follow-up program that we ought now to be about. The same paid personnel will serve us in many other capacities--in promoting broad community self-surveys, in reviewing in detail newspaper performance, police behavior, the courts in matters of race, and the basic economics and the personnel practices of expanding employment opportunities for minorities.

The truth is that the time has come now for the South to have in each State an active professional human relations service. For reasons we all understand, that is unlikely in the near future to be picked up as a paid public responsibility. It has to be private and volunteer for a while. As a matter of actual practice, a single county in the whole of thirteen Southern States has an official agency of this sort (Dade County, Florida), and its Commission on Human Relations is totally without public appropriation.

Perhaps, Marion, you would want to say something also about our prospective follow-up on what the Fund for the Advancement of Education is doing in getting out a one-time report on the condition of segregated education in the South. But as a caution, I think we oughtn't to be built up as merely an agency to follow through on the schools matter. We've got all these other responsibilities that ought to be taken up too. And paid personnel is the key to it all.

On money, you could glean something from the successive monthly reports made to the Executive Committee. Unfortunately, though, we can't report much progress in getting additional sums of private business money. We are dickering for some now (Sears Roebuck here locally), but with what success nobody knows.

I don't know whether there is meat in a note on my activities in educating trade union groups in the South in matters of civil rights. I met in the summer of '52 with the Southern AFL Labor School at Lakeland, Florida, where they had for a week their top seventy-odd people from all over the South. I talked with them each day of five days the things they ought to hear. I did a similar job for CIO leadership from the lower South at a week's session in Alabama and another one-day stand with the AFL Chemical Workers from the South and another week with the Kentucky Labor School, AFL. And I am to go out again for the Southern Labor School in October '53 in Norman, Oklahoma. It is of some significance to me that both the AFL and the CIO have used the Council in this way to get over to their top leadership the changes present and coming in the status of the Negro in the South.

On building the new Board, you could list for Davis the 41 persons who have thus far accepted membership on the new Board. The new Executive Committee is:

Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, John A. Griffin, Harry V. Richardson, Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean.

President—Marion A. Wright

Counsel—Leonard Haas

Executive Director—George S. Mitchell

Vice-Presidents—Gordon B. Hancock, A. W. Dent, Alfred Mynders, Carter Wesley

More information gladly supplied if you need it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
#Encls.

GROWTH OF NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1945 - 1953

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Number Uniform	Number Plainclothes	Number Policewomen
1945	9	29	131*		3
1946	10	42	208*		5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 cities 6 counties	471	60	50
1953 (estimate)	13	110 cities 18 counties	520	70	75

* Includes both uniform and plainclothes

Sept. 10, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

A Miami lawyer late this summer conferred with the head of our Florida Division, saying that he was prompted by inquiries on behalf of the Ford Foundation. Our Florida Division head (ordinarily woefully inactive) gave the lawyer some file material about the Council.

Today I had a letter from our Florida head, saying that the material has been returned to him by his friend, the other Miami lawyer. That man had sent it on to David Freeman, "counsel for the Ford Foundation." And Freeman had written the other Miami lawyer

> ". . . that the Foundation was favorably impressed by the work of the Council, and that there might be affirmative action on their request for funds. Nothing official but Freeman expressed some optimism."

Anyway, thus the paraphrasing of Freeman's letter as done by t'other lawyer.

That is the most encouraging scrap of news that we have had. But it's indirect and thin.

Our meeting with Negro citizens turned out pretty well. They have already paid in $400, and I think the total will reach $1,500.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sept. 10, 1951

Mr. William W. Gibbs
Ingraham Bldg.
Miami 32, Fla.

Dear Mr. Gibbs:

I am extremely grateful to you for your kind letter of September 7 with news of the interest of the Ford Foundation.

We asked them for $1,400,000 to enable us to get our various friends in each State to do a real job in the next five years. We have seen several such evidences as you were kind enough to send of the Ford people's digging in here and there to find out about us. Thus far, we continue to feel encouraged, though I don't expect they will reach a decision until almost the beginning of winter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

HF

RINEHART & GIBBS
COUNSELLORS AT LAW
INGRAHAM BUILDING
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

HOLLIS RINEHART
WILLIAM W. GIBBS

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1951
Southern Regional Council

CABLE ADDRESS
RINCAR

September 7, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Some time ago I held two conferences with an attorney here in Miami with regard to the Council's activities in Florida particularly and in the Southeast in general. The purpose of our conference was to acquaint the other attorney with the Council so that he in turn might make recommendations to an associate in New York with the firm of Debevoise, Plimpton and McLean, attorneys representing the Ford Foundation.

At the conclusion of our conferences I turned over to the local attorney certain literature concerning Council activities. I have today received this literature back with a covering letter which may be of interest to you. I am therefore enclosing a copy of it herewith.

I sincerely trust that the Foundation may find itself able to take affirmative action with regard to the Council's request.

With kind regards,

Very truly yours,

William W. Gibbs

WWG/dt
Encl.

HELLIWELL & CLARK
6th Floor, Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

August 21, 1951

William W. Gibbs, Esq.
Ingraham Building
Miami, Florida

RE: Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. Gibbs:

I have received back from David Freeman, counsel for the Ford Foundation, the literature which you so kindly loaned to me some weeks ago on the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dave Freeman wrote me that the Foundation was favorably impressed by the work of the Council, and that there might be affirmative action on their request for funds. Nothing official, but Freeman expressed some optimism.

Thank you again for your kind co-operation.

Very truly yours,

/s/ James L. Guilmartin

JLG/df
Enc.

Sept. 18, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Thank you for sending the correspondence between Etheridge and Hoffman. Etheridge should have written a stronger letter and perhaps would have gotten a stronger reply. We have had a good many bits of encouragement in or near the Ford Foundation. And despite the cold water in the Hoffman-Etheridge letter, we continue to be pretty hopeful.

Anyhow, I thank you a lot for moving Etheridge to write. I am sure it was mainly your personal influence that got him to show his interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

October 9, 1951

Mr. Clinton S. Golden
Economic Cooperation Administration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Golden:

Phil Clowes sent me word of your willingness to let me come to see you sometime when you are in Washington.

If you will let me know one of the remaining October days when you are going to be in Washington, I will come up.

The days when I could not come are: Monday, October 15; Tuesday, October 23; and Thursday and Friday, October 25 and 26.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

October 5, 1951

Mr. Philip J. Clowes
Ass't. Nat'l. Director
CIO Organizing Committee
40 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clowes:

I am deeply appreciative of the copy of your letter to Mr. Golden and of his most kind reply to you.

I will write and try to make an early engagement with him in Washington.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CYPRESS 5065

CIO

Organizing Committee

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

October 4, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is the copy of the reply from Mr. Golden to my letter to him regarding the Southern Regional Council and the Ford Foundation which is self explanatory.

I would suggest that you contact Mr. Golden by letter and make a mutually satisfactory arrangement for time and place to meet.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

Philip J. Clowes

Philip J. Clowes
Ass't. Nat'l. Director

Encl.

C O P Y

C O P Y

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
Washington, D. C.

October 2, 1951

Mr. Philip J. Clowes
Acting National Director
CIO Organizing Committee
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Phil:

This is just a hasty brief reply to yours of September 25.

I have some rather vague familiarity with the Southern Regional Council and of its efforts. If they have put in an application to the Ford Foundation, I will be glad to speak to Paul Hoffman and Bob Hutchins in support of it. I have no direct connection with the Ford Foundation proper. I am a member of the Board of Trustees of the Fund for Adult Education, Inc., which is a subsidiary organization operating exclusively in the broad field of adult education.

I would, of course, be glad to see Dr. George Mitchell at any mutually convenient time and place. I only spend on the average of about two days a week nowadays in Washington. I am at the Harvard Business School on Wednesday and Thursdays of each week. If I know somewhat in advance of his contemplated visit up this way, perhaps we could arrange to get together at some point. Again, I am not sure of how helpful I could be with respect to applications for grants from the Ford Foundation proper.

Mrs. Golden is fine. Olive has been awarded the H. A. Millis Fellowship in Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago. She is there now doing her post graduate work. Please remember us to Mrs. Clowes, to John Riffe, and to any of our other friends from the South you may come in contact with.

Hope to see you one of these days,

Sincerely,

s/ Clinton S. Golden

October 31, 1951

Secretary
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Ave.
Pasadena 5, Calif.

Dear Sir:

Our Council would be grateful for assurance that certain exhibit material sent to the Ford Foundation was received and is by way of being seen by those who are considering our general request to the Foundation.

Our general request went forward to Mr. Hoffman under date of May 25, 1951, and was duly acknowledged. The exhibit material was shipped by express May 30, addressed to Mr. Hoffman at your Pasadena office. We have had no word of its receipt.

The material consisted of eight volumes, each 15 X 20 inches, the covers uniformly colored pink and gray. The contents severally explained the Southern Regional Council's activities in Civil Rights, Veterans' Services, Negro Policemen, Race in the News, Educational Equality, the Negro in Government, and the Community Self-Survey. There was also a volume titled From the Files. The various leaves had pasted into them copies of publications, news stories, original letters, and similar items.

What we mainly want, of course, is that the volumes should actually circulate to those concerned with the Southern Regional Council's request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

October 31, 1951

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leonard:

You will recall that at the Executive Committee meeting you spoke of interesting Miss Anna Lord Strauss in being sure that the exhibit material sent to the Ford Foundation is actually achieving its purpose.

Here is the letter that I sent out to the office at Pasadena.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

November 5, 1951

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Very many thanks for your letter of November 2. If we are successful with the Ford request, we will work hard on the youth idea and other things, and I am satisfied we can get much more definite commitments of many things needing to be done.

The full request of the Ford Foundation went in to them late in May. You must have a copy somewhere, and Guy has one. Twelve or fifteen choice friends, of whom you have always been emphatically one, have written in to various of the Ford Foundation principals—Paul G. Hoffman, the president; Robert M. Hutchins; or Chester C. Davis. Address for all: 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

I think your letter would do the most good with Hoffman, but if you would rather write one of the others, that's up to your judgment.

Those who have written include: Patterson at Tuskegee, Edgar Stern, Clarence Pickett, Dent, Carter Wesley, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, Dr. Will, Archbishop O'Hara, Alfred Mynders, Jonathan Daniels, Mark Etheridge, and Glenn Rainey. I think Mr. James L. Coker at Hartsville wrote and also Palmer at Kingsport. We asked Charles Johnson, but I don't know as yet for sure whether he has written.

Paul Williams was advised that if he could have copies of the letters written, particularly helpful use could be made of them pretty directly. So would you send a copy of your letter to Paul at 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia?

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

November 2, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

For some reason I did not write you earlier about the draft one of statement of policy. I think this is an excellent statement and I am not sure I would add anything to it. Two points that I have always been interested in might net an additional item under No. 10, the Council's functions. One of these would be to search out, cooperate with and encourage an optimum number of young people of both races to constitute a panel for future programs. I have never heard of anyone who did not think the discovery and selecting of a number of young people in each state did not have possibilities. Here, however, the Council has not been to blame since this sort of thing requires a good deal of money, actual full-time personnel of exceptional ability and strategy. If I were asking for money this would be about second in my priority.

The other would be the definitely projected objective of working on an agenda for integration in the more realistic sense of the word.

This latter would be misunderstood by southern groups and it might not be well to catalogue it.

In an approach to the foundations, I believe the crucial point is that we have something not just routine initiative conventionalism but something with assurance of continuity and a certain power. One advantage of the Council is, at least with the Ford Foundation that its objectives point toward peace in the long run in adjustments of conflicts.

If you will drop me a line telling me to whom to write, if you wish so, I will be glad to write a statement supporting an application.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh

November 8, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route #1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We never had any evidence here that James L. Coker did write to the Ford Foundation. Here's a copy of what we earlier wrote you about it and another copy of the request (sent separately).

Have you some tactful means of finding out whether Coker did write and, if he didn't, of getting him to act? With several people the intention to write got lost in the summer holidays.

Sincerely,

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

11-8-51

GSM wrote the following people asking them
to write letters about SRC to the Ford People:
Those checked have written letters.

Charles Johnson - to write	Hutchins
√A. W. Dent	Hoffman
√Glenn Rainey	Colwell (for Hutchins)
√Alfred Mynders	Davis
√Abp. O'Hara **(cc/ P. W.)**	Hoffman
√Hodding Carter	Davis
√Rufus Clement	Hutchins
√Carter Wesley	Hoffman
√Will W. Alexander	Hutchins
√Ralph McGill **(no copy)***	Hoffman
√Jonathan Daniels **(no copy)**	Hoffman
√Clarence Pickett	Hoffman
~~James L. Coker (thru Dabbs)~~	~~Davis or Hoffman~~
√F. D. Patterson	Davis
√Edgar B. Stern	Davis
J. M. Tydings	for suggestion of Ky. man to write
√**Mark Ethridge**	
√**Pete Hudgins (no copy)**	
√**Howard W. Odum**	

*** July 31, 1951--Ralph McGill told me that he had sent a letter to Chester Davis. I don't know when, and I don't know whether he sent a copy to Paul Williams. He sent none to me.**

GSM

Dr. Odum wrote us early in November and said he would write the Ford people.

November 8, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond, Va.

Dear Paul:

We never had any evidence here that Palmer at Kingsport did write to the Ford people. You were going to try to get him to write.

The address: 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California. In your or his judgment, he should write either Hoffman or Chester C. Davis or Robert M. Hutchins. It ought to be a real letter, giving reasons.

Here, sent separately, is another copy of the request.

I have taken steps to get letters written by Charles Johnson and Rufus Clement and James L. Coker, who, if our records are right, are as yet laggard.

Again, for review, the following we know have written: A. W. Dent, president of Dillard; Alfred Mynders, editor of The Chattanooga Times; Archbishop O'Hara; Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times; Carter Wesley, The Informer Newspapers, Houston, Texas; Will Alexander; Ralph McGill; Jonathan Daniels; Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee; President F. D. Patterson, of Tuskegee; Edgar B. Stern, of New Orleans; Mark Ethridge, of the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Howard Odum has promised also to write.

'Tis to be remembered that we instructed each person to send a copy of his letter either to you or to us. Some of these guys may have sent copies to you, in which case we might have no record of their having written.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 8, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Possibly it is our own error, but we have no record here of your having written to the Ford Foundation in furtherance of SRC's appeal. I have some ghostly recollection that you did write.

The following we know have written: Dent, Mynders, Archbishop O'Hara, Carter Wesley, Will Alexander, Ralph McGill, Jonathan Daniels, Clarence Pickett, Patterson, Edgar Stern, Mark Ethridge, Hodding Carter. Additionally, we think that James L. Coker and Palmer at Kingsport have written. Odum said just three of four days ago that he was about to write.

Part of the strategy involves Paul Williams having a copy of each of the letters written; so if you haven't written and do write, please send a copy to Paul, at 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond 22, Virginia.

Take your pick of Paul G. Hoffman, Chester C. Davis, or Robert M. Hutchins. Ford Foundation address: 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

Here, for handiness, is another copy of the request.

We are trying to get decision out of the Ford people before the annual meeting, which is December 12—Board meeting December 11.

Your letter will carry great weight.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 8, 1951

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clement:

Whether by our error or not, we haven't a record here of your having actually written to the Ford people. Either Robert M. Hutchins or Chester C. Davis or Paul G. Hoffman, as you think best. Their address: 1440 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena 5, California.

If you did write, well and good. But do, if you can, send a copy of your letter to Paul Williams at 3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond 22, Virginia. It's part of the strategy for Paul to have copies available.

The following we know have written: Dent, Mynders, Archbishop O'Hara, Hodding Carter, Carter Wesley, Will Alexander, Ralph McGill, Jonathan Daniels, Clarence Pickett, Dr. Patterson, Edgar Stern, Mark Ethridge.

We think also that Odum and James L. Coker and Palmer at Kingsport have written.

It ought to be a full letter, giving reasons.

For handiness, here is another copy of the request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FF

MEMO TO HCF Nov. 19, 1951

Additional item about the Ford Foundation from Charles Johnson, whom I saw in Detroit. It appears that our sort of stuff comes under the heading of "behavioral science" (!) and that one Burrellson, a sometime professor, is slated to be the head of the Ford Foundation's fund for behavioral science--the equivalent of its fund for adult education or plain, ordinary education.

GSM

~~Sequel~~

27

Cromelund's ~~Sullen~~ Bitter Sequel

~~Memphis~~

20

Democracy in Memphis

27

The South's ~~Depressed~~ Growing Economy

PRAISE FOR NEGRO POLICE

Ford.

January 23, 1952

The Hon. A. W. Mitchell
Box 670
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As much as I was able to learn about the status of our request with the Ford Foundation is this: The Foundation back last October authorized the establishment of machinery to screen requests in the field of race relations, civil rights, and individual liberties. The SRC request stands, with many others, outside that screen waiting to be screened. But nothing has been done to set up the screen. They may be trying to find some big person to run it.

I learned this much even quite by indirection, but pass it on to you as material to your kind undertaking to see T. V. Smith.

I still think you should go and see T. V. Smith.

I saw two or three foundations which I hope will yield up a total of $4,500 fairly soon, and I talked to a friend of various very rich people, who promised to turn up some stones and see what he could find.

With warm regards to you and Mrs. Mitchell,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 29, 1952

In Chicago Arthur Mitchell told me that a Negro friend of his, Robert Taylor, Jr., is head of a housing outfit. Tuskegee graduate and business graduate of Boxton Univ. Close friend of Arthur Mitchell and influential with Hutchins. GSM should go and see the man Robert Taylor.

Arthur M itchell undertook to make a trip to see E. V. Smith, who could influence Hutchins.

GSM

FF

Green Copy

February 8, 1952

Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Dr. Mitchell and I have conferred on the projected letter to Paul Hoffman and have come up with the enclosed version. We are sending it to you for signature and mailing partly because we feel you should approve the final draft and partly because we think the letter might well bear a Linville Falls postmark.

Also enclosed are an SRC envelope addressed to Hoffman, five copies of the Policy Statement for enclosure, a carbon copy of the letter for your files, and a couple of sheets of stationery in case you want to re-do the letter.

Katherine Stoney asks me to tell you that she has on order 500 sheets of stationery with your address overprinted; that will be mailed to you as soon as the printer delivers. Meanwhile, she is sending you some of the old stationery (with unrevised letterhead) for interim use. We are currently out of printed envelopes, but they will also be supplied you shortly.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS: LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 11, 1952

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

At the recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, I was elected President for the ensuing year.

I observe that my predecessor, Mr. Paul D. Williams, on May 25, 1951, filed with you an application for aid and that, more recently, the Foundation was sent copies of the Statement of Policy and Aims adopted by the Council on December 15, 1951. I enclose several copies of that statement in printed form.

As the Council's new president, I write to learn if anything further is required by you and your associates to aid in the consideration of our application. If so, I shall be happy to see that it is promptly supplied.

We are hopeful, too, that representatives of the Council may have the opportunity to appear personally before your board at some early convenient date. Such an appearance would enable us to present the Council's program in more intimate detail, as well as to answer fully any questions which the board might have.

As you know, events now occurring in the South -- and elsewhere in the Nation -- reveal the dangerous tensions accompanying the many social changes which are taking place. It is our conviction that the Southern Regional Council, given adequate resources, can perform an important service in achieving democratic acceptance of just and inevitable change. That seems to us an urgent and critically needed task.

Please call on me for any information which will assist the Foundation in acting upon our request.

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW:hf
encs.

ff

March 21, 1952

Mr. T. V. Smith
Florida Southern College
Lakeland, Fla.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Mr. Arthur Mitchell sent on to us here the encouraging words you had had from people in the Ford Foundation about our request.

We are extremely grateful to you for this kind help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

ff

March 21, 1952

Mr. Arthur W. Mitchell
Box 670
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

That was a truly cheering letter that T. V. Smith received. Here is the original back, and we made a copy.

I send also a copy of my letter to Mr. Smith.

It is a great comfort to us that you keep pulling for us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

arch 24, 1952

Mr. W. V. Smith
Syracuse University
Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship
and Public Affairs
Syracuse 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Mr. Arthur Mitchell sent on to us here the encouraging words you had had from people in the Ford Foundation about our request.

We are extremely grateful to you for this kind help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

C
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P
Y

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

February 29, 1952

Mr. T. V. Smith
Syracuse University
Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship
and Public Affairs
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 22 to Mr. Hoffman, in which you recommend favorable consideration of the proposal from the Southern Regional Conference.

We have been very well impressed with the work of this organization and will consider their proposal very seriously as our program for work in this area develops. We appreciate having your letter of recommendation, and will incorporate it with their file.

Yours sincerely,

William H. Nims
Executive Associate

WHN:elm

Florida Southern College
Lakeland, Florida
March 9, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This sounds so friendly that I hope you have already been the beneficiary of your hopes and plans.

It was a delightful hour with you, and I hope to renew the association when you become my guest in Syracuse after my return home about June 1

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

t. v. smith.

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL
1ST DIST. ILLINOIS

CHICAGO ADDRESS:
417 EAST 47TH STREET

COMMITTEE:
POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
~~Washington, D. C.~~

BOX 670
PETERSBURG, VA.

Dear Dr. Mitchell
I thought you would like to see enclosed letter sent me by Dr. O. V. Smith. Please read & copy if you like and return letter to me. I think a word from you to Dr. Smith would be much appreciated. Yours truly
Arthur W. Mitchell

March 26, 1952

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mays:

Here is a copy of the request that went in to the Ford Foundation.

The original letter from Paul Williams, as president of the Council, to Mr. Hoffman was dated May 25, 1951.

We will be very grateful for anything you can do to hasten a favorable decision from the Ford people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
APR 3 1952
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 1, 1952.

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

The Morris Abram-Colwell news, revealed in your letter of Thursday, sounds good.

If the Board of Ford Motor Fund is to meet on April 10 and to have before it at that time a recommendation from Ford Foundation that the Fund help us out to the extent of $10,000, that fact raises the interesting question of whether or not we would be more likely to secure favorable action if we had one or more representatives sitting in an ante-room while the Ford Fund was giving consideration to the recommendation. If our chances would be improved by that procedure, we certainly ought not to pass it up.

Of course no one could or should barge out to California except upon the suggestion or invitation of a representative either of the Foundation or the Fund.

I suggest this for your consideration: have Colwell phone Hutchins of our willingness and desire to have a representative present, if his attendance should be asked. If Hutchins thinks that such attendance would be advisable from our view point, Colwell would ask Hutchins to see that a telegram was sent you inviting you and anyone else from our group to attend. If such invitation should come in, I think that you and Morris Abram should meet that appointment without fail. Morris should be told that we will take care of his expenses if, when and as. Your expenses would also be paid.

In that connection you will remember that I have copy of the formidable series of exhibits we filed with the Foundation. If these would strengthen your hand, phone for them and I will immediately get them to you.

Of course, if Mr. Hutchins says that he feels that the mere recommendation by the Foundation would be sufficient without further effort upon our part, we would not go to this trouble or expense.

If you have an extension phone in your office, it might be well to have Colwell come down to the office to phone, or you go to his office in order that you could listen in on the conversation and form your own impression of Mr. Hutchins' attitude.

If possible don't let the Pasadena development cause you to pass up Mr. Cadbury. Confidentially, while Mr. Cadbury is president of the Penn Board, my impression is that Mr. Harold Evans, head of a large Philadelphia law firm, is a stronger and more practical man than Mr. Cadbury. Other members of the Board, in my very frank opinion, would be more influenced by the views of Mr. Evans than by the views of Mr. Cadbury. So, if you have a conversation with Mr. Cadbury and there is any memtion of Mr. Evans name, I feel that it would be an excellent idea for you to try to work Mr. Evans in on the interview.

I feel that Mr. Evans, and, to a less extent Mr. Cadbury, have about come to the conclusion that what we are doing on St. Helena is fairly artificial and puerile. I think that they might both be responsive to the idea that we use our resources to reach a larger share of the Negro people than the mere hand full who live on St. Helena Island.

Fortunately George Buchanan, Editor of the Columbia Recorder, is on the Penn Board. Buchanan, in my opinion, is the most intelligent and liberal editor in South Carolina. Being such, he must have a good opinion of SRC. I think that I would have no difficulty in convincing him that some plan of cooperation with our support of SRC should be followed.

Best wishes.

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

April 4, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Wright:

As I wrote you I recently learned that Dean Spaeth is in charge of the "Overseas Program" of the Ford Foundation and in that capacity he is almost constantly away from Pasadena.

At the suggestion of Dean Spaeth's secretary I have this morning talked with Mr. William Mims, Executive Associate, with regard to the Southern Regional Council's application for a grant. I hesitated to do this but when she told me the application would be acted upon at the coming meeting of the Board of Directors of the Foundation, which meeting will be held in Detroit on April 10th, I thought I would at least do the cause no harm by reminding Mr. Mims of it.

After mentioning to Mr. Mims my former contact with Dean Spaeth, I told him that when you learned that I live only three or four blocks from the Foundation's offices here, you had asked that I drop in to inquire as to whether the Foundation had all the data it needed on which to base its decision.

Mr. Mims assured me that the work of the Council is very highly regarded by the Officers of the Foundation. I believe that they feel it is the best organization of its kind in the country. He explained further that last year the Foundation had made a grant of $10,000 through the Friends Committee (I do not know the exact title of this Committee but I am sure you know the Committee to which he referred). He stated that it will be the recommendation of the Committee to make a grant of a like amount at the next meeting of the Board.

He indicated that the Foundation had not yet set up an organization to enter directly into the field of race relations and for that reason is presently utilizing the Friends Committee through whom to make its grants for work in that field. He indicated that it is the intention of the Foundation to set up an organization to do work in this field and that the Foundation is most anxious to assist in keeping alive the work of the Council until such time as the Foundation is in position to consider making a grant directly to it and to assist it in a more substantial way. I hope I have not been too optimistic in interpreting his point of view but I have just stated the conclusion which I drew from his remarks.

It is my feeling that Mr. Mims had not personally studied your application closely. He had before him what was apparently a short list of recommendations

which the Officers will make to the Directors. Since I did not feel he was personally very familiar with the application, I gave him a copy of the booklet "The South of the Future — A statement of policy and aims of the Southern Regional Council" and a copy of the speech you made in Columbia. I also told him of the Council's interest in improving the police system in the South and of its efforts to see that the negro gets justice in the courts. I pointed out that I felt it significant that none of the so-called Southern statesmen were willing to appear on the forum discussion before the Harvard Law School.

It does not appear likely that the Foundation is in position to approve your application at this time. I did get the impression however, as indicated above, that their interest is genuine and that if the Council can survive until the Foundation gets around to acting, there is a good chance that it will receive substantial help from the Foundation.

To save you the trouble of making a copy of this letter for George Mitchell, I am having a copy sent directly to him.

With all good wishes for Lelia and you.

Preston

Ford

April 7, 1952

Dear Marion:

I haven't taken any steps to put pressure on the Ford Motor Fund because I feel it in my bones that the people who are working on them are our friends in the AFSC. That man Ralph Rose has never let us down on anything. He promised us $500 a couple of years ago, and it came through. He promised us $5,000 last year, and it came through. And he promised to do his best to find $10,000 this year. It was a bit of a surprise to me, when prizing off the lid, I found him busily at work at the door of the Ford Motor Fund. But my every instinct is to let the lid quietly back down, and expect arrangements he has made to go through. Some confirmation of that comes from my learning the other day at the AFSC offices at Philadelphia that quite lately the Ford Motor Fund had written AFSC in Philadelphia for exhaustive information about SRC.

We don't know who the trustees of the Ford Motor Fund are nor where they meet nor how to go about putting the pressure on them. Almost my only channel of information is Hutchins, whom I would try to reach through Colwell. And as Hutchins has already told Colwell that the Ford Foundation is recommending to the Ford Motor Fund the $10,000 grant, I don't see how I can put new pressure down that pipe.

There is the one other channel of Paul Williams' friend, who is counsel, I believe, to the Ford Motor Fund. But I went to see that man, and he promised to help us, and one of the conditions of his being helpful is his being anonymous.

I would say it's a toss-up whether it would do good for us to get Paul Williams to call his friend in Detroit.

One of our members in Washington whom I called by phone promised to consult her budget and see if she could not send us a couple of hundred in the next few days.

Otherwise, we are in a bad shape, as you will see from the forthcoming report.

I don't know what to do except hope for that $10,000. That would save the day.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 8, 1952

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Please warmly thank your brother Preston for his kindness in sending us April 4 a copy of his letter of that date to you. Encouraging news in every way, and we are most grateful for his visit.

Sunday I phoned Paul Williams and explained the matter of the Ford Motor Fund and the $10,000, and opined that the Ford Motor Fund Board would meet April 10 in Detroit. I asked Paul to alert his friend May. I asked Paul not to make it a matter of pressure, as what we wanted was merely that May should be awake at the switch. May is a lawyer who advises the Ford Company on higher matters of public relations. Paul said he would telephone May Monday.

I can see a shadow on the horizon. This bad man Eugene Cox got through the other day in Congress the setting up of a committee to investigate foundations. I understand the language is so vague as to give him great freedom in hunting down untraditionalism. That may give some foundations cold feet. But it shouldn't. They will all be hauled up anyway. I fear me that if they get me on the stand and asked whether I had contempt or not, they might receive a positive answer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

This will be of great interest. Please return to SRC files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Ford

April 28, 1952

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

In January of this year I explored, with Washington friends in touch with the Ford Foundation, as to the time involved before SRC might expect decision from the Ford Foundation. I was told that, though the Ford Foundation had last autumn authorized the establishment of machinery for screening projects in our field, the machinery had not in January been set up. I got a further guess that it would be mid-1952 before an answer would be available.

Therefore, we have bent every effort toward staying afloat and in good condition till the middle of this year. We appealed to the American Friends Service Committee for help again. You know they have something like half a million of Ford Foundation money for work in a field close to some of ours. They asked for a budget of what we would need to hold out till the middle of the year. It came to ten thousand. I know that they approached the Ford Foundation for permission to hand on to us such a sum. From that point on, I go by assumptions , not knowledge. I think what happened is that the Ford Foundation suggested to AFSC that instead of helping us with some of their own AFSC Ford Foundation appropriation, the Ford Foundation could recommend to another organization (the Ford Motor Fund) that it enable the AFSC to help SRC as proposed. The Ford Foundation did recommend to the April 9 meeting of the Board of the Ford Motor Fund that the Ford Motor Fund assist in that way. We have heard informally that the Ford Motor Fund did act favorably on the $10,000 grant to SRC through AFSC, but the check has not as yet arrived.

We are greatly encouraged. One reason is because it must have seemed worthwhile to the Ford Foundation to keep us going until they could decide about us. Another is that when friends here called Pasadena about April 2 for information as to where things stood, Mr. Hutchins readily turned up knowledge of that plan.

We have also been informed that the Ford Foundation has now set in motion its organization for screening our sort of thing. It is called the Fund for the Republic. I am told that the head man (presumably some impurpled person) has not yet been chosen but that, never mind, the machinery is going.

I am delighted that we are on your list of things to worry about, and want you to lend us, subterraneously or on the surface, all the help that you will.

Meanwhile, we have survived minor crises, by virtue of $2,000 that Charles Johnson got Mr. and Mrs. John Hay Whitney to give us and a thousand from the Steelworkers and a thousand from the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

April 25, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Did we ever have a report from the Ford Foundation people?

Greetings.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 17, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate your sending me the document which you sent to the Ford people. I had expected Mr. Faust to come this way recently but he did not. I will see him the latter part of July and I will speak to him about the request of the Southern Regional Council if nothing has happened by that time.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM.dem

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. NORMA HUFF,
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING,
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY,
IN CHARGE WOMEN'S WORK

June 27

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

"A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

	Yes	No
Clarence Picket	✓	
Edgar Stern	✓	
AW Dent	✓	
FD Patterson	✓	
Coker, J.L.	being arranged	
Carter Wesley	✓	
Jon. Daniels	being arranged	
Ralph McGill	✓ (no copy).	✓
W.W. Alexander	✓ ~~(no copy) promised copy.~~	
Hodding Carter	✓	✓
Chas. Johnson		✓
Rufus Clement		✓
Archbishop O'Hara	✓ (copy to P. Wms).	✓
Alfred Mynders	✓	✓
Glenn Rainey	✓	
Pete Hudgins	✓	
J.M. Tydings	✓	✓
Chas. Wilson	(Tilly)	✓
Palmer (P. Wms)		✓
Mark Ethridge	✓	

16

July 14, 1952

Mr. Frank S. Horne
Assistant to the Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Frank:

Quite nice of you to write that good letter to Mims at the Ford Foundation.

All we can hear is that they are slow in setting up their Fund for the Republic, which is to screen our kind of project. But I think they are likely to help us when they get that done—the more likely for your warm letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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C
O
P
Y

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

June 11, 1952

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. William H. Mims
Ford Foundation
914 Green Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Sir:

I have followed closely the yeoman work and increasing influence of the Southern Regional Council whose substantial contribution to better intergroup relations and adjustment during the last decade has been helpful generally in enlarging the opportunity and fair treatment of minorities in southern community life. As Assistant to the Administrator of the Federal Government's over-all Housing and Home Finance Agency, the influence of the Council has been helpful to the Racial Relations staff and the Agency in discharging our responsibility of advising and assisting the Agency and its constituents to assure equitable participation of racial minorities.

The Southern Regional Council is composed of men and women of accepted integrity and goodwill among both whites and nonwhites, and represents the one highly respected civic organization indigenous to the South which has for more than a decade been increasingly influential and effective in advancing intergroup adjustment. Indeed, its progress to date and the job still ahead are such as to merit solid and substantial financial support of this Council in order to extend its program effectively to meet the challenge.

I am happy, therefore, to write to you in behalf of the Southern Regional Council's application for financial assistance and sincerely hope that the Ford Foundation will see its way clear to consider this application favorably.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Horne
Assistant to the
Administrator

Copy made by M. A. Wright
to Dr. George S. Mitchell
6/21/52

July 14, 1952

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

Thank you a whole lot for writing Quigley.

I was in New York last week and saw Ping Ferry. I merely told him about the Council, and he professed to be interested.

Harold Fleming is writing you about the AEC business. Seems to be hard to get much information at this end.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
July 5, 1952

Dear George:

I've written by friend Quigley at Ford Foundation.

I know Ted Wirths, the U. of North Carolina graduate student now doing a study here. But our friendship is casual. I've made several overtures, all of which he's downbeated. I understand that he made a tentative report whose contents made AEC sore, and they asked and, I hear, got a toned-down revision.

I'll look forward to getting whatever dope Harold Fleming can find on discrimination at the plant here. Will you give him, and your family, my best?

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 1, 1952

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

Thanks a whole lot for writing Quigley. Will await what you get from him later.

I've just been to a meeting in Chicago at which somebody mentioned that the June, 1952, issue of Monthly Labor Review has an article on the AEC plant in South Carolina. Article says, inter alia, employment is not over twenty per cent Negro, and almost all of low grade.

Best to all of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
July 31, 1952

Dear George:

My friend Martin Quigley, director of information for the Ford Foundation, is, it turns out, in New York this summer on temporary duty.

I have just heard from him, and that part of the letter in which you'll be interested reads, "I am writing personally to Ed Eubanks in our Pasadena office to find out how Mr. Mitchell's project stands. After I get a review from him, I'll let you know."

And I'll let you know when Quigley lets me know.

Best to you and your family.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ff

August 14, 1952

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

I am sure your correspondence with Quigley has done a lot to bring a decision closer. You put it all most generously, and we are grateful for it.

I am driving east next week and will try to come through Aiken on the way back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oc

ff

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
August 18, 1952

Dear George:

Got a call the other morning from my friend Quigley at Ford Foundation. Said he was gonna send my letter (of which I sent you a copy) with a personal note to Hutchins, and that when he returned to Pasadena he'd talk to Hutchins about it. This would be on the immediate problem of finances for the Southern Regional Council. He went to assure me that the Foundation was in fact doing some thing about race relations, that it was in the process of working out a program.

About all these long range plans you probably know more than I do. He mentioned something called, "The Fund for the Republic," under which the Foundation had big plans for ventures into race relations and civil liberties.

What he really called about was to offer me a job. Apparently my correspondence about you reminded him I was around. As you know their main office is in Pasadena, and that is where Quigley is stationed. But you can't do public relations in Pasadena, when all magazine, publishing and principal radio and television offices are in New York. He offered me title of Associate Director of Information, to be his counterpart in New York, to do direct job of publicity for Foundation.

We talked again on phone this morning, he's gonna call me back this afternoon, and if I'm interested there's the probability that I'll go up to New York for a few days to look at the job, and to be looked at by people in the Foundation.

I'll let you know what happens. If I should take the job (which I don't really want to do), and if the job should take me, then certainly you'll have a friend at Court.

Please keep the job news as a confidential matter between us until I tell you it's been settled.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

ff

August 29, 1952

Mr. David Freeman
The Ford Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Ralph Rose wanted to work out some plan for me to come and talk with you in the early Fall, and Dick Bennett telephoned you about it a couple of weeks ago.

I have to go to Washington September 11 and 12 for a Board meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (!) and could conveniently come on to New York, to be there Monday and Tuesday, the 15th and 16th of September. If either of those is a workable date with you, I would be grateful for three-quarters of an hour or so of your time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ff

August 29, 1952

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

Talk with Dick when you get a chance about his phone conversation with David Freeman August 11. I gathered from Dick's excellent letter that a conference a bit later than September 15 would be better. But I need to go as far as Washington the 11th and 12th, as you will see.

If Freeman says it should be later, I could, of course, come up later.

I have hopes that I can weather through the rest of this calendar year. Enclosed is a memo for you (not sent to Freeman) on the 1953 budget situation.

On the matter of the New York trip, I am in your hands, and will do what you think wise.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

August 12, 1952

Richard K. Bennett, Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Dick:

You handled that just beautifully. Many thanks. Just what I hoped you would do.

I will plan to go to New York sometime between September 15 and 25, and about September 1 will write David Freeman and ask him for some of his time. I will be in touch with you and Ralph before and after.

Best wishes in the veecation.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Surp

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 11, 1952

George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Ralph spoke to me about the possibility of your talking with some of the people in the Ford Foundation in the event that you should get up this way before the end of the summer. I have just had a talk with David Freeman on the telephone.

David Freeman is the one and only person at this point who would be a logical one with whom you should have a discussion. Unfortunately, he will not be in New York after the end of this week and until the beginning of September. He would like very much to talk to you although he feels that you should not feel any obligation to "report" at this time. He tells me that the Fund for the Republic which was scheduled to go into operation before this will probably not be set up until late Fall as an earliest target. Because you would be making a special visit to New York on the 20th to see the Ford Foundation people, I think it would be well for you to forego that pleasure rather than go to New York and see someone who might not even be vaguely related to your kind of work. I believe that if you should be in New York for other business before the Fund for the Republic is formally established it would be good if you would send word to David telling him of your plans and making an appointment to see him while there. Obviously, if you need to have some word for your Board meeting in November, you will have to speak to the Ford people before then as it seems unlikely that the Fund will be set up by that time. You will want to make an appointment with David later in the year, perhaps in the early Fall. He is entirely receptive, of course, to seeing you and looks forward to it with much enthusiasm. However, this is just not the right time for such a visit. He wants you to feel free to contact him directly when, as, and if a later conference would be useful to you.

It was very good seeing you in Chicago and I hope that you understood some of the big words, all of which escaped me. As you will not be going to New York, I expect you will not be planning to stop off in Philadelphia. Ralph and I will both be on vacation anyway. Best wishes.

Cordially,

Richard K. Bennett

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Commmunity Relations Program

rkb:s

USR

August 8, 1952

Ralph Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

You spoke of the possibility of arranging for me to talk with some of the people in the Ford Foundation's New York office if I should go north before the end of the summer.

I am going to Richmond, to be there August 18, and could easily go on up to New York, to be there Wednesday, August 20. If need be, could be in New York the 21st. I would stop in your direction on the way back if you or Dick will be about.

Would you give it a whirl and see whether either of those New York days would catch the appropriate (we agreed lesser) level of Ford people in the city. I realize that's unlikely in August.

I propose the visit because you did, and defer completely to your judgment as to the wisdom of making it.

If I go up, I will bring for you a summary of 1952 finances and a forecast of '53, as we discussed.

Send me an air mail postal, or something, with such word as you decide on about my going to New York. Any chance we could both be in New York.

The annual Board meeting and membership meeting of the Council comes in early November, and I shrink from having complete indefiniteness for them again.

Thanks for yours of August 6. I am writing Miss Jessie Smith in Richmond and will offer to go and see her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
Henry J. Cadbury

Executive Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins

Honorary Secretary
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 6, 1952

George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

When you have time will you be good enough to send to Miss Jessie Smith, 1088 West Marshall Street, Richmond, Va. the names of persons in Richmond, Va. who would be expected to be interested and active in interracial affairs.

I followed up on your suggestions in regard to Richard Plaut, and in relation to the possibilities of working with Foundations and Boards who contribute to southern colleges. No results as yet, but I will keep you posted. Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose

RAR:s
cc/ Miss Jessie Smith

ff

August 30, 1952

Mr. Frank S. Horne
Assistanttto the Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Horne:

My brother, Preston L. Wright of Pasadena, has been kind enough to send me copy of your letter of June 7 to the Ford Foundation. I have been out of the State for some time but for which fact I would have written you sooner expressing the Council's great appreciation of your excellent letter.

We hope that it may have results; but, if it should not, it will be a source of satisfaction to us to know the kind sentiments which you entertain in regard to our work.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright
President

MAW;raj

bc: George Mitchell
Preston L. Wright

CABLE ADDRESS:
FORDFOUND NEWYORK

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 3, 1952

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August 29 to Mr. Freeman has been received in his absence from the office. Mr. Freeman will return from his vacation on September 8 and I shall bring your letter to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Maureen Black

Maureen Black
Secretary to Mr. Freeman

CABLE ADDRESS:
FORDFOUND NEWYORK

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 5, 1952

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 29. Either of the dates that you mention would be convenient for me, and if you will call me at TEmpleton 8-2915 when you arrive in New York on Monday, we can arrange a definite time.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
(M.B.)

David F. Freeman
Executive Associate

DFF/mb

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 9, 1952

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Dick Bennett had told me of his conversation with Dave Freeman about your trip to New York. I agree that it was wise for you to write directly to Dave regarding your Washington trip. I am sure you know that my opinion at this point is that the confidence expressed by the Ford Foundation in the Southern Regional Council would warrant a series of informal discussions between yourselves and the Ford Foundation directly.

I am sharing your letter and the outline of your proposed budget with Dick Bennett, and relying on him to share this with David Freeman if it seems suitable. I think we are all disappointed that the Foundation for the Republic has not been actively engaged in the distribution of Ford money before this time.

In any event when and if you do come into this area, I would greatly appreciate the chance to talk with you at some length. My own plans will probably include leaving the Service Committee as of the first of this year and I should be grateful for the chance to share with you some of the opportunities that seem to be coming my way.

Please keep us advised of your plans and I am sure you will be hearing from Dick Bennett regarding any contact that he may make with the Ford Foundation. Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Ralph +R

Ralph A. Rose

RAR:s
cc: Lewis Hoskins
Steve Cary
Dick Bennett

September 18, 1952

Mr. David F. Freeman
Executive Associate
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The executive director of the Cincinnati Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee is Marshall Bragdon. I think he is the best of those I have met that do his job. Quiet, quick in sympathy, attentive, decisive, thoughtful (even studious).

Cincinnati, as you know, is "a Northern city with a Southern exposure."

Bragdon has a game leg and gets about on crutches, but gets about wherever he is needed.

I enjoyed the conversation wit you and Mr. Strunsky the other day. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

December 3, 1952

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I had not forgotten about our discussion of the Council's financial plight which we had during the NAIRO Conference. It was not possible to do anything about it sooner and your phone call to Ralph Rose on the 1st came at a helpful time. I saw Dave Freeman in Washington on the 2nd and am able to report the following.

It is indeed true that the Fund for the Republic is going to have an organizing meeting this month. Dave says that it will be purely organizational but that they are not completely certain as to the outcome and that the schedule of future meetings, the staff of the Fund if it is to get underway, and the policies and procedures of the Fund are still very much in doubt. He says, not for publication, that in view of the past history of attempts to get the Fund underway he will be greatly surprised if they take any steps at all toward making grants in the reasonably near future. My impression is that he would be happy and almost satisfied if the Fund undertakes to review requests and make grants within six months of its organizing meeting. This is certainly a dreary prospect but one about which Dave feels nothing can be done. I discussed with him the outline of needs which you had discussed with Ralph on the phone. Freeman feels that the Council will somehow have to try to keep its head above water for an indefinite period of time until some formal action can be taken by the Fund. I gather that he does not like the situation any more than we do but such are the facts of life.

I discussed with Dave the possibility of another interim grant for the Southern Regional Council. He feels that in its present set up the Foundation would not entertain any suggestion for such a grant and that such a suggestion would conceivably prejudice the Foundation and the Fund in its later discussions about support of the Council. I tried to find out what constructive and more happier suggestions could be made to you.

In the course of our talk we felt that the one constructive thing that might be suggested is that you keep your eye on the papers during this month and especially immediately after the date of the Fund's organizing meeting. If, as he expects, some formal announcement is made about the organizing of the Fund for the

Republic, Freeman thinks that the only useful step at that point would be for the Council to approach the Fund directly either in a visit or through the mails, preferably the latter, to point out the financial problem which you face and the total problem which will be faced in the South in the immediate future as outlined by you for Ralph. A request for some expediting of your previous application for funds might be in order and might conceivably get more rapid attention for the Council.

All this is certainly discouraging. The one encouraging thing I might say is that I came away with the distinct impressing that Freeman personally feels that the Council is something which ought to be supported and is something which the Ford Foundation and the Fund will in all probability be interested in. I have a feeling that in a long-range sense the Ford people will prove very helpful to the Council if you can somehow keep alive until that happens. I am sorry that I cannot give you better news but at least my dreary prediction of last month that the Fund would not even be organized before late February or early March has not been borne out. If we get any further word of any kind, we will certainly pass it along to you. In the meantime, perhaps we had better invest in some CARE packages for the Mitchell family.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard K. Bennett
Secretary
Community Relations Committee

rkb:h

Ford Foundation gives $72,000 for Race Relations Institute

1-9-53 Los Angeles Tribune

BERKELEY. — The University of California, the University of Chicago, and the University of Hawaii will sponsor and direct the Institute of Race Relations to be held at the University of Hawaii in the summer of 1954. The Ford Foundation has granted $72,000 to the three universities for the institute.

Top scholars and leaders in sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, economics, social psychology, psychiatry, and geography, from all over the world, will be invited to attend the institute's sessions to study the world's racial problems.

President Robert G. Sproul, of the University of California, has announced that Professor Herbert Blumer, chairman of the department of sociolgy and social institutions on the Berkeley campus, has been appointed as the University's official representative at the four-week institute. Blumer was one of its originators.

Importance of this institute was underlined by Blumer who says that the impact of racial relation problems upon international politics is one of the most critical developments of our times. It is the view of Blumer and the other founders of the institute that the expanding nationalism in Asia and Africa is only one manifestation of the non-white world's movement toward increased participation in international decision-making and of their opposition to colonialism and dominance by the whites.

This emerging world situation, according to Blumer, calls for far greater knowledge in the field of race relations.

HOFFMAN STRESSES TWOFOLD CIVIC DUTY

N.Y. Times 1-16-53

The United States citizen must be concerned with the conservation of both the material resources and the spiritual heritage of the nation, Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Ford Foundation, declared here last night.

Mr. Hoffman received the Franklin Award of the New York Employing Printers Association, Inc., at the Printing Week dinner of the association at the Biltmore Hotel. The award, presented annually to an outstanding American, was made by William H. Walling, association president.

Two dangers confront the basic ideas of America, Mr. Hoffman said, adding the first was a threatened shortage of raw materials. With every man, woman and child now using eighteen tons of material a year, we have shifted from a raw materials surplus to a deficit, Mr. Hoffman continued.

The second danger, he said, is the threat to individual rights. The attack on the dissenting view, the smothering of unpopular opinion, the drowning out of the minority voice, all are increasingly evident today, he asserted.

The Ford Foundation has set up a corporation known as Resources for the Future, Inc., to cope with the threatened shortage of materials and a corporation called Fund for the Republic, Inc., to deal with threats to liberties. Mr. Hoffman said the real security of the nation lay in solving these two problems.

January 21, 1953

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Unaccountably, our files don't contain a copy of Archbishop O'Hara's letter to Henry Ford II. It is possible that we never had a copy, but that I saw only the copy which the Archbishop sent to you. I am today telephoning Msgr. McNamara and asking if he can make another copy of the original letter and send it on directly to you.

My files do contain the enclosed letter to me from Archbishop O'Hara.

I find also in the files a letter to you at Richmond, January 8, 1952, from Msgr. Hochwalt, enclosing for you a copy of a letter which, at Msgr. Hochwalt's request, the Very Rev. Father Vincent J. Flynn had sent to Mr. Hutchins--brief, but to the point. For your convenience, I copy that correspondence for you.

I send also to you now copies of the original letters sent to members of the Ford Foundation by Clarence Pickett, Dr. Patterson, Carter Wesley, Dr. Dent, Mr. Stern, Dr. Alexander, Mr. Clement, Dr. Odum, and Hodding Carter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

cc/te

FORD FOUNDATION GETS ACTING HEAD

H. Rowan Gaither Jr., Coast Lawyer, Appointed Interim President of Fund

TRUSTEES TO ACT SOON

Hoffman, Retiring Director, Says He Is Free to Accept Spot U. S. Assignments

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DETROIT, Feb. 5—Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the Ford Foundation's board of trustees, announced today the appointment of H. Rowan Gaither Jr., a San Francisco lawyer, as acting president of the foundation.

Mr. Gaither will direct the work of the foundation until the trustees elect a successor to Paul G. Hoffman, who resigned yesterday. Mr. Hoffman, former president of the Studebaker Corporation and former Economic Cooperation Administrator, will return to Studebaker as chairman of the board.

[In Los Angeles yesterday, Mr. Hoffman said his new post would leave him free to accept spot assignments from time to time for President Eisenhower. He declined to say what these assignments might be but said that he had conferred with the President two days ago.]

The announcement by Mr. Ford said that Mr. Gaither would assume his new duties immediately "so that he may have the benefit of Mr. Hoffman's advice and assistance until March 1," when the outgoing president's resignation becomes effective.

Trustees' Meeting Scheduled

"As chief executive officer of the foundation," Mr. Ford added, "Mr. Gaither has been asked by the trustees to take responsibility for the routine business of the organization, for preparing with Mr. Hoffman the work of the next trustees' meeting in Pasadena on Feb. 23-27; and for taking the initial steps toward consolidation of the operations of the foundation in New York.

"So that there will be a minimum of interruption to the foundation's operations and the least possible inconvenience to staff members involved, this move will not be hurried, but will be carried on in a gradual and orderly manner over the months ahead.

"The trustees are grateful to Mr. Gaither for his willingness to undertake this temporary assignment and have assured him that he will be free to return to his law practice in San Francisco the moment a successor to Mr. Hoffman is elected."

Partner in Law Firm

A partner in the law firm of Cooley, Crowley & Gaither, the acting head of the Ford Foundation has been associated with its work since 1948. In that year he organized and administered a study for the foundation to determine the areas in which its funds were to be expended. He has served more recently as a part-time associate director of the foundation.

He is chairman of the Rand Corporation, a former associate director of the radiation laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a consultant to the National Defense Research Council.

Mr. Hoffman, whose home is in Pasadena, chose for "personal reasons" to remain there although he concurred in the trustees' decision to move the planning and executive offices of the foundation to New York. His attitude was believed to have been influenced by the illness of his wife.

'HEART WEEK' PROCLAIMED

ayor Urges Public Support of ive to Raise $1,000,000

rt of the campaign

ff

February 18, 1953

Mr. David F. Freeman
Executive Associate
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I am coming north the week beginning March 1, and expect to be in New York Wednesday and Thursday, March 4 and 5. Would there be some minutes in there when I could see you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CABLE ADDRESS:
FORDFOUND NEWYORK

THE FORD FOUNDATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 20, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 23
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your note of February 18. If you will call me at TEmpleton 8-2915 when you arrive in New York on Wednesday, we can arrange an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Executive Associate

DFF/mb

Files (Ford Foundation)

Ford Foundation's Administrative Shift to New York Poses Quiz on Policies

By a Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Pasadena, Calif.

The Ford Foundation has questions to answer other than how to spend its $500,000,000 in the most helpful way. Appointment of a new president and a projected centralization of activities in New York City have raised these questions:

Will there be a change in the foundation's global policies?

Does the change-over mean there will be a less liberal accent to its programs?

Will there be more top personnel changes?

H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., San Francisco lawyer, has replaced Paul Hoffman as president of the foundation. Mr. Hoffman resigned recently when the foundation's trustees decided that for housekeeping purposes the foundation must centralize in New York City for efficient operations.

Actually, those who have admired the goals and actions of the foundation can find little to object to in its new administration. Mr. Gaither, a San Francisco attorney who is also chairman of the Rand Corporation, was the chairman of the study committee which set up the Ford Foundation's goals in the first place.

The very fact that the man who headed up the formulation of the foundation's basic approach in the first place has taken Mr. Hoffman's place is an indication to many that there may be no basic change of direction in its policies.

The reorganization in the foundation's affairs now affords him an important opportunity to build a stronger bridge of understanding between the students of society who wrote those goals and the men of affairs on the board of trustees who must support them. It is believed that Mr. Gaither has agreed to stay for at least a year and then will choose between his law practice and this field of public action.

Hoffman Projects Backed

Dyke Brown, who assisted Mr. Gaither in preparing the policy study for the foundation, has been chosen an associate director. The former Yale University law Dean and Rhodes scholar has been granted leave of absence as a member of Mr. Gaither's law firm.

As far as policy and program are concerned, there is no evidence so far of any reversals. The second and last meeting of the trustees to be held in Pasadena gave strong support to projects proposed by Mr. Hoffman—especially in the areas of international relations, education, and civil liberties. There is thus no confirmation of fears on the part of outside observers that the foundation might give up the "bold experiments" promised in the beginning.

J. Allen Hawkins

Ford Foundation officials: From left to right, Chester Davis, associate director; Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., secretary; H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president; Milton Katz, associate director; Robert M. Hutchins, associate director. The foundation is going through a reorganization involving a move from Pasadena, Calif., to New York City. It was found that it was too awkward to operate from both the east and west coasts, particularly because most of the foundation trustees are located in the East, as well as much of its activity.

Mr. Hoffman told The Christian Science Monitor he would have been willing to stay on as president and director, although he now welcomes the opportunity to return to the Studebaker Corporation as board chairman and to give part of his time to the far-ranging study of civil liberties begun by the Fund for the Republic.

Less in Public Eye

One possible effect of Mr. Hoffman's departure could be that the activities of the foundation will be much less in the public eye. Without Mr. Hoffman's dynamic personality, its work may be done in a more "behind-the-scenes" manner with less emphasis on open discussion of the foundation's goals and programs by officials and more accent on basic research and quiet implementation.

Mr. Hoffman's desire to return to Pasadena after a busy life in Washington and many other parts of the world was accommodated by the foundation trustees at the outset. Buildings were leased here and the associate directors and other staff members moved to California.

Then came the decision, in January of this year, to move the offices back to New York. Apparently there was increasingly strong feeling among board members about the inconvenience of constant airplane trips back and forth. Mr. Hoffman himself was said to have spent more hours in the air than at his home.

Mr. Hoffman said he felt the frictions went beyond this, however. But he denied there ever had been serious disputes with trustees over specific programs. At the same time, he did feel an undercurrent of resistance on at least two counts.

He was surprised at the increasing strong objections to centering anything at all in "the West," expressed by some board members who evidently "believe New York must be the center for everything." And he felt from time to time continuing objections to spending so much money beyond the borders of the United States.

As far as the feeling "against the West" is concerned, it has been indicated on the other hand that there was no feeling as such. That is, there was a physical need to centralize in one spot, it is said, and as the greatest number of those concerned were in the East, and the greatest number of facilities for forwarding the Ford program were there, the East it was—but not because of any feeling against the West.

While Mr. Hoffman may have felt resistance to spending so much overseas, the recent meeting of the trustees voted at least 90 per cent of the staff's recommendations in this and other areas of activity. At least $3,500,000 is earmarked for overseas projects in the coming year.

The former director of the Economic Cooperation Administration has initiated foundation activities of worldwide scope, under the authority of the first Ford "area for action," briefly summarized as "the establishment of peace."

Vast Spending Overseas

Nearly $30,000,000 — or the equivalent of one year's income from the foundation's funds—has been spent on programs for reduction of tensions and increase of understanding among peoples. These include agricultural training programs in India and the Near East, the East European Fund for Russian refugees, support for groups promoting democracy in Germany, and various research projects.

As for the feeling on the part of some that the reorganization eventually might bring a less "liberal" approach to areas of study and action, the only thing concrete that can be offered in evidence on one side or the other is the existence of the $15,000,000 Fund for the Republic, just established. This fund is the single largest grant yet made by the trustees and will be used to "restore respectability to the legacy of American liberty" by exploring many areas of civil liberties.

There also has been considerable speculation over the futures of the various associate directors with the foundation, now that the move from California is set to take place in a year.

Milton Katz, the former Harvard law professor and American diplomat associated with Mr. Hoffman in ECA, is known to be wholeheartedly and enthusiastically behind the projected program and policies of the foundation.

Skilled Financier

Chester Davis, former president of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank, is a man well advanced in a distinguished career step into the Ford Foundation. There is always the chance, of course, that he may retire rather than take the jump to New York.

As for Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, he is known as a man of completely independent mind. That, of course, is why he is with the foundation which has been up to this time a bold mover. At this writing there does seem to be some question as to what he will do when the New York move is made. It is known that he is deeply involved in the Fund for Adult Education and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. It is possible that he would continue wholeheartedly his work with these funds, but apart from New York as some of the staffs of the independent funds created by the foundation may choose to remain on the West Coast, since these funds have their own boards of directors.

It is perhaps not without significance that at the recent congressional committee hearings on tax-exempt foundations, Henry Ford II was by implication urged to retain active interest in the foundation. Questioning by certain committee members disclosed that they were concerned that his "practical" experience be applied.

The foundation, by its very nature, is more likely to be subject to controversy and conflicting pressures than any such agency before it. This is because it has been dedicated from the beginning to the difficult "areas of action" concerned with human relations, rather than such tangible enterprises as the physical sciences or medicine. The five areas chosen by Mr. Gaither's study committee were: the establishment of peace, the strengthening of economic institutions, the expansion of individual freedom, the enlargement of education, and the development of the understanding of human behavior.

Opponents of Velde Blasted in House

By the Associated Press

Washington

Representative Donald L. Jackson (R) of California declared March 17 that "there are Communists in the church," and demanded a showdown on the move to oust Representative Harold H. Velde (R) of Illinois, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, over the issue of investigating churchmen.

Mr. Velde himself joined in the applause and in urging a showdown. He issued a statement saying he concurs with Mr. Jackson and would like to know how members of the House "feel about my fitness" for the chairmanship.

Representative Leo E. Allen (R) of Illinois, chairman of the Rules Committee, said he did not know what action would be taken on the ouster resolution.

Mr. Jackson, a member of the committee, stood in the well of the House to say there is evidence that "the Communist Party and the fellow-traveling press" are trying to abolish the committee.

While he was at it, he delivered a free-swinging attack that also took in the Ford Foundation, radio and television, Communist educators, and a pair of churchmen by name.

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, Mr. Jackson said, "has been to the Communist front what Man o'War was to thoroughbred racing."

Oxnam Hits Back

critics, it becomes party to slander and justifies the mounting nationwide criticism of its methods."

Mr. Jackson's other clergyman target was the Rev. Claude C. Williams of Birmingham. He said the Rev. Mr. Williams is alleged to have said in a public meeting that he is in the church "because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for communism."

The Rev. Mr. Williams is not now a resident of Birmingham and could not be reached for comment.

$15 Million Grant

Mr. Jackson said the Ford Foundation last week announced a $15 million grant to investigate congressional committees to determine whether additional safeguards are required for the protection of civil rights. He added:

"The Ford Foundation might well devote some of its efforts to public disclosure of the substantial and vital work performed by the committee in its attempts to preserve the American system under which the Ford Company acquired the millions being spent in investigation of the U. S. Congress and its committees."

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most helpful way. Appointment of a new president and a projected centralization of activities to its programs.

Will there be more top personnel changes?

must centralize in New York City for efficient operations.

Actually, those who have admired the goals and actions of the foundation can find little to object to in its new administration. Mr. Gaither, a San Francisco attorney who is also chairman of the Rand Corporation, was the chairman of the study committee which set up the Ford Foundation's goals in the first place.

The very fact that the man who headed up the formulation of the foundation's basic approach in the first place has taken Mr. Hoffman's place is an indication to many that there may be no basic change of direction in its policies.

The reorganization in the foundation's affairs now affords him an important opportunity to build a stronger bridge of understanding between the students of society who wrote those goals and the men of affairs on the board of trustees who must support them. It is believed that Mr. Gaither has agreed to stay for at least a year and then will choose between his law practice and this field of public action.

Hoffman Projects Backed

Dyke Brown, who assisted Mr. Gaither in preparing the policy study for the foundation, has been chosen an associate director. The former Yale University law Dean and Rhodes scholar has been granted leave of absence as a member of Mr. Gaither's law firm.

As far as policy and program are concerned, there is no evidence so far of any reversals. The second and last meeting of the trustees to be held in Pasadena gave strong support to projects proposed by Mr. Hoffman—especially in the areas of international relations, education, and civil liberties. There is thus no confirmation of fears on the part of outside observers that the foundation might give up the "bold experiments" promised in the beginning.

J. Allen Hawkins

Ford Foundation officials: From left to right, Chester Davis, associate director; Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., secretary; H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president; Milton Katz, associate director; Robert M. Hutchins, associate director. The foundation is going through a reorganization involving a move from Pasadena, Calif., to New York City. It was found that it was too awkward to operate from both the east and west coasts, particularly because most of the foundation trustees are located in the East, as well as much of its activity.

Mr. Hoffman told The Christian Science Monitor he would have been willing to stay on as president and director, although he now welcomes the opportunity to return to the Studebaker Corporation as board chairman and to give part of his time to the far-ranging study of civil liberties begun by the Fund for the Republic.

Less in Public Eye

One possible effect of Mr. Hoffman's departure could be that the activities of the foundation will be much less in the public eye. Without Mr. Hoffman's dynamic personality, its work may be done in a more "behind-the-scenes" manner with less emphasis on open discussion of the foundation's goals and programs by officials and more accent on basic research and quiet implementation.

Mr. Hoffman's desire to return to Pasadena after a busy life in Washington and many other parts of the world was accommodated by the foundation trustees at the outset. Buildings were leased here and the associate directors and other staff members moved to California.

Then came the decision, in January of this year, to move the offices back to New York. Apparently there was increasingly strong feeling among board members about the inconvenience of constant airplane trips back and forth. Mr. Hoffman himself was said to have spent more hours in the air than at his home.

Mr. Hoffman said he felt the frictions went beyond this, however. But he denied there ever had been serious disputes with trustees over specific programs. At the same time, he did feel an New York must be the center for everything." And he felt from time to time continuing objections to spending so much money beyond the borders of the United States.

As far as the feeling "against the West" is concerned, it has been indicated on the other hand that there was no feeling as such. That is, there was a physical need to centralize in one spot, it is said, and as the greatest number of those concerned were in the East, and the greatest number of facilities for forwarding the Ford program were there, the East it was—but not because of any feeling against the West.

While Mr. Hoffman may have felt resistance to spending so much overseas, the recent meeting of the trustees voted at least 90 per cent of the staff's recommendations in this and other areas of activity. At least $3,500,000 is earmarked for overseas projects in the coming year.

The former director of the Economic Cooperation Administration has initiated foundation activities of worldwide scope, under the authority of the first Ford "area for action," briefly summarized as "the establishment of peace."

Vast Spending Overseas

Nearly $30,000,000 — or the equivalent of one year's income from the foundation's funds—has been spent on programs for reduction of tensions and increase of understanding among peoples. These include agricultural training programs in India and the Near East, the East European Fund for Russian refugees, support for groups promoting democracy in Germany, and various research projects.

As for the feeling on the part of some that the reorganization eventually might bring a less "liberal" approach to areas of study and action, the only thing concrete that can be offered in evidence on one side or the other is the existence of the $15,000,000 Fund for the Republic, just established. This fund is the single largest grant yet made by the trustees and will be used to "restore respectability to the legacy of American liberty" by exploring many areas of civil liberties.

There also has been considerable speculation over the futures of the various associate directors with the foundation, now that the move from California is set to take place in a year.

Milton Katz, the former Harvard law professor and American diplomat associated with Mr. Hoffman in ECA, is known to be wholeheartedly and enthusiastically behind the projected program and policies of the foundation.

Skilled Financier

Chester Davis, former president of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank, is a man well advanced in a distinguished career, and observers feel that at this stage of his experience there is little chance he would embark on a new career after taking the big as a man of completely independent mind. That, of course, is why he is with the foundation which has been up to this time a bold mover. At this writing there does seem to be some question as to what he will do when the New York move is made. It is known that he is deeply involved in the Fund for Adult Education and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. It is possible that he would continue wholeheartedly his work with these funds, but apart from New York as some of the staffs of the independent funds created by the foundation may choose to remain on the West Coast, since these funds have their own boards of directors.

It is perhaps not without significance that at the recent congressional committee hearings on tax-exempt foundations, Henry Ford II was by implication urged to retain active interest in the foundation. Questioning by certain committee members disclosed that they were concerned that his "practical" experience be applied.

The foundation, by its very nature, is more likely to be subject to controversy and conflicting pressures than any such agency before it. This is because it has been dedicated from the beginning to the difficult "areas of action" concerned with human relations, rather than such tangible enterprises as the physical sciences or medicine. The five areas chosen by Mr. Gaither's study committee were: the establishment of peace, the strengthening of economic institutions, the expansion of individual freedom, the enlargement of education, and the development of the understanding of human behavior.

Opponents of Velde Blasted in House

By the Associated Press

Washington

Representative Donald L. Jackson (R) of California declared March 17 that "there are Communists in the church," and demanded a showdown on the move to oust Representative Harold H. Velde (R) of Illinois, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, over the issue of investigating churchmen.

Mr. Velde himself joined in the applause and in urging a showdown. He issued a statement saying he concurs with Mr. Jackson and would like to know how members of the House "feel about my fitness" for the chairmanship.

Representative Leo E. Allen (R) of Illinois, chairman of the Rules Committee, said he did not know what action would be taken on the ouster resolution.

Mr. Jackson, a member of the committee, stood in the well of the House to say there is evidence that "the Communist Party and the fellow-traveling press" are trying to abolish the committee.

While he was at it, he delivered a free-swinging attack that also took in the Ford Foundation, radio and television, Communist educators, and a pair of churchmen by name.

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, Mr. Jackson said, "has been to the Communist front what Man o'War was to thoroughbred racing."

Oxnam Hits Back

The churchman, who has been a vigorous critic of the Un-American Activities Committee and especially of the methods it has pursued in its investigation of communism in education, hit back quickly with a statement:

"Congressman Jackson should know that there is no congressional immunity from the Biblical injunction, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.'

"It is to be regretted that he should have used the floor of the House to broadcast a lie.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities releases falsehood and rumor which it admits it has not investigated and which does not represent a conclusion or judgment of the committee, and does so to silence critics, it becomes party to slander and justifies the mounting nationwide criticism of its methods."

Mr. Jackson's other clergyman target was the Rev. Claude C. Williams of Birmingham. He said the Rev. Mr. Williams is alleged to have said in a public meeting that he is in the church "because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for communism."

The Rev. Mr. Williams is not now a resident of Birmingham and could not be reached for comment.

$15 Million Grant

Mr. Jackson said the Ford Foundation last week announced a $15 million grant to investigate congressional committees to determine whether additional safeguards are required for the protection of civil rights. He added:

"The Ford Foundation might well devote some of its efforts to public disclosure of the substantial and vital work performed by the committee in its attempts to preserve the American system under which the Ford Company acquired the millions being spent in investigation of the U. S. Congress and its committees."

The congressman's statement brought a quick denial from H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president of the Ford Foundation at Pasadena.

"No grant has ever been made by the Foundation for an investigation of Congress and its investigating committees," Mr. Gaither declared in a telegram addressed to Mr. Jackson, copies of which were released to the press. He added:

"The Ford Foundation recently appropriated $15,000,000 to the Fund for the Republic, an independent organization, the stated purpose of which is 'to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights.'

'Menace of Communism'

"In their statement on Feb. 26, 1953, the directors of the Fund for the Republic said, 'The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country."

Mr. Gaither suggested that Mr. Jackson read the conclusions of the special committee of the House of Representatives which last year investigated the Ford Foundation.

The whole Jackson speech appeared designed to bring to a head the roaring controversy that broke out after Mr. Velde suggested on a Mutual Broadcasting System program a week ago that individual churchmen were a possible subject for investigation by his committee.

Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (D) of New York followed up with a resolution calling on the House to toss Mr. Velde out as chairman.

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SRC - 3 - c

March 21, 1953

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S.M.
St. Louis Church
10th & Cedar Sts.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Father O'Connell:

Many thanks for your letter and check, which arrived for today's meeting.

You will be overwhelmed to learn that the day after I had sent telegrams to members of the Executive Committee, we received notice that the Ford Foundation had made us an appropriation of $20,000. If I had had this information, you would probably not have been disturbed by my telegram.

We have today completed the most optimistic meeting which the Executive Committee has had in a long time. Your contribution and letter made a very fine top dressing for the gift from the Ford people. Surely the Lord must be looking after us.

Incidentally, we prefer that no publicity be given to the Ford contribution.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

MAW:ec

SRC-3 file

March 21, 1953

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Box 6056
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Many and deep thanks for your letter of March 20, enclosing the checks. The Atlanta office will send receipts direct to the donors.

I am almost embarrassed--and certainly delighted--to tell you that the very morning after I had sent telegrams to all of the members of the Executive Committee, I received a wire telling that the Ford Foundation had made an appropriation of $20,000 to SRC. If I had had the slightest idea that the Foundation was taking such action, I would not have alarmed and disturbed you. By the way, we prefer that no publicity be given to this splendid contribution.

We are all sorry that you did not get down to today's meeting, which, naturally, was one of the most pleasant and optimistic in recent months. But we profoundly appreciate your generosity in forwarding your check in lieu of your presence.

Things look better for us than they have in a long time.

Sincerely yours,

Marion A. Wright
President

MAW:ec

Same letter to Dr. Dent, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Richardson

March 21, 1953

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Clement:

On Monday night, in a moment which approached desperation, I sent all members of the Executive Committee a telegram informing them of the acute financial situation with which the Southern Regional Council was then confronted.

It was almost embarrassing to me to receive the next morning a telegram advising that the Ford Foundation had made us an interim grant of $20,000. If I had had any intimation that this action would have been taken by the Ford people, I would not have disturbed your calm by sending you the telegram.

I am sure, however, that your joy at receipt of such news will erase from your mind the disagreeable effect which must have been produced by my telegram.

We have today just concluded the most encouraging and optimistic meeting of the Executive Committee which we have had in a long time. Evidently, there is some truth in the trite remark about the darkest hour of the night.

After serious consideration, those at the meeting today came to the conclusion that no publicity should be given to the Ford action. It is not necessary to go into the reasons for that decision, but I am sure that you will agree that it was a wise one.

With apologies for having felt it necessary to send the telegram, and with delight, which I am sure you share, in the magnificent action of the Ford people, I am.

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

ff

March 23, 1953

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson
THE NEWS-JOURNAL
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear The Davidsons:

You have been such faithful and concerned fellow-sufferers in all our trials that I hasten to share with you an item of extra good news.

We had gotten nearly to the end of our rope when, in good part through work that Marion Wright had been engaged in, the Ford Foundation itself promised the other day to give us a $20,000 interim grant to see us through the rest of '53. So far as we learn, it is without prejudice to our major application to the Fund for the Republic. The blessed check itself has not yet arrived, but we look forward to getting it in any mail.

I hope that is the beginning of the upturn. It gives us time to turn around. We should use it to bring in considerably increased funds from these, our own, States, and I am satisfied that that would strengthen our standing with the Fund for the Republic.

The Executive Committee met last Saturday, having this good news. They discussed pro and con the advantages of making the grant public knowledge, and decided against it. All very complicated, but they were sure they were right.

In any case, this life-saving amount, I think, comes in good part because of the cultivation you did with various people associated with the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation. Many thanks to you both.

Next time the whole Davidson family is having a pleasant supper at Daytona, put me constructively present, and we will all enjoy it together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ff

March 23, 1953

Mr. & Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. C.

Dear Lib and Courtney:

Write the Mitchells down as persons not unappreciative of your cherished urging of us to come to your island. We want to come, but it is just hard to work it out. We know we're welcome, and we will do it sometime, and I hope soon.

Meanwhile, you should have the cheerful news that, though we don't know how long it will be before the Fund for the Republic makes up its mind about us, the Ford Foundation has, in any case, within the last few days said that it will at once send us $20,000 to keep the breath of life in us for the rest of this year.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

ff

March 23, 1953

Miss Anna Lord Strauss
27 E. 69th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Strauss:

We had got near to the end of our rope the other day when word came through from Chester Davis that the Ford Foundation itself was making us a sustaining grant for this year of $20,000. That keeps us going for long enough, we hope, for the Fund for the Republic to get thoroughly organized and decide what it will do. I really think we would have had to disband in a few more weeks if this life-saving grant had not come through.

And I think on the strength of it we can do what is suggested and be considerably more effective in drawing in money from hereabouts. We are setting our plans that way.

You have been most sympathetic in sharing our troubles, and I hasten to give you early word of this great boon.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ft

March 23, 1953

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I had no sooner got myself all the way to Simmesport, Louisiana, and called in at Father Bordelon's than he told me to pick up a long distance call from Atlanta. The news was that the Ford Foundation itself had made us an emergency or interim grant of $20,000 to enable us to keep going.

So far as we know, that is without prejudice to our application for a larger sum from the Fund for the Republic. Mercifully, though, it does give us a breath of life for the rest of this year.

You have shared so much tough luck with us that I wanted to be sure you rejoiced with us on this good round sum. It came immediately from Chester Davis, but I am sure many of the things that you helped us with are reflected in its coming.

It's enough to keep us going but not enough to let us do more than the beginning of the necessary things. So I do greatly hope you will ride a run of luck when you go out to Chicago!

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ff

March 23, 1953

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Events!

We've been having a rather rough year's end and spring. I've been to New York once or twice and found little to be encouraged about within the precincts of the Fund for the Republic. Meanwhile, Marion Wright, as president, has been in touch, one way or another, with Chester Davis of the Ford Foundation. A week or ten days ago Marion Wright, unbeknownst to me, got out a wire to members of the Executive Committee saying that things looked pretty desperate and that they really ought to come to last Saturday's meeting forearmed with such funds as could be scraped together in an emergency. For some error in an old list, fortunately, Marion did not send his wire to you. He had sent it out but a few hours when word came through that the Ford Foundation itself was making us an interim grant of $20,000 to enable us to live along until the Fund for the Republic could get organized and look us over in detail. I must say, the check has not yet come, but its approach is a relief to us all, and the Executive Committee meeting on Saturday was a cheerful and productive occasion. The meeting discussed back and forth the advantages and disadvantages of publicity about the Ford grant, and for complicated reasons, decided that no public announcement would be made. But I did not want the error that had omitted you from the wire to omit you from the news. You have been a mighty faithful friend in all of our hard times, and I want you to get at least this one chance to rejoice.

The next thing, I think, is for us to build up a correspondent in each State who will really get the facts about the schools. I want, when we get real money, if we do, to set up that State School Committee idea in each State. But meanwhile, all we can compass is some one volunteer person (in each State) whose modest expenses could be covered and who would be available to help every action group in his State that would work toward obeying the law and producing, as fast as may be, an unsegregated arrangement. I expect one of us will be in Houston before so long to consult about who would be the best such correspondent for your enormous State.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ff

March 24, 1953

Ralph A. Rose
1731 19th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ralph:

By whose magic I am uncertain, but somewhat, I am sure, by yours, the Council had a telephone call from Pasadena Monday a week ago saying that the Ford Foundation itself had approved an interim grant to us of $20,000. That is sustaining, Goodness knows, and makes us safe through the year. Words were used which make us think the grant is without prejudice to our larger application with the Fund for the Republic, and also words were used which make it seem probable that we will have to raise hereabouts very substantial sums. That we will try to do, and I have some hope that this good backing will make it easier. We will get our membership meeting together in May and see what can be done.

For whatever your quiet words were, warm thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ANNA LORD STRAUSS
27 EAST 69TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 28
Western Regional Council

Dear Mr Mitchell,

What wonderful news.

I hope that you have lived through the dark just before a continuing dawn.

Best of wishes for many many more years of your important work.

Ever sincerely yours,

Anna Lord Strauss

March 26, 1953

88

March 30, 1953

Mrs. Helen F. Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Bldg.
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Helen:

You have been kind enough to carry the Council's worries about with you. I am happy now to be able to give you a chunk of good news. The Ford Foundation itself, perceiving our plight, has lately made us a grant of $20,000 for the year. There is some evidence that this grant is without prejudice to our longstanding application to the Fund for the Republic for a major grant, as there is evidence also that we will need to do more to raise Southern money, in any case.

But, for the moment, we can breathe, which is nice.

I don't doubt that, in one way or another, your and Mr. Schwartz's kind interest has been helpful and will still be more helpful in the future.

We all miss you and greatly wish we had the two of you nearer to here.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
APR 3
Regional Council

April 1, 1953

Mr. Oliver May, Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. May:

I am sure that the Atlanta office has long since acknowledged receipt of your letter of March 23 sent to me at that address and enclosing the Foundation's check. However, since the letter was addressed to me, I feel that its receipt should be personally acknowledged by me which I take great pleasure in doing.

This grant came at a time when the Council is confronted with large responsibilities in preparing southern public opinion for impending decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. It will greatly help us in discharging those responsibilities

Again thanking you, I am

Yours very truly,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By Wm. A. Wolf
President

MAW:raj

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
ALFRED FLEISHMAN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

182

MEMO TO: George Mitchell

FROM: Helen Schwartz

DATE: April 1, 1953

RECEIVED
APR 3
Southern Regional Council

Congratulations on your grant. I think it is wonderful and I know how much it means to you, both personally and professionally, and I appreciate your letting me know about it.

With my very warmest regards.

Helen Schwartz

HS:ah

H

July 2, 1953

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I see from the NEW YORK TIMES that the Ford Foundation has elected John J. McCloy to its Board of Trustees. Chester Davis, having reached retirement age, resigned, but will serve as a consultant to the Ford Foundation until April 1954.

If you find some opportunity to get word to Mr. McCloy that we are good people, I would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

1731 19th St. N.W.
Washington D.C.

4-16-1953

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

APR 20
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I felt so relaxed at the thought of your having received a grant from Ford that I have not even had the good grace to thank you for letting me know.

I'm afraid (or rather I should say) I'm glad to say that I had little if anything to do with it. The AFSC decided that only Lewis Hoskins should approach Ford during the time they were considering a grant for our work, and although I did write to my friend Hallock Hoffman in Pasedena, and did get a message to Paul H. where he was recently in town, I dont think I did much good. The real merit of the SRC work has convinced them!

I hope the local fund raising will go well and Isabel and I will be saying some Quaker prayers.

Frank Loescher arrived in South Africa Monday of this week, just in time for the election (alas).

Please tell us when and if you are coming to Washington, and feel free to use our abode as you see fit.

Our best wishes to you,

Ralph

Ralph A Rose

July 10, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena 1, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

All of us in the Southern Regional Council are distressed to learn of your resignation as Associate Director of the Ford Foundation. You have, we feel sure, some comprehension of the difficulties involved in bringing the two races in the South into harmony with each other and some appreciation of our efforts in that field.

During the months of grace granted us by the Supreme Court, we are under imperative obligation to use every means at our disposal to cause the South to accept without reservation or reluctance whatever the court may finally order. After the decision we will be in the position of upholding either integration or the separate-but-equal doctrine. Now we may occupy the much broader and less controversial ground of advocating mere law observance. No one can argue with you on that point.

Southern public opinion will be much more malleable before the decision is announced than it will be after. So we are trying to use all media of publicity to develop the elementary thesis that, as good citizens, there is no course for us to follow except to do graciously what the court directs shall be done.

We are undertaking this on a shoestring and we could not be undertaking it at all except for the exceedingly timely interim grant which the Foundation made us some months ago.

I hope that in your retirement you may have more frequent opportunity to visit the South. If you are able to do so, it would be a pleasure to all of us to have you drop in at the Atlanta Office or on me at this point.

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By_____
President

MAW/raj

Ford Fund Tn

7/14/53

GSM--

I finally got through to Marion Wright and he readily saw the need to countermand his letter. He asked me to send a suitable telegram in his name to Chester Davis, which I have done as enclosed. I wasn't overjoyed at having to decide what should be said, and how. Hope you will feel it's adequate.

Phil Hammer is coming by shortly for more conversation. Apparently he has decided to take the job on. The September ~~budget~~ 30th deadline still stands, and I gather he will have a budget of about $75,000 to work with. Would that we....

All else is quiet. Kack will hold down the office while I'm at Highlander Thursday and Friday.

HCF

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 13, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street, Pasadena 1, California

SINCE WRITING YOU ON JULY 11, I HAVE RECEIVED ADDITIONAL FACTS WHICH RENDER MY REQUEST FOR YOUR HELP INAPPROPRIATE. I REGRET THAT MY REMOTENESS FROM THE ATLANTA OFFICE DELAYED RECEIPT OF THIS INFORMATION AND LED ME TO ACT PREMATURELY. THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR HAS DISCUSSED THE NEW PROJECT OF THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION WITH VARIOUS PERSONS INVOLVED, AND WE ARE REASSURED THAT THE COUNCIL'S INTERESTS ARE IN NO WAY ADVERSELY AFFECTED. IT IS OUR HOPE, IN FACT, THAT THE COUNCIL'S PROPOSED LONG-RANGE PROGRAM MAY IN GOOD MEASURE IMPLEMENT THE FUND'S REPORT. PLEASE ACCEPT MY EARNEST APOLOGIES FOR TROUBLING YOU NEEDLESSLY.

Charge to Ford [illegible]

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 13, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street, Pasadena 1, California

SINCE WRITING YOU ON JULY 11, I HAVE RECEIVED ADDITIONAL FACTS WHICH RENDER MY REQUEST FOR YOUR HELP INAPPROPRIATE. I REGRET THAT MY REMOTENESS FROM THE ATLANTA OFFICE DELAYED RECEIPT OF THIS INFORMATION AND LED ME TO ACT PREMATURELY. THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR HAS DISCUSSED THE NEW PROJECT OF THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION WITH VARIOUS PERSONS INVOLVED, AND WE ARE REASSURED THAT THE COUNCIL'S INTERESTS ARE IN NO WAY ADVERSELY AFFECTED. IT IS OUR HOPE, IN FACT, THAT THE COUNCIL'S PROPOSED LONG-RANGE PROGRAM MAY IN GOOD MEASURE IMPLEMENT THE FUND'S REPORT. PLEASE ACCEPT MY EARNEST APOLOGIES FOR TROUBLING YOU NEEDLESSLY.

M. A. WRIGHT

Charge to Southern Regional Council

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

July 21, 1953

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your good letter with all of its details and the separate enclosure of the application to the Ford Foundation.

I suppose you know that at least two of the divisions of the Foundation are exploring this field and I think all of us must keep as close to them as possible and keep up with their trends. I think you are right, however, in having Marion Wright, as president of the Council, continuing negotiations. I am sorry that Chester Davis has resigned but we will try to keep as good contacts as possible.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HWO:n

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Ford Fnd'n File

LOS ANGELES CHIDED ON BAR TO FORD GIFT

Hutchins, Associate Director of Foundation, Ridicules Red Domination Charge

EDUCATION AID INTENDED

Rejection of Grant for 5-Year Study Is Attacked as Work of 'Crackpot' Minority

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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Dr. Hutchins, speaking at a Town Hall meeting in the Biltmore, referred to attacks on Paul G. Hoffman when he was president of the foundation, which now is moving its headquarters from Pasadena to New York.

"It is big of you," he began, "not to have canceled the invitation you extended to me when you learned from the Los Angeles school board that the organization with which I am connected is dominated by Communist sympathizers. It is said to be completely dominated by such deep sympathizers, in fact, that the school board could not take one red cent from it.

Endorsed by Educators

"The project under discussion was one developed by the staff of the [school] board. It was to be completely controlled by that staff. It enjoyed the endorsement of the University of Chicago, the University of Southern California and Los Angeles State College.

"The money was filtered through the fund for the advancement of education, dominated by such notorious Communist sympathizers as Mr. Justice [Owen J.] Roberts, Paul Mellon and Walter Lippmann.

"Millions from this fund have been accepted without a qualm by countless educational institutions.

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"Yet the patriotism of the Los Angeles school board was so intense that it developed an X-ray eye that enabled it to see Henry Ford 2d, Benson Ford, Donald David of the Harvard School of Business and other men who dominate the Ford Foundation as Communist agents.

"Ordinary Americans can detect only a group of business and professional men trying to help hard-working educators solve a pressing problem.

"The Los Angeles school board has driven the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization from the schools of Los Angeles on the ground that it is subversive, in spite of the fact that Russia and most of the satellite countries have nothing to do with it.

"There's a rumor that Paul Hoffman's support of UNESCO left such deep scars on the sensibilities of the board that it would have none of an organization to which he once belonged, even though this project had not the slightest connection with UNESCO.

Real Problem in Los Angeles

"One wonders whether the real problem of education in Los Angeles is not that of recapturing the schools from the crackpots; from the small but vocal and highly organized minorities which are imposing their prejudices on the children of this city."

Dr. Hutchins went on to review the history of education, during which he said:

"The Communist experiments in this country were once regarded as the work of harmless eccentrics. Nows the discovery that a man has read the works of Karl Marx, or knows somebody who has, is enough to raise a question about trusting him in a classroom.

"One gets from some of the statesmen of the day the impression that under the influence of the 'cold war' they have concluded that a country is not safe unless it is united, which is true, and then that a country cannot be united unless everybody in it agrees with everybody else about everything, which is false.

"The most precious possession of any society is the thought of a minority, even the minority of one. The rule of the majority without discussion and criticism is tyranny."

Dave thought that Marcus might be interested in this -

The Big Job of Spending the Income From $500,000,000

The Ford Foundation is the largest philanthropic organization in the world. A recent visitor to Winston-Salem was Mr. Chester C. Davis, one of the four associate directors of the Foundation and father of Chester S. Davis of the Journal and Sentinel *staff. The elder Mr. Davis is a member of the Committee for Economic Development, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and former administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. While in Winston-Salem he was interviewed by the editorial staff of the* Journal and Sentinel *on the work of the Ford Foundation. Here is an abbreviated account of the interview.*

Question—Mr. Davis, will you tell us how much money the Foundation has and what it does with the money?

Answer—The Foundation has assets valued at more than $500,000,000. It supports charitable, scientific and educational projects.

Q.—Do you mean the money can be granted for any charitable, scientific and educational project?

A.—Yes, if the project fits into the Foundation's program and if it is approved after full consideration on its merits.

Q.—What kind of projects are excluded?

A.—Foundations of this kind cannot legally donate money for activities designed to influence legislation. No funds can be used for the benefit of the donors—in this case the members of the Ford family. We cannot legally assist profit-making enterprises. In addition to the legal restrictions, others were adopted by the Foundation's trustees at the conclusion of a thorough study by a competent committee. In general, the Ford Foundation's activities are directed toward problems in man's relation to man, rather than to the physical world. The five areas of our primary interest are: promotion of conditions favorable to peace; strengthening of democratic institutions and practices; economic growth and stability; improvement of education; and encouragement of better understanding of human behavior.

Q.—Who is head of the Foundation and who are the other directors?

A.—Paul Hoffman is president and director, and there are four associate directors: Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago; H. Rowan Gaither, who was chairman of the study committee; Milton Katz, who came to the Foundation from E.C.A. and who used to be a member of the faculty of Harvard Law School; and myself. The whole Foundation is governed by a board of trustees composed of Henry Ford II, chairman; Benson Ford; Donald K. David, Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration; John Cowles, president of the **Minneapolis Star and Tribune:** Charles E. Wilson, former president of General Electric; James B. Webber Jr., vice-president of J. C. Hudson Co.; Paul Hoffman, and Frank Abrams, chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Q.—Where are your headquarters?

A.—Our main headquarters are in Pasadena, Calif. We also have our operating headquarters in New York City. The New York office is the place where we do the contact work and where we keep in touch with the projects we help support.

Q.—What is the size of the Foundation, personnel-wise?

A.—At present I believe we have about 200 people working directly for the Foundation.

Q.—One of the objectives of the Ford Foundation is said to be bolstering means to strengthen peace. What do you do to promote peace?

A.—We support activities that we think will tend to lessen international tensions, improved conditions for peace, programs that will encourage better international understanding, with the end purpose of avoiding wars. In India and Pakistan, for example, we try to assist the people to help themselves to raise their standards of living, which must be done if these new nations are to maintain their independence. We co-operate with the Government's Point IV program. We don't compete with Point IV, but supplement what is already being done, or we do something new. In short, we try to start chain reactions that will have broad consequences for achieving peace.

The Ford Foundation during the last year attempted to contribute to peace by assisting people in some critical areas to achieve a better standard of living; by advancing better understanding among peoples through the exchange of ideas and the exchange of persons; by reducing tensions; and by supporting the activities of international agencies.

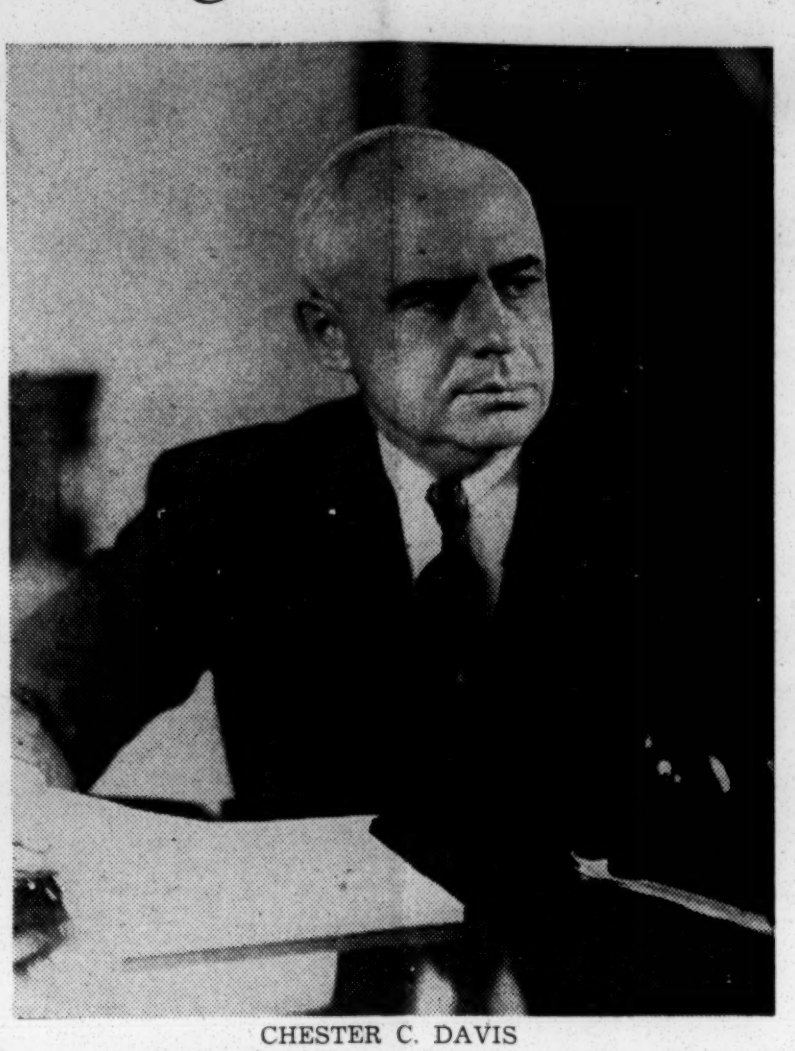
Q.—Will you tell us something about how you help to raise standards of living?

A.—The Foundation in 1951 appropriated $6,550,000 for work in India, Pakistan and the Middle East. The purpose is to help people help themselves — help them to a better standard of living. That means a better education and better organization of social life. Projects have been chosen that will stimulate multiplier efforts, chain reactions.

For example, in India we have been assisting with a program of the Indian government to teach farmers how to cultivate crops more successfully, how to get the most out of the ground. The Foundation initially financed five training centers for rural extension workers who will start on the enormous task of leading the 250,000,000 Indians who cultivate the land to improve their farming practices. The Indian government plan is to develop something like the county farm agent program in this country.

It is amazing how the plan in India is working. At the outset, Indian officials wondered whether five training centers might not be too many. But so many of the Indian states joined in the program that the Indian Government requested support for 25 more training centers, and they are now being organized. The necessary technicians from this country are provided under the Point IV Program. These centers are training Indian youths to carry on the work. Young men in their thirties who once thought that an education meant they would settle down to a desk job for life are finding now that they have a great work to do in the field. Employment opportunities for them have gone up unexpectedly, and these young men have caught fire. Some of them really are accomplishing miracles.

It is largely a matter of showing what can be done. For instance, Indian farmers have been using degenerate wheat and rice seed year after year for centuries; yet, all the while their own experiment stations had developed better grain varieties for their use. For a thousand years Indian farmers have just been scratching the surface of the ground, and putting back none of the organic fertilizers. But changes are going on. The changes are being sponsored by the Indian Government; the agencies of the United States including the Ford Foundation are co-operating. Production is already up sensationally in areas where organized work is under way.



CHESTER C. DAVIS

Q.—This would seem to tie in, too, with the exchange of persons and ideas. Is that right?

A.—Yes, the officers of the Foundation regard the exchange of ideas, and possibly also of artistic and literary productions, as one of the most promising methods of fostering the development of world understanding and a sense of moral and cultural community among the peoples of the world. In this connection I want to say that the new program under the direction of your fellow-townsman Gordon Gray is an important move to increase knowledge of these parts of the world in this country and to train personnel for future overseas work. Gordon Gray was appointed by Director Paul Hoffman to be chairman of the Board of Overseas Training and Research. Up to 100 fellowships will be awarded this year to men and women who wish to initiate or continue training or research pertaining to Asia and the Near or Middle East. This is designed to promote the exchange of ideas relating to business, education, government, agriculture, labor relations, and the professions. The Foundation has established these fellowships in keeping with its concern for reducing present international tensions and furthering world peace.

Q.—To what extent does the Ford Foundation support the activities of international agencies?

A.—The Foundation tries to do things that will reenforce the efforts of others already at work. We work wherever possible through existing agencies and institutions. For instance, a grant to the Near East Foundation is designed to strengthen its administration and thus enable it immediately to undertake Point IV work which the United States plans to have done in co-operation with local governments.

Another example is the $1,000,000 grant to the American Friends Service Committee to aid their work already begun in parts of the world where serious tensions exist.

All this is related, also, to the second great area of interest to the Ford Foundation—and that is aiding Democracy.

Q.—How do you do that?

A.—The idea is that if we expect to see democracy work over the world we must make our own democratic institutions better. Racial minorities must be given a better chance. We must strengthen our own free institutions. We must improve on public administration. For example, one thing that is needed is a fresh look at the Civil Service system, which has largely gone to seed. The system certainly was an improvement over the spoils system we had prior to Civil Service, but its friends now realize that there are also dangers in an entrenched bureaucracy, so that a new look and a new definition of objectives are needed.

Abroad, in this connection, the Ford Foundation granted $1,309,500 to the Free University of Berlin to improve its plant and extend its work. This institution is located at one of the points of greatest tension in the West, with a large proportion of its students coming from the Russian sector of Berlin.

In Asia the Foundation has contribtued to the reconstruction and enlargement of the national student center in Manila, the organization which in the past has produced many democratic leaders for the Philippines.

With the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation supports the International Press Institute, sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, to further and safeguard the freedom of the press in the world. National committees are being formed in fifty countries.

Further, the Foundation has made grants to the Institute of Creative Research to study the philosophical basis of American institutions, and to the Advertising Council to formulate a comprehensive statement of the meaning of America.

Q.—Where does most of the Ford Foundation's money go?

A.—The largest grants so far have been to the fourth area of effort the Foundation has cut out for itself, education. Eighteen million dollars has been allocated to the Fund for the Advancement of Education, an independent agency created and financed by the Foundation to work in the field of formal education at college, secondary and elementary levels. Another thirteen million has been granted to the Fund for Adult Education, a similar independent agency. The emphasis has been upon the advancement of education designed primarily to develop intellectual capacity and independent judgment, rather than technical, specialized or professional proficiency. The Fund is chiefly concerned with liberalizing the education of young people and teachers and directs most of its attention to liberal education. The Fund does not make grants for building programs, the increase of endowments, or general operating expenses of institutions.

Last year 250 fellowships were given to young teachers who will give a year to studies designed to make them better teachers of undergraduates. And just recently scholarships were granted to four universities for scholarships for boys not more than 16½ years old, so that they may go to college for two years of liberal education before they enter the armed forces. Seven other institutions have since joined in this experiment and demonstration, and a group of private secondary schools has received a grant to assist in working out in co-operation with several universities a coherent scheme of liberal education through the last two years of secondary school and the first two years of college.

Q.—How does your advancement of education scheme compare with the adult education program?

A.—The Fund for Adult Educations has as its field that part of the educational process when formal schooling is finished. Adult education covers an enormous territory. Usually it is limited to remedying the deficiences in education after formal schooling. This Fund is trying to develop liberal programs of education for adults, of interesting adults in them, and of using new means that invention and technology provide to help interest people in ideas.

Q.—Does that mean more emphasis on educational TV?

A. — That certainly is a part of the program. We have a Television-Radio Workshop; this was established by the Ford Foundation for the development of more mature programs; the idea is to "hold the audience" as well as educate the audience. That means the education must be entertaining to a certain degree. Above all, we believe TV can produce adult education programs without reducing the TV appeal to the lowest common denominator. However, TV is only a part of the Adult Education program. The Fund is supporting a center for the study of liberal adult education. A number of discussion programs are being supported, such as those of the Foundation for Political Education on the basic issues of war and peace, of the American Library Association on the American heritage, and of the Great Book Foundation on the tradition of the West.

Q.—To go back a bit to your discussion of promoting peace and strengthening democratic institutions, isn't it true also that another of your broad areas, which seems to overlap, is strengthening economic institutions and promoting economic stability?

A.—Yes, by advancing economic well-being, measures for peace can be advanced as well as measures for bolstering free institutions. Education plays its part, too. The Ford Foundation will support activities which will advance the economic well-being of people everywhere. We seek to improve economic institutions for the better realization of democratic goals. The Foundation will support activities directed towards achievements of a growing economy characterized by high output. That means production. We favor the highest possible level of constructive employment. We believe that there should be a minimum of destructive instability. So we aid with activities and institutions striving to promote stability, production, full employment. In this connection we hope to find ways to help achieve more satisfactory labor-management relations. And we hope to contribute toward another attainment: balance between freedom and control in our entire economic life which will most effectively serve the well-being of our entire society. We would like, also, to be able to contribute something toward raising the general level of economic understanding.

Q.—How do you arrive at that understanding?

A.—I wish I knew. In a way, your question suggests the final broad area the Ford Foundation incorporates in its achievement goals. That is understanding human behavior. We have launched several projects in the behavioral sciences. We want to find out what makes a man behave as he does. The Foundation is studying motivation—in religion, law and psychology. Activities are being directed toward probing man's development from infancy to old age; of the interaction of biological, interpersonal and cultural influence in human behavior; and of the range of variations among individuals.

Q.—All of these projects certainly must require a lot of money. How much annual income do you have?

A.—It varies. For 1951 it was about thirty-one million dollars. In addition, we started with about one hundred and eighteen million accumulated earnings, of which $50,000,000 is now set up in a stabilization fund. This is available for use if bad times should come and our revenue from investments should drop.

Q.—Where is the half a billion invested?

A.—The major investment is the Class A non-voting stock of the Ford Motor Company which the Ford family donated to this Foundation from time to time, and which amounts to about four-fifths of the total asset figure.

Q.—Mr. Davis, what is the new publication the Ford Foundation plans to publish on an international basis?

A.—It will be a quarterly. The title of it is "Perspective, U. S. A." It will be published in English, French, Spanish and probably Russian. It will be a magazine of contemporary literature and art. It will be illustrated. It will not be a propaganda magazine at all, but will picture the cultural life of America and will probably be published abroad as well as in the United States.

Q.—Could you sum up the objectives of the Ford Foundation?

A.—This may be done best by quoting from a statement made by Henry Ford II. He said: "In September, 1950, the Trustees decided that the resources of the Foundation should be devoted to programs for the advancement of peace, education, the behavorial sciences, democratic institutions, and economic stability. These areas are all concerned with men's relationships with one another. It is apparent that the prime threat to human welfare today is the danger of war and the attendant sense of stress and strain throughout the world. Society needs to find ways of reducing such tensions and of deepening understanding among men everywhere. The Foundation hopes to do its share in bringing to light those qualities of wisdom, mutual confidence, and understanding on which rest all aspirations for a better world."

Revised

Annual Conference of the Council on Foundations
New Orleans, Louisiana
April 10, 1969
by George H. Esser, Jr., Program Advisor
The Ford Foundation

As I considered last week what I should say today, I became aware that Dave Freeman and I probably misplaced a word in defining the most appropriate emphasis of my talk today. We agreed on the title: "The Changing Role of Foundations in the South." Whatever the role of foundations has been in the South during the past few years——and some foundations, small as well as large, have played a most significant role——the emphasis today should be on "The Role of Foundations in the Changing South."

For the South is changing. The forces producing change are many and complex——some economic, some political, some social and cultural. Some are indigenous to the South and its people; some have been imposed by national policy and an awakened national conscience. None are taking place without resistance, and as counterforces clash, we are increasingly aware that those trends which we may define as healthy may be overwhelmed by reaction, by the inertia of tradition and the backlash of prejudice. In a time when we recognized that the disease of racism, once considered the Southerner's peculiar burden, now infects a nation, there are those among us who hope and believe, romantically perhaps, that the South has an opportunity to follow the forces of change into some sort of new American Utopia. There are those who see new cities that have benefitted from the mistakes of the old, a new and vigorous economy built on the passing of King Cotton and his court, a new social order that uses some old Southern virtues to create new dimensions of equality and opportunity.

But as of today, this is a dream, though it is not an implausible dream. Although the economists tell us that there is no economic reason that the South should not have developed as an industrial region, the fact

remains that we have not yet emerged from a poor agricultural economy and that our industry is still too concentrated in labor-intensive, low-wage and low-skill areas of manufacture. We have too many people and not enough jobs that pay decent wages. Too many of our people are poor and lacking in education and the skills to attract economic development, and our educational system lacks the resources to give them the training they need. And too many of our people, lacking opportunity at home, are still migrating to the ghettos of the North.

Although we see new cities in the South, impressive cities, still when we look at them closely, they are not yet benefitting from the mistakes of the older American cities. Rather they are building in anew the worst of those mistakes.

And the evidence of a new social order is so fleeting as to be a mirage.

But the forces for constructive change may have deeper roots than we can now see. Likewise, the opportunities for releasing those forces for change may be greater than we now recognize. And foundations may have the critical resources and the flexibility, in partnership with public resources, to help speed up those forces for change.

But investment in the South is not a task to be taken lightly. It must be based first on an understanding of the problems of the region, and its people.

It is perhaps too easy for Southerners to believe that their problems and their opportunities differ in some mystical way from the problems of other regions of the country. Anyone analyzing the South carefully will find no major problems that in some way do not affect any other part of this country. But there is in the South's sense of history, in its traditional sense of regional identification, in the particular combination and

intensity of its problems, a regional distinction that we seldom find elsewhere. From this regional point of view, let us review those factors inhibiting change in the South today, for they also suggest areas for fruitful foundation investment.

Factors Inhibiting Change in the South

1. The overriding problem of race complicates, and often defies, progress in every phase of life in the South——political, social, economic, educational. The South bears the burden of its long history of racial discrimination, even though the past few years have tragically demonstrated that discrimination is not a Southern phenomenon. And you will find the problem of race, the prejudice of the white and the frustration of the black, basic to every other problem with which the South is faced.

2. The economy of the South is weak, producing neither enough jobs nor enough income to provide decent jobs for the people of the region. Part of the reason is the rapid displacement of men and resources from a traditionally agricultural economy with no adequate planning or action for the future of those displaced. Between 1940 and 1960 alone the number of agricultural jobs in the South declined by four million, with the process still in motion, but the vacuum has been met more by migration than expansion of the industrial economy, more by jobs for white women than for black males. And even more tragically, the educational system has not had the will or the resources to help the displaced farmer, white or black, develop the skills which would encourage the type of economic development which can close the income gap between the South and the rest of the nation.

3. The specific plight of the poor in the South is almost indescribable, although in recent years the focus on the problem of hunger has begun to

make its impact. This region has a larger share of poor families than any other region——one-third of its families earn less than $3,000 a year——and the poor reflect the whole range of human problems——inadequate housing, poor health, an inadequate diet, lack of education and skills, and lack of political power.

4. Despite the need to invest heavily in the development of human resources, the South lacks both the resources to invest effectively in education and health and welfare services and the will to make an investment sufficiently high to insure that, during the next fifteen years, a new and ~~pure~~ more productive economy might be created.

5. Our lifeblood continues to be thinned by a continuing out-migration of our better educated, younger, more creative people. These are in addition to the poor who also stream out to find better opportunities in cities where unfortunately the grass is not greener.

6. The creative role of government in the South suffers from the impact of a long history of one party systems. However frustrating party politics may be, as yet parties have been found largely indispensable as instruments of self-government and as vehicles for the organization and expression of competing viewpoints on public policy. And if it is said that Republican strength is producing a two-party system, or that Mr. Wallace's appeal is producing three parties, that judgment must be tempered by the fact that Republican, American, and conservative Democratic votes produce additional obstacles to creative and constructive governmental policies to help the region develop.

7. An additional, and often baffling, political factor is the suspicion and fear of the federal establishment that remains alive, dominating political attitudes in the South and crippling the efforts of many communities throughout the region to utilize federal funds for vital programs.

These characteristics of the South seem impersonal when stated in mere words. But when their impact is translated into frustration and oppression, when apathy and despair begin to produce anger, when the indignities of decades of exploitation and discrimination are understood, when aspirations and hopes are raised and then dashed again by an insensitive Congress and other public agencies, then we begin to see the dimensions of the crisis in the rural South as in the urban ghetto. And as in other parts of the country, the poor white, as surely a victim of the South's history as the black man, is tragically more interested in protecting his meager sense of social superiority than in improving his own economic status, while at the same time the black man is determined to seek real equality of opportunity——in the economy, in education, in housing and in politics, whatever the opposition.

It is perhaps already evident to you that I have one strong bias concerning the role of foundations, whether in the South or elsewhere. In a time when the word "crisis" has almost lost its urgency because of the frequency with which it is used, I must emphasize the urgency of the crisis our nation faces——that of making a land of justice and opportunity for all men, particularly black men and particularly poor men. Until we restore the confidence of all men, rich and poor, black and white, young and old, in the promise of this country and the goals of our Constitution and traditions, we will travel down the road of increasing polarization of views, of potential conflict and of the threat of either revolution or an armed state. So I believe that foundations, like the government, must give priority to the general welfare of all our people, and foundations must not rationalize an unwillingness to deal with problems as serious as those of discrimination and injustice.

Simple solutions there are none. We cannot wipe out the history of

what the white man has done to the black man overnight. We cannot root out injustice and inequality from our institutions or prejudice from our hearts overnight. But we can give these goals priority in our lives and our programs.

Approaches to Change: 1963-1968

If the forces for change exist in the South, what then are the points of leverage on which foundations must focus to help strengthen those forces? Let me approach the problem by reflecting on some of the experiences we had in North Carolina through The North Carolina Fund from 1963 to 1968.

The North Carolina Fund was established in 1963 under the leadership of Governor Terry Sanford to help find ways in which North Carolinians could break out of the cycle of poverty. The goal was not unrealistic, even in 1963, for Governor Sanford recognized that more than one-third of all our citizens were living in poverty, in poor health and poor housing, and without the education or skills to find better opportunities. The Ford Foundation made a grant of five million dollars to the Fund as an extension of its program to help communities find ways to reach and provide opportunity to those living in the "gray areas" of our cities, more recently termed the urban ghetto. This amount was matched by $2.5 million from the Mary Reynolds Babcock and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundations of Winston-Salem. Other additional Fund resources included a $2 million grant from Ford for a comprehensive school improvement project and a series of grants and consultants from federal agencies such as OEO, Labor and HUD.

Initially we hoped, as did the experimental cities in the North and West, that some of these baffling problems of people in our society could be solved by a determined effort on the part of local government and other community agencies (public and private) to plan a coordinated assault on

the problems of the poor, utilizing and mobilizing all the resources of the schools, health and welfare and other social service agencies, and of the state and federal governments. It was this theory which was later written into the community action program of the Economic Opportunity Act.

It is much too early, in my judgment, to write off community action or OEO as failures. We do not yet appreciate what they have accomplished. But let me first comment on the concept of coordination and cooperation in attacking poverty and injustice.

We can all acknowledge, today as in 1963, that we are using our resources to meet the problems of the poor in a very sloppy manner. Somehow, in view of our technological achievements, we should be able to find ways to deal with all the problems of an individual, or a family, or a community, in a more effective way than we do now. But over the past 100 years we have built institutions and professions to deal with single, narrowly-defined, problems and isolated symptoms, not the whole. And we have divided the responsibility for financing and administering these institutions among several levels of government. The simple fact is, then, that if we wish to bring these institutions and governmental units and resources to focus on people where they are, we must have some system for requiring cooperation and coordination. Although the intent for such coordination was written into the Economic Opportunity Act, the legislation was never implemented by the one agency which presumably had the power, the Office of the President.

The only lever OEO had was money, and it never had enough money to constitute a powerful lever for changing and coordinating strong, well-established, institutions. OEO and community action agencies could and did point out the weaknesses of such existing systems as that for providing manpower training and job placement for the poor. The new agencies could

experiment with new systems, but the Department of Labor, perhaps understandably, fought OEO for the privilege of administering these new systems, and won. And in the process of this in-fighting much time and effort and the chance for a record of success in the last four years was lost. So also was the chance for overall coordination of programs aimed at the poor.

The examples can be multiplied. Professional educators fought the concept of Head Start, primarily because they were not willing to incorporate and utilize the innovative features which the architects of Head Start advocated. And the fight for control of Head Start is still going on in Washington.

We experienced all these problems in North Carolina; the agencies which wanted to spend federal money in their own way without listening to the criticisms of the poor or the new ideas of other professionals; the agencies which would cooperate only on their own terms; the local governments which would not permit agencies under their control to participate in community action programs.

This is not to say that community action agencies were without blame, or that lasting changes have not been made. Both are true to some degree. But the results are minimal when compared with what is needed.

The whole structure of the federal system is also to blame in part. Even when we acknowledge the good intentions of the multiplicity of new federal programs, we must also acknowledge that they were not designed for easy implementation. In 1966, for example, we discovered that only one project had been initiated and completed in North Carolina to utilize the provisions of Section 221 of the Federal Housing Act for the construction of low-income housing. So we established, with the help of OEO, an agency to provide technical assistance and financial help to groups interested in building such housing. Today, two years later, the Low-Income Housing

Development Corporation has about thirty new projects in various stages of processing. But the staff has also determined that, at the minimum, it requires almost three years from the time a sponsoring group is formed until it can be expected to meet all the governmental regulations and see such housing completed. And, as in most federal programs, there are many levels of approval in securing federal assistance, and it takes but one "no" by one official at any stage of the way to defeat or drastically slow up a proposal supported and endorsed by everybody else concerned.

The system in which we work, then, is so complicated that one of our primary objectives must be, which I understand is also a goal of the new Administration, to improve the delivery system. But even if we improve the delivery system for meeting the problems of people, we must face the hard fact that we do not now have the resources allocated to do the job of educating children and adults, providing housing, providing day care and recreation and other public services, that will be essential to meet the unquestioned needs of people throughout this country. And in the South we are faced with the absolute need for more resources where the people are, which in too many cases is in poor rural areas which have no resources.

And finally, even if we had the resources, I am not sure we could use them well, for we lack the men and women with the skills to make expanded programs successful.

In short, we have been trying to do a job essential for the health and vitality of our country with a system of government that is too complicated, and we have lacked the money and people to make the programs work. But even had we had all these resources, the job would not have been done in the South, because the South, generally speaking, does not have the willingness to do the job.

Let me give another example. After four years of action in North Carolina to support and strengthen community action agencies, to create new resources, to experiment with new ways of manpower development and housing and education, to train people for new tasks, the Fund Board of Directors concluded that we needed to know much more about the attitudes of white people toward the poor, and particularly the black poor, as well as white attitudes toward the programs being proposed or implemented to meet the needs of the poor. We therefore contracted with a nationally-prominent polling agency - Oliver Quayle and Company - to conduct a survey in North Carolina to determine some of these attitudes. I can't say that we were surprised at the results, but we were saddened by them.

Only a few results will give you a flavor. Despite the evidence of the cumulative impact of discrimination on the opportunity of black people for jobs and education and housing, 60% of the whites reported that Negroes have equal opportunities in our society, but only 6% of the blacks shared that view. Almost three-fourths of the whites stated that the primary cause for poverty, for unemployment, and for being on welfare was "laziness," even though a separate and more inclusive survey disclosed that 97% of the heads of households of poor families in 31 representative poverty target areas in North Carolina are employed, and that almost half of them in fact work more than forty hours a week. The problem is not a job, but a job paying wages sufficient to support a family.

I have no reason to believe that the situation is any better in any other Southern state, and our results widely published across the state, were almost identical with the national attitude featured by CBS on a special TV feature.

Complementing this survey of attitudes, the Fund also undertook extensive interviews of public officials in each of the communities where the Fund provided support to community action programs. The only simple result to report is that public officials, elected and appointed, generally do not understand or sympathize with the poor, and that this opinion generally reflects the opinion of the community. They tend to regard the poor, and particularly the black poor, as not willing to work, as not as good as the white man or the affluent man; they tend to regard agitation for civil rights as un-American or communist-inspired; and they want assistance to the poor given on the basis of paternalism or a handout, not on the basis of meeting the acknowledged needs of young children or the aged or the handicapped.

None of this will be surprising to you, but it is essential to repeat it if foundations are to make their investments wisely. For the fact is that increasingly the black man, and in some cases the poor white, is no longer willing to accept oppression and discrimination, either for himself or his children. And this is so in the rural South as well as in the urban slum. In fact, the Fund's attitude survey disclosed a greater tolerance for militant action to secure equality, including the risk of violence, among black people in rural areas and small towns where economic intimidation and control are greater than in the city. And we increasingly found the poor man and the black man willing to state his convictions, to bring his concerns over issues to county boards, city councils and school boards, to voice his distrust of establishments in which he could not participate and of the policies adopted by these establishments.

Now, what does all this experience say about our strategy for the future, both in public policy and the role for the foundation as an agency with a public responsibility but a private image?

Basically, it seems to me to argue that our ability to encourage constructive change in the South - political, economic or social - will not be really effective until we develop the willingness to understand the problems of the poor, to fix as a goal a democratic system that emphasized real equality and opportunity, and to recognize the urgency needed to achieve that equality and opportunity.

I would therefore suggest that our first aim must be to develop support for the willingness to act in formulating and implementing public policy, and that foundations can be of critical importance in this process. By saying we need to develop a willingness to act, I am not referring to the changing of attitudes alone, but also the sponsorship of action projects designed to affect attitudes as well as program goals.

Some Suggestions for the Future

As I look back over those years in which we tried to change systems in North Carolina, as I look at the experience of the War on Poverty elsewhere in the South, as I look at other foundation efforts in the South, and as I look at the problems of our region and the needs of our people, I offer these tentative suggestions for foundation action in our region hopefully by those who have not heretofore acted, as well as continued investment by those who have.

1. There are no simple solutions to any of the problems in the South. There are, in my judgment, no gimmicks, no significant truths lying close to the surface and requiring just a little money and effort to unearth. Our society is too complex for simplicity.

2. The problem of attitudes is critical, but it will not be solved until there is a political and economic balance in communities which will encourage free discussion, debate and action on the issues underlying change.

3. Knowledge and information to put the issues of public policy into perspective for all Southerners is a critical need today. In the absence of information, the old myths will continue to dominate public opinion and the facts often never emerge. A foundation was responsible for first drawing the attention of the nation to the facts of hunger in our society, beginning in the South. In a less dramatic way, perhaps, the Fund brought facts to the attention of the people of North Carolina -- the facts of conflicting attitudes, the fact that food costs no less to buy in North Carolina stores than in the nation on the average, the fact that our state's economy could not eliminate poverty if it continued to focus on low-wage, low-skill, labor intensive industries. And the Southern Regional Council has been very effective in defining issues and illuminating them with facts that never before reached the newspapers and TV and radio. We must develop better instruments for analyzing issues and disseminating information on them.

4. I doubt that we will have much success in persuading whites to respect blacks or blacks to trust whites on any rational basis, but I believe that there is the potential for success in the process of attempting to solve problems jointly or together. The concept of the local urban coalition, weak at best in Southern cities, offers one such opportunity. It is unfortunately true that Southern businessmen and public officials have hesitated to sit down to bargain and negotiate and deal with real issues until a crisis impends, whether created by marches and demonstrations or boycotts or tension that threatens to disintegrate into disorder. But I have seen businessmen face

up to issues of fair employment, public officials begin to understand that urban renewal is not a positive program of benefit to the black community but rather an example of further exploitation by the white community, and I have seen parents accept the justice of integration in the schools and better quality in the schools. We must discover how these processes can be initiated and followed through without threats, for until the white and the black, the rich and the poor, sit around the same table, define their issues to action, there will not be any mutual understanding or change in attitudes.

5. But these processes of negotiation cannot bring lasting change satisfactory to the black community, no matter how much the white man believes in his own good intentions. The move by the black community toward effective action by and for blacks, confused and misinterpreted though it may be by rhetoric -- black and white -- is real and necessary. The agricultural or other cooperative sponsored by and for blacks assures the black man of economic independence and control and ownership of capital, free from exploitation or the threat of exploitation by the white man. The same is true of businesses owned and managed by black men. Although I do not believe that we can build separate societies, I believe that the control and management of more substantial resources by the black man in our society is absolutely essential to a society in which the black man has independence and influence on his own terms. The efforts to build black-owned enterprises will be lengthy and time-consuming, and public resources and public and private policies are not yet fashioned to help the black man, so that foundations have an unparallelled opportunity to demonstrate what can be done in this area. But the process will require grants as well as loans, solid management and technical help as well as good intentions.

6. I do not mean to limit this interpretation of black power and responsibility to the economic sphere alone. It is not yet clear what mix of separation and participation in existing, predominantly white systems will eventually produce that combination of options which meets the tests of justice and equality and self-identification. What we must do is to be very sensitive to the thinking of the black community and to the ideas it develops, for it is through careful listening that I have learned what little I may know of the aspirations and objectives of my friends in the black community. And increasingly and rapidly heretofore predominantly white institutions must bring in leadership from the black community to help make those decisions which most affect that community. Thus, we must increase greatly the entry of blacks and the poor into responsible positions in our economic and political systems, and our systems for delivering services. We need black doctors and lawyers and architects and social service professionals and businessmen in every stage of our society, we need black legislators and governmental administrators both to increase the options for the black child and to help re-shape and reform our institutions which are not meeting today's needs.

7. We need to begin to bring white and black leadership from around the South into the definition and solution of these urgent issues, so that businessmen and public officials and professionals and the average citizen will begin to understand their own self-interest in equality and opportunity for all. I am convinced that there are many men of potential good will in the South today who do not understand the stakes they have in change, individually or for society as a whole.

8. Furthermore, I would point out, however sensitive an area it is for foundations today, that the steps foundations can take will, if successful, lead to changes where public policy is formed, in the political process.

If knowledge is widened, attitudes changed, and issues better understood, there will be changes in the political process. Foundations cannot, of course, participate directly in the political process, but they can help strengthen those processes by which people are informed of their rights and of how to participate -- how long denied. The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, for example, is opening up access to participation throughout the South.

9. Thus far, I have indicated that only with the willingness to change can we develop the ability to change. I would not discourage foundations from helping, in partnership with government, to change and improve our systems of education and housing and health and welfare and recreation, or to improve the planning and decision-making process in state and local government. But I would counsel against helping to change systems on the terms laid down by existing leadership in those systems alone. For in the absence of confidence by the black man and the poor man in those systems, efforts to secure change without the involvement of the black and the poor will run much greater risks of failure. But we need more participation by the poor man and the black man in legislation and administration; we need stronger processes for planning and economic development; we need better policies for developing our region as a consequence of those processes.

Let me make one last point. There are many ideas abroad in the South today, ideas costing many more dollars than foundations have to invest. Even if foundation investment in the South were doubled today, only a fraction of the good proposals around could be funded. Foundations large and small must find some way to put these proposals into a larger prospective, to find better ways of identifying the ideas that have promise, to find ways of multiplying investment dollars though partnership with the federal government, with churches, and with other public and private agencies. And

finally, we must find better ways to monitor those things we try, and to evaluate them effectively.

Conclusion

Arnold Schuchter stated in White Power/Black Freedom, "I believe that the Negroes' quest for freedom in American will come to symbolize the underlying quest of individuals in this rapidly changing urban society, black and white, affluent and poor, for liberation from social, economic, and political processes over which they have little or no control. The black quest for identity and self-management, struggling against powerful forces acting on the total composition of society, will gradually be viewed, by a youthful generation that abhors the disparity between the promise and the fulfillments of American life, as more of a common cause than a social threat....In an age seemingly captured by mammoth organizations and bureaucracy, the shape of the future will still depend greatly on individuals, especially those struggling to govern the basic institutions which exercise power in this nation...."

I believe that the forces for change leading to a better South are already at work. What we need are more resources to support them, better intelligence to identify them, and more compassion to sustain them.

P R O P O S A L

to

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

from

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

May 16, 1973

P R O P O S A L

SUMMARY

This proposal asks for funds to accomplish two major purposes:

1. To provide financial support for key program objectives adopted by the Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council in January 1973, and for which SRC and the Rockefeller Foundation have a mutual concern. These programs would:
   a. Define and interpret the basic problems of poverty in the South, generally for the region and specifically for subregions of the rural South, with emphasis on basic demographic trends and on income, education, housing and health conditions in poor rural areas.
   b. Assist the Council in analyzing and interpreting key issues of state and local tax policy in the region.
   c. Inventory and analyze the problems faced by the wide variety of community-based economic development organizations in the region.
2. To strengthen SRC's staff capacity to analyze critical issues in economic development in the region, to

prepare readable reports interpreting this analysis for a wide audience, to monitor governmental performance in efforts to improve conditions in rural areas and to support community-based economic development projects, and to initiate processes of community consultation in different areas of the region which would encourage dialogue and action on public policies which can help meet conditions of poverty.

I. INTRODUCTION

Following the appointment of a new Executive Director and Associate Director for SRC in the spring of 1972, the staff of SRC began a process of examining current issues in the region to which the Council should give special attention, in keeping with the strategy outlined by the full Council following a special study committee process in 1971. The staff then took recommendations to the Executive Committee in the fall of 1972, and these recommendations evolved into Program for the '70's reviewed and adopted by the full Council at its annual meeting on December 1-2, 1972. A copy of that program is attached as an integral part of this proposal.

Council staff then chose a series of specific program objectives which they believed would provide substance in the effort to lend new insights to regional problems in education, economic development, health and housing. Eighteen specific projects, supplemented by a number of special reports, were approved by the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 27, 1973.

Since the time of the annual meeting, which was attended by Dr. Ralph Cummings of the Rockefeller Foundation staff, there has been a series of conversations between officers of Southern Regional Council and officers of the Rockefeller Foundation concerning the needs of the South, with a special focus on the rural South, as well as ways in which SRC might work with the Rockefeller Foundation in helping to deal with mutual concerns in the region.

This proposal asks for funds to accomplish two major purposes:

A. First, the proposal contains detailed information on the financial support needed to achieve key program objectives of the Council for 1973, and in which the Rockefeller Foundation has expressed a specific interest.

1. A comprehensive definition of poverty in the South relying heavily on the 1970 census data but drawing on other sources of information where pertinent and available. The analysis would describe generally the problems of poor Southerners in the region, and would further aggregate comparable data for subregions of the rural South which the Council and the Rockefeller Foundation will identify. Emphasis will be placed on the basic characteristics of people in the South, with emphasis on the poor population of the South - its distribution, age and family characteristics, labor market activities, public assistance and other income information, and education. There will also be complementary information on housing for the poor in the region and on their health conditions.

2. The Council has had a specific interest in analyzing and interpreting state and local tax policy in the region. One project underway will update and expand the Council's 1969 study on The <u>Tax Structure in the Southern States</u>. A second, more long range, study will focus on the relationship between state tax

policies and economic development in the region with emphasis on problems in rural counties having a large number of poor families.

3. Finally, the Council has been very much interested in the number and variety of community-based economic development organizations in the region, particularly cooperatives and community development corporations. Under the proposal the Council (a) will inventory these organizations within the region, (b) will analyze the public policies which both encourage and frustrate the ability of these organizations to achieve the status of self-support, and (c) will identify the particular obstacles which they face in their efforts to become self-supported.

Additional information on each of these program objectives, together with the budget support necessary to complete each of them will be found in Section II of this proposal.

B. SRC has made strenuous efforts in the past few months to initiate and develop significant program objectives in each of four major problem areas, to continue and expand its traditional publications program (the monthly, South Today and the quarterly, New South), and to meet specific critical needs in the region in keeping with its traditional concern for aid to organizations of poor Southerners and black Southerners. All of these efforts have combined to put a strain on the Council's current budget. Despite the continued support of several foundations which have long given financial aid to the

Council and new help coming from funding sources which have not traditionally helped the Council, there are some specific ways in which the Rockefeller Foundation can help SRC both achieve its program objectives with a quality performance and survive some budgetary uncertainties during the next few months. We would therefore like to request some additional assistance for the next few months in accordance with discussions between officers of SRC and of the Foundation.

The basic purposes of the additional support which SRC is requesting will be to strengthen the capacity of the SRC staff to analyze critical issues in economic development in the region, with emphasis on the rural South; to prepare readable reports interpreting these analyses for a wide audience; to monitor governmental performance in efforts to strengthen the economy of the region and to help poor Southerners both find jobs and successfully develop community-based economic development projects; and to initiate processes of community consultation in different areas of the region which will encourage dialogue and action on public policies at every level of government policies which can help solve the problems of poor Southerners. Section III will speak to these specific needs.

II. SPECIFIC PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

A. Analysis of Poverty in the South

The eleven Southern states in which the Southern Regional Council operates have 10,180,437 poor people, 38% of the nation's total. Yet they contain only 25% of the nation's population. And while 14% of the nation's citizens live in poverty, 20% of those in these eleven states do.

Who are our poor, and where do they live? What other problems are associated with their condition or result from it? In what way and where are problems common between states, and how can they begin to work together toward solutions? How can the Southern Regional Council's task forces concentrate their resources in an informed way to lead toward solutions?

Such questions require a base of knowledge about the poor in the South and the interrelationship of their problems. We would emphasize that our approach deals secondarily with the characteristics of the poor - and those not necessarily as causes of poverty - using them to concentrate primarily on how the statistics define the problems, and how they define the areas in which those problems exist and are concentrated.

The South is best defined as a region statistically, culturally, and economically by a number of measures that lump certain of the states together as similar. Those measures include lower education levels, a lower proportion of foreign born, a higher proportion of blacks, a higher proportion of agricultural employment, higher fertility rates, higher infant

mortality rates, a higher proportion of Protestants, lower capital investment in manufacturing, smaller average acreage per farm, etc. But observation tells us that the region is by no means homogenous, and that distinct subregions may be similarly defined. A few have been defined historically by the obvious geographic barriers or by an economic development enhanced by geographic advantages. A more subtle economic definition of sub-regions results from patterns of metropolitan development, marketing, and transportation. Obviously, such sub-regions may take in parts of two or more states, and may share more commonality than the regional sections within any one state.

Our analysis of poverty in the South is designed to give us an objective definition of sub-regions based on the characteristics of its poor people and their problems. It is our conviction that the nature of the problems and their intensity will tend visually and statistically to define rural areas more accurately. Thus, while we intend to examine state data because many of the problems must be solved at a state level, and while we expect to look at regional figures in comparison with the rest of the country, our primary interest is in the pattern of poor rural sub-regions that appears to exist. It is for this reason that we have chosen to look at some of the data by counties and some of it by residential distribution of the population between several categories of urban residence and farm and nonfarm residence. With a baseline of the distribution of the South's white and black population and changes in that distribution since 1960, we will

examine the distribution of the white and black poor population, the incidence of poverty in both races, such characteristics as age, sex of family head, employment status, occupation, industrial job classification, income, the extent of public assistance and social security income, levels of formal education, and housing.

The analysis will also cite apparent relationships among problems, and the report will be published by October 1st, in a form designed for general use, illustrated by maps, graphs, charts, and some tables. An appendix, perhaps bound separately, will contain basic data tables from which the analysis is drawn.

Such an analysis should provide states of the region a more objective description of their mutual concerns in rural areas and enhance their ability to plan together to solve problems. It is essential as baseline data for the program development of the Southern Regional Council's task forces. (See Appendix for substantive detail.)

BUDGET:

Personnel:	
Contractual & Part-time Assistance:	
Tabulation	$ 4,000
Research Analysts	6,000
Writer	2,500
Computer time	5,000
Telephone	200
Graphics and art work	2,000
Printing (10,000 copies)	10,000
Total	$29,700

Invite Ralph Cummings to meeting with R. Marshall re: survey

B. Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis

Information on the region's health is essential to an understanding of the region's primary problems, particularly of those Southerners in poverty. Since census data can supply basic kinds of information, other information is being gathered from all available sources to complement the poverty analysis and provide the "Southern Health Status and Resources Profile," with attention to the following:

1. Level of health in the South. This will include some brief demographic material, but of much greater importance, the health status indices (mortality and morbidity rates) to compare the region's health level with the national level. Particular emphasis will be placed here--as elsewhere in the report--on rural health problems. The section will also deal with the relationship between poverty and health with statistics illustrating that areas of concentrated poverty (rural and inner city) have the poorest health status based on mortality and chronic condition rates. The adverse effect of malnutrition and hostile environmental conditions on health will also be examined.
2. Examination of Health Resources. This will be a look at manpower, facilities, programs and services. Particular attention will be paid to the maldistribution of health personnel (physicians, nurses,

dentists). The lack of primary care manpower will be documented. Along with this we will also look at some innovative use of health personnel, such as the student program at Vanderbilt. We will also try to show some examples of innovative use of facilities, particularly in rural areas.

3. Financial barriers to Health Care. This will include a look at costs in the South, as well as insurance coverage with attention to lack of coverage by the poor and a more complete examination of the inadequacies of Medicaid and Medicare.

BUDGET:

Professional Consultant	$ 1,500
Research Associates	3,000
Printing	2,500
Telephone	200
Travel	1,000
	$8,200

C. State and Local Tax Structure in the South

At a time when additional pressure is being placed on state and local government to assume additional responsibilities for critical public services, it is important to have accurate information available throughout the South on the sources of state and local taxation, with an analysis that indicates the relative impact in each state of state and local tax policy. This effort is particularly important because Southern states have historically relied more upon regressive forms of taxation than states in other regions of the country.

The Southern Regional Council is making arrangements with Dr. Eva Galambos to revise, expand and bring up to date her 1969 study entitled "The Tax Structure of the Southern States."

BUDGET:

Research	$ 3,000
Printing & Distribution of final report	2,000
	$ 5,000

D. Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty

One of the critical problems in the South is the extent to which many corporations now own very large areas of land in Southern counties. These include paper, agri-business, and mineral extraction enterprises. The result is domination of many rural counties by one or two major corporate concerns.

These same counties generally have a higher proportion of poverty, inadequate public services, and limited opportunities for new economic development and job creation.

The Southern Regional Council, through a senior staff member, proposes to initiate a thorough analysis of this growing trend with attention to the following issues:

1. To what extent do state and local tax policies encourage the aggregation of large tracts of land, and how does the taxation of this land and/or minerals compare with the taxation of other income producing properties in the Southern states?
2. What is the quality of public services in counties with a higher proportion of land ownership concentrated in a few persons or corporations, and what appears to be the impact, if any, of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on the quality of those public services?
3. What is the need and potential for other economic development in such counties, and what is the impact of this pattern of land ownership and control on this potential?
4. What has been the impact of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on opportunity for black citizens in these counties as compared with that for whites?
5. What role has state government played in helping to assure other kinds of economic development in counties with this pattern of land ownership and economic control?

The research director will select a sample of counties in which land-intensive industries are dominant, using a profile of land ownership, distribution and use; tenancy patterns; population and racial composition; other income and demographic characteristics; and economic analysis.

This research will require a fourteen-month effort, including one-half the time of Mr. George Harris as staff member in charge, until the report is ready for final writing. At that time he will take a four-month leave of absence to prepare the report which will also constitute his Ph.D. dissertation. A complete research design is being prepared.

BUDGET:

Two research assistants	$ 10,000
Travel for staff director and research assistants	5,000
Computer Programing	2,000
Telephone	1,800
Report Printing & Distribution	2,500
Consultants	1,000
Four-months leave of absence for preparation of final report as dissertation	6,000
	28,300

E. Analysis of Self-Help and Community Based Development Organizations

The reorganization of USDA under the Rural Development Act of 1972, the current federal suit brought by the Agri-business Accountability Project against HEW and USDA, and the survival needs of rural co-ops and CDC's combine to form the matrix of our concern in this project: What measures should be taken to make small farming an economically viable option, and to strengthen self-help economic development programs?

The project will include a systematic survey of selected cooperatives and CDC's, matching services and resources needed with services and resources available, and received, through Farmer's Home Administration, the Extension Service, other U. S. Departments of Agriculture programs, and other federal and state programs. We will interview a sample of county, university, state extension, federal agency personnel, as well as members of cooperatives and CDC's, to identify obstacles to delivery of essential services and the kinds of remedies that will be required.

BUDGET:

Consultant or staff member employed for life of project	$ 12,000
Full-time SRC Intern	7,700
Travel	5,000
Telephone	2,000
Printing and Publications	2,000
	$ 28,700

III. STRENGTHEN SRC STAFF CAPACITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A. In order to strengthen and stablize the capacity of the Council to pursue a realistic program in the areas of economic development for the next year, with emphasis on problems of poor Southerners and specifically problems of the rural poor, the Council asks for financial assistance to provide the following staff resources:

1. One senior staff person to specialize in economic development and to serve as the task force coordinator in building a constituency for change in issues related to economic development. Support for a senior staff member involves the following expenditures:

BUDGET:

Salary	$20,000
Fringe benefits (18%)	3,600
One-half time Secretary	4,000
Travel and Phone	3,000
	$30,600

2. With the assistance of relatively small grants from two other foundations, the Council is establishing a Monitoring Program, which will evaluate the performance of selected federal, state and local programs, particularly programs which should provide substantial help to poor and black Southerners, and are capable of support for economic development and manpower

development efforts for poor Southerners. We request one additional salary to complete the staffing of a three man-team, all of whom will have prior experience in the monitoring of public programs.

BUDGET:

Salary	$18,000
Fringe Benefits (10%)	1,800
Travel & Telephone	2,500
	$22,300

3. One of the strategies which the Council hopes to employ in reaching out to Southerners who are interested in current regional problems and their possible solutions is the holding of a series of conferences in individual states in the region for which special information has been developed. The Council plans to sponsor conferences on rural poverty, the rural South, and state and local tax policies in several areas of the region during the fall and winter.

BUDGET:

Salary - Full time SRC Intern	$ 7,700
Conference costs	12,000
	$19,700

B. In addition to these requirements for strengthening the program in economic development, two special needs have developed this spring. Modest financial assistance would permit much more effective use of the current staff and improve the timing and quality of the series of special reports which will be issued in the next eight months.

1. If the Council is to attract the widest possible audience for its special reports analyzing critical issues, we have found that good writing which is neither academic nor pedestrian is essential. We request funds to employ a writer to provide full-time assistance to the task forces for the preparation and editing of special reports.

   BUDGET:

Salary	$12,000
Fringe Benefits	2,160
Telephone & Travel	1,500
	$15,660

2. The Council's Research and Information Program contains two staff members who have the talent and skills for both research design and a wide range of data collection and analysis. Because of expanded output from this staff, we ask for the salary of a secretary who would (a) relieve the research personnel of routine library functions and (b) handle a growing volume of typing related to data analysis.

   BUDGET:

Salary	$7,200
Fringe Benefits (18%)	1,296
Office Supplies & Equipment	750
	$9,246

BUDGET SUMMARY

II.	A.	Analysis of Poverty in the South	$ 29,700
	B.	Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis	8,200
	C.	State and Local Tax Structure in the South	5,000
	D.	Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty	28,300
	E.	Analysis of Self-Help and Community Based Development Organizations	28,700
III.	A:		
	1.	Senior Staff member in economic development, and support	30,600
	2.	One additional staff member for Monitoring Program, and support	22,300
	3.	Conferences in individual states, and staff support	19,700
	B:		
	1.	Writer, and support	15,660
	2.	Secretary for Research and Information Staff, and equip.	9,246
		Total Budget	$197,406

APPENDIX A. Analysis of Poverty in the South - Substantive Detail

The poverty report will use the data in the 1970 Census of Population and in some cases data from the 1960 Census. The basic variable, poverty, has been developed by the Social Security Administration and consists of a series of poverty income thresholds. The poverty threshold depends on the size of a family, the sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years, and farm and nonfarm residence. A poor family or individual is one whose income falls below his relevant threshold. This survey relies entirely on this income concept of poverty though other measures have been proposed.

Two dimensions, with respect to poverty, will be emphasized in the analysis: the incidence of poverty and the distribution of the poverty population. Incidence measures the probability of a sub-population being poor. The distribution of the poverty population describes a sub-population's share of the poverty population. For instance, incidence of poverty is high among Southern aged rural blacks, but their share of the poverty population is low.

The report will compare the 11 southern states with each other and with the regional total. Comparisons with U.S. totals will be used as a baseline, but the analysis will focus on differences and similarities within the region.

For most of the items discussed below tables will use a residential variable that has these six categories: Urban-central cities, urban fringe, cities 10,000 to 50,000, cities 2,500 to 10,000; Rural - farm and nonfarm. In some cases only three residential categories will be used - Urban, Rural Farm, and Rural Nonfarm.

For the substantive issues discussed below tables will usually present the U.S. total, the 11 state southern region, the 11 southern states separately by either the 6 or 3 category residence variable. County data will be presented for some items and maps will be prepared containing the county data. The substantive areas of the survey follow.

All tables and analyses will include racial distributions. The black versus white comparisons are a principal focus of the report.

I. Population Distributions

A. Population Changes Since 1960

The emphasis will be on the changing distribution by the residential categories, especially on movement of blacks out of the South, or out of rural areas into central cities. Equally important is the flight of whites to suburbs. A county analysis of the proportion black populations will also be prepared.

B. Rural Population

Since rural residence is highly associated with poverty the rural population will be computed for each county and presented on a county map of the South. Comparisons with the black population by county can readily be made.

C. Poverty Population

What is the poverty rate by county? This will be presented on a county map. The poverty rate for selected cities will also be presented on the same map, if feasible. In conjunction with the map data on black populations and rural populations areas with critical needs can be identified.

What is the distribution of the poverty population compared to the population as a whole? Is it isolated in pockets or is it present everywhere? Is the incidence of poverty related to residence? Where is it higher/lower?

What is the difference between the poor black and the poor white? Is their residential distribution the same as or different from their racial distribution or is it the same for the poor of both races? Is the incidence of poverty by race different according to residential area?

II. Demographic Characteristics

A. Age and Family Characteristics

Who are the poor by age and family characteristic? Our categories of concern are: the aged (65 and over), families headed by a male under 65, families headed by a female under 65, and unrelated male and female individuals. What is the incidence of poverty among these various groups?

For the total population (nonpoor and poor) what is the age profile using these categories: under 16, 16-24, 25-54, 55-64, 65 and over. What change has taken place in this distribution since 1960? What is the distribution of the 1970 poor population by age categories? Without getting into a detailed analysis of age distributions or projections we want to point out the trend toward growing numbers of the aged and the increase in the working age population since the coming of age of the baby boom population and the effect these trends may have on the poverty population.

B. Education Levels

For the population 25-64 by levels of schooling completed (up to 8 years, some high school, high school graduate, some college, and college graduate), what is the incidence

of poverty and what is the distribution of the poor by educational level? Education is commonly attributed as a major cause of poverty, but the relationship is not pervasive as can be shown when the population is divided by race and sex categories.

III. Labor Market Activity

Since earnings are the major source of income for the population any situation which reduces labor market activity or curtails it altogether will be a major determinant of poverty. For the working age poor population by sex what is the distribution by labor force participation, employment and unemployment, full-time versus part-time employment, full-year versus part-year employment? For these same characteristics what is the incidence of poverty?

What is the incidence of poverty among various occupations and industries, by sex? What are the incidence rates of poverty among families with male heads with a working wife compared to those families without a working wife?

IV. Severity of Poverty and Use of Transfer Payments

A. Severity of Poverty

What is the distribution of those families receiving 50% or less of the poverty level income by sex of

family head? These represent the most destitute group and those who need the most aid.

What is the mean income deficit of poverty families by sex of head and individuals? This is the average amount necessary to bring the family/individual up to the poverty level. Aggragate costs of alleviating poverty by area can be estimated.

B. Transfer Payments

Is public assistance meeting the needs of the poor? Of those in poverty, what proportion are receiving public assistance? What is the mean grant? Of all families receiving assistance, what proportion are above the poverty level?

For the aged poor what percent are receiving social security benefits? What is the mean benefit? What is the incidence of poverty for the aged by income source?

V. Income Trends Since 1960

Since the methodology for defining poverty was developed after the 1960 Census, direct comparison on poverty trends cannot be made. Using income distributions for both 1960 and 1970, as well as median income, it will be possible to

identify the segments of the southern population that have or have not improved their economic position since that time.

VI. Some Consequences of Poverty

A. Housing

The poor have fewer resources to devote to their housing; hence they tend to live in the poorest housing stock. What is the distribution of the poor by housing characteristics? To what extent are they dependent on substandard or deficient housing. What is the incidence of poverty among all those living in substandard or deficient housing?

B. Health

The single best measure of inadequate health care is infant mortality. For counties and selected urban areas what is the infant mortality rate and the postneonatal mortality rate? These data in conjunction with the county data on black, poor, and rural populations will present another dimension in defining the rural poverty areas. (These data do not come from the Census of Population but are part of the poverty report nevertheless).

VII. Defining Rural Subregions of the South

Two aspects of the poverty report data and graphic material

will be useful in defining sub-regions. The various county maps which show black population concentration, rural population, poverty population, and perhaps infant mortality statistics will aid in identifying the counties and sets of counties which have the most extreme characteristics of rural poverty.

Secondarily, the various tables which contain categories for rural farm and rural nonfarm will delineate the characteristics of rural areas in the 11 states. Used in conjunction with the map detail these will be suggestive of aggregation across state boundaries.

Once sub-regions are defined the tables of the poverty report will be run for the sub-regions for those items that have relevance.

THE
JOHN &
MARY R.
MARKLE
FOUNDATION

50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020
(212) 265-2795

Lloyd N. Morrisett
President

April 30, 1976

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Esser:

Mr. Morrisett has asked me to thank you for your letter of the 27th and your proposal concerning the Southern Investigative Research Project. Either Mr. Morrisett or one of our program officers will be in touch with you again.

Yours sincerely,

Dolores Miller

Dolores Miller
Office of the President

/dm

Rough draft - letter to Howard Odum.

Dear Dr. Odum:

We have done a good deal of thinking and some discussing about ways to do the things called for in your speech to the Southern Sociological Society.

For us, the key problem is ways of getting the South, using the advice of social science people and lawyers, to decide on things to be done in a variety of fields. This, I take it, is what you mean by drafting agenda.

We are concerned for various reasons to make the effort to reach agreement on the things to be done a democratic effort. Social planning is bereft of most of its value unless the means to implement the planning ~~ix~~ are prepared pari passus with the plans. The actual means used can theoretically be either agreement by one or more powerful political parties, an extensive propoagandist campaigh, or agreement from a broadly representative and effective caucus of the leadership of voluntary agencies and interest groups.

The Council is not likely to be in a position any time soon to enlist directly the agreement of political parties. It can influence public opinion with greater or lesser speed and breadth, depending in part upon the Council's own degree of organization out over the South. We suppose that our greatest effectiveness would be in drawing together the leadership of various agencies and interest groups.

We further think that the way to get them together is by certain areas of interest, as law enforcement, administration, health, education, housing, agriculture, and employment on merit. The religious field is another, and a fruitful one. It has begun to cut its own channels of consultation

across the lines of race through the Southern office of the National Council of Churches, and ~~for the moment~~ I suppose we had best not try to compete with that.

Something of the same thing could be said about graduate and professional education, through the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education.

But in the other fields, democratic consultation on a Southwide or sub-regional basis across the lines of race hardly exists.

We suppose that the Southern Regional Council, when strengthened as to funds and staff, could in a carefully worked out time series convene as to each interest area selected Negro and white leadership. The Council would determine the list of those to be invited, invite them, arrange the facilities for the conference, provide a secretarial ~~xxxxxxx~~ service and the availability of social science people. /Then it would be up to the membership of the interest group, white and Negro, to discuss next steps. We suppose that such a meeting would ordinarily not exceed 18 ~~to 2~~ 35 people ~~We suppose that~~ In most cases the expected pattern would be a formal statement by the Negro leadership present of a program of complete and immediate integration. Most of the white persons present would in all probability respond with offers of concession and some vague statements as to a time schedule ~~as to~~ when certain improvements might be effected. Whereafter, there would be good likelihood that the meeting would draw up a list of things to be done at once, pretty soon, and a little later. The summarized proceedings of such a meeting ought (with the agreement of the meeting) to be made public and to be specifically circularized to large numbers of people in that field of ~~interextxix~~ interest concerned.

The Council's services would be available to each such meeting for supply of facts and the Council or other agencies (often university bodies perhaps)

At KDK -

~~The~~

It might also be suitable to convene interest group people for smaller areas than for the South as a whole. This we think would come after Southwide meetings. The smaller meeting could be state by state or for sub-regions.

might be commissioned by the meeting to obtain additional facts, ~~perhaps~~ for planned subsequent meetings.

RDK

It seems to us that a proposal of this kind gives full opportunity for statement of the uncompromising position, if such be held, by each racial group, and full opportunity also for agreement as to things that can be done here and now.

We do not think that the Council itself, in consultation with its friends and members over the South, can draw up, field by field, time schedules of when things are to be done. In the first place, ~~any~~ formal agreement by Negro leadership to postponement of full integration is probably unobtainable, and from the point of view of their continuing drive, of doubtful value. And yet we all in the South do understand that some things can be done now and other things can be done later, and when we get together we can agree on what these are. We can't agree on more ~~fruitful~~ general issues of this sort, but we can agree on specific things like opening of hospitals to practice by Negro physicians, enacting tight municipal ordinances for housing standards, or a widespread campaign to improve equality in law enforcement and decency in police administration.

The ~~proposal~~ proposal also involves, though ~~not~~ in a most informal way, something which the South does not have: a series of interest group parliaments. These would provide as a by-product a strengthened habit of give-and-take consultation; and the much greater strengthening of that habit is one of the hopes of the whole South.

Do you think that if we sent the entirety ~~of~~ or the substance of ~~thereof~~ your address to the Ford Foundation and accompanied it by a proposal for such a

series of meetings carried through over a period of several years, ~~that~~ this would fairly ~~report~~ accord with the thing you had in mind? If so, we would be disposed to draw up the proposal in considerable detail and send it off with your address as a supplementary supporting memorandum to the Ford Foundation.

If we are wide of your mark, let us know and we will try again.

I will be happy to come to Chapel Hill at any time when you have time for further conversation. Perhaps I could bring down Paul Williams or Marion Wright or bring along Mozell Hill or some other ~~non-employed~~ non-staff member of the Council's inner circle in order that ~~you and I would be not the sole witnesses to the planning~~ done. ~~the Council's~~ policy people ~~(eg. distinct from staff members)~~ would be ~~in a~~ participants.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD REVIEW TEAM

REGARDING

Attitude of Marian Wright as revealed in Ken Dean's letter of Jan. 2, 1968. (Note Marian is Member of Review Team)

DATE

1-3-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL

File - For Ford Review Team

January 16, 1968

The following people will be on the Ford Review Team and staying at the Air Host Inn, Atlanta, Airport.

1. Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice President, Ford Foundation
2. Christopher Edley, Program Officer-in-Charge, Government and Law
3. Clifford Campbell
4. James Cunningham
5. Mrs. Mildred Epstein
6. George Esser
7. Michael S. M. Miller
8. Charles Stewart
9. Basil Whiting
10. Miss Marian Wright

Arrive Sunday, January 21, 1967. Depart Wednesday, January 24.

Add to list of those staying at Air Host Inn:

Dr. Emory F. Via - Sunday and Monday Nights, 21 and 22

File

MARIAN E. WRIGHT
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

MARIAN E. WRIGHT
PAUL A. BREST
IRIS BREST

538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
Area Code 601 948-7301

See Ford Foundation Robert Team

January 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Even if you think I was "mean", I didn't mean it that way, and though I might be critical "entre vous", will defend you to the death. I, too, am glad things came out all right. Had little doubt that they would.

My understanding from Mike Willis, perhaps incorrectly, was that February was out, and that tentative agreement had been made for March 15th-17th, subject to further discussion or confirmation in about ten days when he returned from vacation.

Would like to raise several issues for thought that we can discuss further by phone next week:

1. Where the meeting should be held: I, of course, favor Greenville, Mississippi which will enable people to visit the Delta and see the conditions there.

2. How many people should attend: I feel that as small a group as possible should be assembled - not to exceed ten.

3. The people I have tentatively thought of to attend the meeting are:

   Ed Brown, Director of MACE
   John Wheelen
   Viv Henderson
   Unita Blackwell
   John Mudd

Have a number of other people whirling around in my head and will discuss them with you early next week.

Take care.

Warm regards,

Marian

Marian E. Wright Bg

MEW:bg

(Dictated but not read)

October 13, 1965

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Norfolk Journal and Guide
719 Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Tom:

As you know, the Council has just received from the Ford Foundation a grant of $324,000 a year for 3 years. With these project funds we will be able to expand our program substantially.

Our proposal to the Foundation included a plan to have the president of the Council appoint a committee to serve as an advisory body on the expenditure of these funds. On Monday, October 11, Mr. John Wheeler appointed such a committee, and it was approved by the Executive Committee. We are very pleased that you were one of those appointed.

Dr. Charles Gomillion was appointed chairman of this committee, and you will be hearing from him, or from us, about plans to have the committee meet. The staff hopes this committee will meet frequently, and we very much hope that you will be willing to serve.

At an early date we will send you an outline of the programs covered under the grant and other pertinent information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 13, 1965

Mr. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Council has just received from the Ford Foundation a grant of $324,000 a year for 3 years. With these project funds we will be able to expand our program substantially.

Our proposal to the Foundation included a plan to have the president of the Council appoint a committee to serve as an advisory body on the expenditure of these funds. On Monday, October 11, Mr. John Wheeler appointed such a committee, and it was approved by the Executive Committee. We are very pleased that you were one of those appointed.

Dr. Charles Gomillion was appointed chairman of this committee, and you will be hearing from him, or from us, about plans to have the committee meet. The staff hopes this committee will meet frequently, and we very much hope that you will be willing to serve.

At an early date we will send you an outline of the programs covered under the grant and other pertinent information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 13, 1965

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice President
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Dr. Williams:

As you know, the Council has just received from the Ford Foundation a grant of $324,000 a year for 3 years. With these project funds we will be able to expand our program substantially.

Our proposal to the Foundation included a plan to have the president of the Council appoint a committee to serve as an advisory body on the expenditure of these funds. On Monday, October 11, Mr. John Wheeler appointed such a committee, and it was approved by the Executive Committee. We are very pleased that you were one of those appointed.

Dr. Charles Gomillion was appointed chairman of this committee, and you will be hearing from him, or from us, about plans to have the committee meet. The staff hopes this committee will meet frequently, and we very much hope that you will be willing to serve.

At an early date we will send you an outline of the programs covered under the grant and other pertinent information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

MJ

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE

UNDER AUSPICES OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
KNOXVILLE 21, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 October 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on having received the Ford Foundation grant of $324,000 a year for three years! This is a real challenge to all of us connected with the Council.

It was very kind of the Committee to name me as one to serve on the Advisory Board delegated with the responsibility of the expenditure of these funds. I shall be delighted to serve.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Colston
President

JAC:s

Will Serve

October 13, 1965

Dr. James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Colston:

The Council has just received from the Ford Foundation a grant of $324,000 a year for 3 years. With these project funds we will be able to expand our program substantially.

Our proposal to the Foundation included a plan to have the president of the Council appoint a committee to serve as an advisory body on the expenditure of these funds. On Monday, October 11, Mr. John Wheeler appointed such a committee, and it was approved by the Executive Committee. We are very pleased that you were one of those appointed.

Dr. Charles Gomillion was appointed chairman of this committee, and you will be hearing from hi, or from us, about plans to have the committee meet. The staff hopes this committee will meet frequently, and we very much hope that you will be willing to serve.

At an early date we will send you an outline of the programs covered under the grant and other pertinent information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 22, 1965

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

We can well understand your problem of time between now and the date of the Annual Meeting. Your suggestion of Tuesday, November 16 for a meeting of the Advisory Committee is a good one. We shall, therefore, put this on the agenda of the Annual Meeting.

We are disappointed , but not surprised, that you cannot join us as a staff person for this project, but we will try again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

Rec'd 10/21/65

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

October 19, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of October 13, and for the copy of the letter to Dr. H. Franklin Williams.

I, too, think that the committee should meet soon, but my schedule is such that it is impossible for me to meet before the Annual Meeting, except on Wednesday evening, October 27. This date , and hours (8:00 - 10:00 P. M.), might be too early, and inconvenient for the other members of the committee. I suggest for your consideration one of the following:

1. Tuesday, November 16, immediately following the close of the Annual Meeting.

2. Tuesday, November 16, before the opening of the session of the Annual Meeting.

3. Monday, November 15, at lunch.

4. Monday, November 15, following the close of the dinner meeting.

If no one of these suggestions is suitable to you, Dr. Wheeler, and Mr. Wheeler, please indicate two or three dates which might be convenient for the three of you.

Thank you for thinking that I might be able to serve as "senior project staff member". There are better persons than I, and I hope that they are available. It happens that I am not available. My major commitments are through 1967.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

P. S. Paul, your letter was delayed in delivery because it was addressed to "Tuskegee, Alabama". We still have trouble with the employees in Tuskegee Post Office. In order to insure the most direct delivery, please instruct typists to address my mail to "Tuskegee Institute, Alabama", <u>not</u> "Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama".

C.G.G.
CGG

October 13, 1965

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

We are delighted that you were appointed, and have accepted, the chairmanship of our special committee. I think your guidance and that of the committee will be invaluable in successfully developing this project. (Incidentally, while it may be foolish to even suggest this, there is nothing I would like more than to have you as the senior project staff member working either from this office or from Tuskegee.) I am sure the entire Executive Committee would agree with me in this. Is there the remotest chance of such a possibility?

Enclosed is a copy of the letter we are sending, today, to each of the committee members. We will await guidance from you on when this committee should meet, but I would hope it would be soon. Certainly, sometime during the course of the Annual Meeting the committee should meet. I leave it to you as to whether or not we have a meeting before then.

Please do not be hesitant in asking the staff to do as much of the routine work as possible relating to the functions of the committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Will Serve

MJ

Paul —

Congratulations — on the grant — and from Ford. Wow!

Naturally I'll be glad to help spend the money. Count me in.

Courtney

October 13, 1965

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

The Council has just received from the Ford Foundation a grant of $324,000 a year for 3 years. With these project funds we will be able to expand our program substantially.

Our proposal to the Foundation included a plan to have the president of the Council appoint a committee to serve as an advisory body on the expenditure of these funds. On Monday, October 11, Mr. John Wheeler appointed such a committee, and it was approved by the Executive Committee. We are very pleased that you were one of those appointed.

Dr. Charles Gomillion was appointed chairman of this committee, and you will be hearing from him, or from us, about plans to have the committee meet. The staff hopes this committee will meet frequently, and we very much hope that you will be willing to serve.

At an early date we will send you an outline of the programs covered under the grant and other pertinent information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING MINUTES

January 9, 1966

PRESENT WERE: Dr. Charles Gomillion, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Mr. James Dabbs, and Mr. John Wheeler

SRC STAFF: Paul Anthony, Moreland Smith, Ed Stanfield, Al Ulmer, Vernon Jordan, Ed Lewis

Dr. Gomillion, presiding, requested Mr. Anthony to give the background and projected plans of this committee. Mr. Anthony's remarks were as follows:

Rural advancement projects will be increased to encompass four states. In addition to South Carolina and Georgia, Alabama and Florida will also be staffed.

A brief background of the Ford Grant for 3 years to state councils was presented. The background of the main Ford proposal was also presented.

A report was made concerning the Fund for Advancement of Education regarding a proposal to experiment with the distribution of paper back books.

The State Directors and Presidents of the Human Relations Councils will meet at SRC Offices on February 2, to be familiarized with the work of these projects.

The position of Director of Special Projects was discussed and the question was raised whether or not this position need be staffed.

Mr. Anthony reported on the list of projects as follows:

City Planning	Moreland Smith reported later in the meeting.
Fair Employment	Unstaffed, but SRC and the Committee recognize the need for a Staff Economist.
Housing	$3,000 - Budgeted for consultants
School Integration	$10,000 divided between travel and consultants.
Special Studies	$15,000 aimed towards general Welfare with the possibility of working with the Urban League.
Criminal & Penal	Presently unstaffed. Mr. Anthony feels SRC and the Committee will have to work to modify this program.
Technological UnEmployment	To be aimed at research on the true number of persons employed and unemployed.
Community Organization	Staffed by Mr. Ulmer who reported later.
Southern Labor	Staffed by Emory Via who is presently leading a month long seminar of labor leaders at the University of Georgia.

Voter Education Project — Staffed by Vernon Jordan. . .still no funds received except the sum of $24,000.00 from the Ford Foundation but we anticipate early action on the part of several foundations.

Mr. Anthony stressed that we are under pressure to add able staff quickly, to use the money we are allocated, and to particularly spend it wisely as well as on schedule.

In response to a question by Dr. Gomillion, "What is the major function of this Committee?" Mr. Anthony answered "Helping to staff open positions, modifying the prison reform project, and to advise and direct SRC's staff in all of the project areas."

MORELAND SMITH REPORT REGARDING URBAN PLANNING

Reported on his progress thus far and reported his feeling that progress is possible particularly with invitations from a number of cities. He is concerned at the growing trend in many southern cities to go from historically integrated housing to segregated housing. He hopes to influence and enlist several universities and to publish guide lines and findings within the near future. Mr. Smith felt strongly that we must get started immediately on 3 or 4 projects and then concentrate rather than dilute our efforts.

AL ULMER's REPORT ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

Reported that he is in the process of surveying existing self-help projects ranging from block organizing attempts in urban areas to cooperatives in rural communities. This is being done to determine which are successful and why, who is doing the work and what are the skills needed. He is also searching for a qualified consultant for these and other groups.

Mr. Ulmer also reported on the growing number of cooperatives, some built on a sound basis but many being started not understanding that co-ops are business and subjected to economic pressures

undercapitalization and failure. He also reported on the growth of economic retardation including crop and land foreclosures, loss of employment, etc. related to school integration and Civil Rights activities.

He is worried about the momentum of the co-op movement. If to many co-ops are improperly begun and financed, disillusionment with these initial efforts can cripple possibilities for years to come.

Dr. Wheeler commented that this project may be under-financed and under-staffed. Mr. Anthony agreed, but pointed out that we hoped to have as many as 100 students working through VEP and that some could work closely with Mr. Ulmer's project.

Dr. Gomillion requested discussion - feeling that an absolutely essential project would be in "Economic Education" - cash buying versus credit, insurance needs, managing of personal finances, marketing, etc. This suggestion was enthusiastically received and it was strongly suggested by the group that this be put into action.

VERNON JORDAN's REPORT ON VEP

Mr. Jordan's remarks concerning VEP concerned brief historical background of the project and emphasized that the first problem has been to register Negroes but that the second problem has been to get the people who have registered to involve themselves. The approach of the new VEP will be a three fold one.

A) Registration
B) Citizenship Education
C) Leadership Training

Mr. Jordan reiterated our cooperation with the five Civil Rights Organizations plus local groups. In making grants - we will remit directly from our office rather than giving grants, to insure tighter control. In major cities - Atlanta, Miami, Etc. - grants should

be given only if part of the funds are raised in the area affected. Funds will not be sent to headquarters of national groups but will bo directly to projects designated by said groups.

Mr Jordan further stated that he will add staff to keep these more elaborate records that we will work in eleven states and that state councils on human relations can be considered for these grants. Students on VEP scholarships could be assigned to a variety of groups and materials and consultants will be available. Students working under VEP can serve as interns to congressmen and other public officials. They do not have to do field work but can work on research.

It was suggested that the next meeting should be on the Sunday preceeding SRC's next Executive Committee Meeting.

Rec'd 4/15/66

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Inst., Ala. 36088
April 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of April 11th, informing me that there would not be a meeting of the Projects Advisory Committee prior to the meeting of the Executive Committee on Monday, April 18th.

Sincerely,

C. G. G.

C. G. Gomillion

cc: Rev. J. Edwin Stanfield

file Special projects Advisory ctte

May 2, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please discuss with Vernon Jordan, Moreland Smith, Emory Via, and Al Ulmer a convenient date for a meeting of the special projects advisory committee. One should be held in the not too distant future. After getting their thinking it will be necessary to correspond with Chairman Gomillion and members of the Committee about a desirable date.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

May 26, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the SPECIAL PROJECTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

FROM: Ed Lewis

The Spring meeting of the Special Projects Advisory Committee will be held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on Friday, June 17.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. and will run until 4:00 P.M. Luncheon will be served and a reception will be held after the meeting for those able to stay.

We are hoping that this will be an especially interesting meeting and the Presidents of the State Human Relations Councils have been invited to sit-in during the presentations.

We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible as to whether you can attend and if we should make reservations for you.

SRC ROUTING SLIP

RECEPTIONIST, Luesta Knox 22

****

~~ADAMS, Sam,~~ Research 33

~~ALBRIGHT,~~ Montez, Research 9

~~ALBRANDER, Ruth~~, Sec.-Treas. 5

Anderson
ANTHONY, Paul, Director 26

~~BARTLEY, Glen~~da, Research 31

~~BRINSON, Albert~~, Mail 25

~~BROWNING, Joan,~~ Sec. 37

~~COOK, Bernice~~, Mail 25

~~FRANKLIN, Pat~~, Sec. 24

~~GIMARC, Jerry~~, Sec. 38

~~HOWARD, Ruth~~, Sec. 8

~~JOHNSON, Mil~~dred, Sec. 36

JORDAN, Vernon, VEP 6

LEWIS, Ed, Asst. Dir. 39

~~LONG, Margar~~et, New South 0

~~LUMPKIN, Es~~ter, Research 31

~~MANDERSON,~~ Marge, Research 31

M~~ORGAN, Nobbi~~e, VEP 4

~~MORRISON, Bern~~ice, Research 31

~~PATTERSON, Bar~~bara, Research 31

~~REED, Doris,~~ Research 31

~~SHORTT, Janet~~, Research 31

~~SMITH, Janet,~~ Circulation 5

SMITH, Moreland, Urban Planning 27

STANFIELD, Ed, Field Director 28

~~TILLY, Mrs. M.~~E., Women 29

ULMER, Al, Program Specialist 35

VIA, Emory, Labor 30

WATTERS, Pat, Information Dir. 32

Marvin Wald

SRC ROUTING SLIP

~~ANDERSON, ROBERT~~

ANTHONY, PAUL

JORDAN, VERNON

LEWIS, ED

SMITH, MORELAND

STANFIELD, ED

ULMER, AL

VIA, EMORY

~~WATTERS, PAT~~ — no

WALL, MARVIN

Ray Wheeler
Dr. Gomillion
Courtney Siceloff
Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Josephine Wilkins

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE

UNDER AUSPICES OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37921

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

2 June 1966

Mr. Ed Lewis
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I have sent a letter to Paul Anthony indicating that because I shall be leaving the state of Tennessee I will not be eligible for membership on the Southern Regional Council and, therefore, on the Special Projects Advisory Committee.

I do appreciate the invitation to attend the meeting Friday, June 7th, but under the circumstances I shall have to decline.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Colston

James A. Colston
President

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Ed –

I will plan to be at June 17 meeting of Advisory Committee – Will arrive + depart on day of meeting. See you then

Courtney

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

28 May 1966

Mr. Ed Lewis
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I plan to attend the Special Projects Advisory Committee on Friday, June 17th. I will arrive in the morning and leave after the meeting so no reservation is necessary.

Looking forward to seeing you and the Committee.

Sincerely,

RMWheeler

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D

RMW/ac

MT - file

SPECIAL PROJECTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

The meeting began at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, June 17, 1966. Those present ~~were of the staff~~ of the Committee were Dr. Gomillion, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Courtney Siceloff and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Staff members present were Messrs. Bob Anderson, Emory Via, Marvin Wall, Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, Al Ulmer, Edwin Lewis, Ed Stanfield and Paul Anthony (who appeared for lunch only). In addition several of the presidents of the state councils on human relations or their representatives sat in on the meeting.

The first report was given by EMORY VIA and the LABOR PROGRAM. The Labor Program while becoming involved in working on labor problems on the local level hopes to use these experiences to develop more general materials and techniques. Its work is primarily with middle-leadership union officials. The main areas of work are:

1. Development of labor institutes
2. Employment problems
3. Consultation and liaison work
4. Staff institute at the University of Georgia
5. Work for the White House Conference ~~on Civ~~ "To Fulfill These Rights"

The Labor Program has scheduled a number of conferences for various union organizations throughout the South this summer. ~~The My~~ Mr. Via hopes through these conferences and the other aspects of his program to make the middle-leadership in Southern unions and through them the union members aware of the changing South and what this means for them.

During the questioning period following the report, questions dwelt on the Southern textile mills and unionizing efforts in them. Mr. Via

2

commented that while there were many jobs in the textile mills which still have low skill and training requirements that they (1) require manual dexterity which older farm laborers probably no longer possess and/or (3) these jobs will soon be mechanized. He ended his comment by remarking that he would hate to see many Negroes locked in textile jobs. Mr. Via was asked about the relationship of the limited apprenticeship ~~program~~ opportunities for both Negroes and whites who did not have old guild connections ~~and discrimination~~. This question was taken up at the White House conference, he reported, and that while he did not want to underestimate the symbolic value of these jobs in the trades, they did represent only a small number of jobs. Dr. Gomillion's question about how to influence or reorient the state commissioners of labor and their staffs was an important one and Mr. Via ~~is~~ said he would give it further thought.

Mr. VERNON E. JORDAN, JR. reported on the VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT. Mr. Jordan listed the ~~grd~~ foundation grants that VEP has received for this year and the next, giving the budget for 1966 as $324,000 ~~[check]~~. At this point VEP has made 66 grants to 10 states, ~~granting in total~~ committing $105,000. All states have received either voter registration, citizen ship education or leadership development grants with the exception of Texas where there has been little interest ~~because it is as yet 8 months until voter registration.~~ with the books closed for the next 8 months. Grants are being given under a cash-draw system where groups funded do not receive their total funds at one time, but are given weekly checks.

There have been several staff changes. New members are Marvin Wall, Director of Research, and Thadeus Olive, Financial Director; two summer interns are employed this summer, one of them is doing field work. The VEP is still short a permanent field director.

Mr. Jordan mentioned the highlights of VEP for the first six months:

1. Cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in holding a training institute for Negro candidates and their poll watchers in Alabama
2. Grant to Auburn League of Women Voters for $200 whichthey used to allow 2500 Negroes to practice on the voting machings
3. Tuskegee Civic Association and their program of citizenship education in rural areas
4. Urban League with citizenship ~~preposal~~ education for urban areas
5. Statewide leadership training program to be held in South Carolina.

VEP has encounted some problems, The primary one is with the North Virginia VEP where the grant has not been used as the proposal stated. This grant may be cut off. ~~Also-people~~
The Advisory Committee to the Voter Education Project will hold a meeting at Capahosic, Virginia, where the full six-month report will be presented. This report will be available to the Executive Committee.

Questions followed the report. Dr. Gomillion asked if VEP could sponsor an institute for prospective elected candidates or prospective candidates. Mr. Jordan ruled out "prospective candidates" saying everyone was in that catagory, but agreed that it might be possible and helpful to bring Negro candidates from all over the South together for general discussions and conferences and with smaller groups to discuss their particular problems and duties.

~~Mr.-MAreland-~~ MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA ~~and-the-URBAN-PLANNING-PROJECT~~ submitted a written report on the activities of the URBAN PLANNING PROJECT. He expanded on the activities reported (as attached). He did say that he hoped to

find a young Negro woman to act as his secretary-advisor to attend meetings with him and help him in his exposition of plans and suggestions.

During the questioning period there was some inquiry abotu Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, the internationally respected city planner. It was brought out that Dr. Doxiadis was presnetly under contract for replanning the city center of Miami and that he had worked in Philadelphia. ~~Also And~~ Though he ~~has not~~ perhaps has not dealt with Southern race problems, he has confronted interanl pressures and prejudices before as in Bombay and Constantinople. Another inquiry was as to the criteria for the four to six demonstration cities suggested by HUD (Louisville, Georgia; Corinth, Mississippi; Macon, Georgia; Paris, Kentucky; Asheville, North Carolina; and Birmingham, Alabama). Mr. Smith replied that he believed them to be population and geographicl distribution as well as some political reasons.

AL ULMER discussed the activities in the COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT. Two pamphlets have been written as the results of work with local urban and rural organizations, "A City Slum" and "Cooperatives, Credit U-ions and Poor People."

~~We hav~~ Mr. Ulmer reported on ~~the~~ his work with rural coops. There is some concern regarding the starting of coops ~~which have~~ where the poeple have had no previous experience in this sort of organization. Two examples of such coops are the Wilcox County Coop whose original quilt-making has been expanded to other crafts and the Poor People's Coop.

The Community Organization Project had hoped to employ people from low income areas, but there has not been enough money for such a program. They are, however, sponsoring some young people to work in slums. One man is organizing the poor in Atlanta in Vine City; some students are working in Nashville at the "Upper poverty" level.

5.

Mr. Ulmer passed out a report (see attached) on the Conference held at Beulah, Mississippi, the "Cooperative Training Planning Conference." This report contained a proposal for a training program for coops all over the South. SRC would participate in this program along with the Cooperative League of the U. S. , the Credit Union National Association, the Southern Consumers Coop and the National Sharecroppers Fund. Mr. Ulmer remarked that coops are excellent tools, but that they should not be used as ends. The training programs need to teach citizenship education, how to handle money, how to acquire a ~~politica~~ power base and how to use it to obtain benefits and better conditions; the fringe benefits are much more important than the economic benefits of cooperative buying or selling.

During the questioning period most of the questions were about the "Cooperative Training Planning Program." It was brought out that while the Agriculture Extension Service could perform the functions that the CTPP proposed to do that they had not and would not. Mr. Ulmer was asked to estimate the cost of such a program. He replied between $2 and $4 million a year. After a vote, Dr. Gomillion announded that the Advisory Committee approves unanimously ~~Al-~~ that ~~Al's~~ the proposal be submitted to the Executive Committee with favorable recommendation.

It was agreed that the next Advisory Committee meeting would be held the Sunday before the next Executive Committee Meeting.

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The Community Project is made up of four parts.

1. Survey of Present self-help activities in the South. - A survey is being made of community efforts such as credit unions, co-operatives of various types, block organizations, etc. A preliminary report has been completed which briefly describes these programs and attempts to emphasize areas needing research and assistance. Over the first year the director of the project will visit as many self-help programs as is possible. By spending several days in each location it is hoped information will be gained concerning identification of persons with specific organizational skills, ideas applicable to other locations, and various causes of successes and failures.

2. Consultants to Community Organizations - A small amount of money will be used to provide communities with skilled consultants. Hopefully, the consultants will be persons from low-income communities who have gained technical skills through first-hand experiences in initiating and operating organizations in their communities. In this way specialists with knowledge of conditions in low-income communities, as well as possessing needed technical skills, will be available. For a period of several weeks the project would pay the salary and the expenses of such a person to work in a new community.

3. Employment of Local People to Work as Full-time Community Organizers - It is hoped money will be available to pay the salaries, or part of the salaries, for qualified people from within a community to do full-time organizational work.

4. Publications - Simply written "How We Did It" pamphlets will be written. These will describe how a project, such as a housing cooperative or a block organization, was begun; the problems it solved and failed to solve; and how such a project might be done in another part of the South.

DRAFT

PROPOSED QUESTIONAIRE

Proportion of Negro & white population
" " " displaced by urban renewal
" " " " by freeways

Percentage of Negro ownerships of homes in city as a whole
" " " " in area of displacement.

Study of location of new housing projects to determine
Distance from heart of city
" " transportation
" " shopping centers
" " schools

Ethnic composition of population already in area of project.

Locations of new schools.

Ratio of sewers, paved streets, garbage collection in negro and white neighborhoods.

QUESTIONNAIRE REGARDING ACCESSIBILITY OF SERVICES

IN CITY OF _____

POPULATION			PERCENTAGE		
White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White	Total
____	_____	____	____	_____	100%

Availability of public facilities and services

Number living on paved streets and/or sidewalks

			PERCENTAGE		
White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White	Total
____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number living on unpaved streets and/or sidewalks

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families served by city sewer system

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families having out-door toilets

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families having public garbage collection

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families living within 10 blocks of hospital

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families living within 4 blocks of street car or bus line

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

Number of families living within 10 blocks of post office

____	_____	____	____	_____	____

(Same information for

Public schools
Public colleges or universities
Public libraries
Public auditorium
Public parks
Public play grounds
Public swimming pools
Public tennis courts
Public golf courses)

Bus Lines

Availability of quasi-public facilities and services

(Same information for

Y. M. C. A.
Y. W. C. A.
Boy Scout headquarters
Girl Scout headquarters
Theatres, including movies
Shopping centers
Medical clinics
Public utility company offices)

P

RECEIVED
JUL 13
Southern Regional Council

July 11, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena 1, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

The Atlanta office has just advised me of a development which has come to its notice.

According to information received in Atlanta, the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education has recently reached the conclusion that an important thing for it to undertake is the bringing of southern opinion around to ungrudging compliance with what the Supreme Court may order in the segregation cases. In order to accomplish this result, the Fund for the Advancement of Education plans to issue by September 30 a report on what the present law is, what it might be as a result of the decisions, the costs involved in complete equalization of the two educational systems, distribution of population as between the races, present degree of equalization, the experience of border states where desegregation has been accomplished, etc. The Fund proposes further to bring together a group of distinguished white southerners, perhaps fifty, who would at an appropriate time, issue a joint statement urging calmness and compliance.

As you are aware, this is precisely the sort of thing to which we in the Southern Regional Council are now bending our every effort. We have secured skilled and intelligent workers in many of the southern states and propose to secure them in all who would get exactly the information needed for such a report, later compile the information and give it the widest publicity. We plan for our board of directors, which includes southern men

and women of prominence and statute and who have devoted years of study to the problem, to issue the kind of appeal which the Fund for the Advancement of Education has in mind.

Since the Fund has not communicated with us, it seems obvious that it must be unaware of the work which we have heretofore done and are now in the process of undertaking in this area, as the files of The Ford Foundation will show. Our only handicap has been the lack of adequate funds to do a thorough job.

Among the things from which we suffer in the South is a surplus of organizations which overlap and duplicate each other's efforts. It seems to us that it would be quite unfortunate that a new and independent organization for the limited purpose comtemplated by the Fund for the Advancement of Education should be set up to undertake precisely the same job which we are now undertaking. Over a period of ten years we have built up membership, personnel and staff equipped to do this kind of thing. It would be quite disconcerting to have our own capacities unutilized when we are so anxious that they be utilized to the fullest degree.

When you some months ago forwarded a check from The Ford Foundation for an interim grant you made the entirely logical observation that the amount of the grant was somewhat influenced by a consideration of amounts contributed in the South. I believe that it is discreet for us to point out that our difficulties in securing southern contributions might be perceptibly increased if the Fund for the Advancement of Education should undertake to put into the field with its backing a temporary organization undertaking only for a few months to duplicate activities in which we are already engaged, toward which we have been pinting through the years and after the accomplishment of which for a long time to come we will be left to carry on.

As I wrote you on yesterday, we are trying to do an a shoestring a job in anticipation of these court decisions which actually requires quite substantial financial backing. It is impossible to get that backing by a kind of door-to-door canvass of southerners. We are convinced that it will have to come through some foundation or fund which has some comprehension of the complexities of the task involved and of the wisdom of utilizing to the fullest the services of an existing organization of white and Negro southerners. Ours is such an organization. We hope that it is not immodest to say that we believe it has the record and prestige which entitle it to support.

The logic of the situation, it seems to us, is that the Fund for the Advancement of Education should join its resources with or own rather than to move along parallel lines.

I realize, Mr. Davis, that some question of protocol may be involved in your interesting yourself in our behalf. What we want is an opportunity to place before the proper people the considerations which seem to us clearly to dictate that resources which the Fund for the Advancement of education plans to employ, for the purposes it has in mind should properly be channeled to us. The time element is so important that we do not feel like standing upon punctilio. Won't you please wire or phone your associates in the Fund for the Advancement of Education presenting the views contained in this letter and securing for us an opportunity to present these views personally to the proper officials of that fund? Will you be good enough to wire or phone the executive director at the Atlanta office of any action that you may see fit to take?

With profound apologies for having again to lay our problems upon your hospitable door step, I am

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW/raj

George:

Tried unsuccessfully to phone you before mailing this. Hope you approve.

M. A. W.

DOMESTIC SERVICE			
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram			
FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE			
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate			
FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 13, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street, Pasadena 1, California

SINCE WRITING YOU ON JULY 11, I HAVE RECEIVED ADDITIONAL FACTS WHICH RENDER MY REQUEST FOR YOUR HELP INAPPROPRIATE. I REGRET THAT MY REMOTENESS FROM THE ATLANTA OFFICE DELAYED RECEIPT OF THIS INFORMATION AND LED ME TO ACT PREMATURELY. THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR HAS DISCUSSED THE NEW PROJECT OF THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION WITH VARIOUS PERSONS INVOLVED, AND WE ARE REASSURED THAT THE COUNCIL'S INTERESTS ARE IN NO WAY ADVERSELY AFFECTED. IT IS OUR HOPE, IN FACT, THAT THE COUNCIL'S PROPOSED LONG-RANGE PROGRAM MAY IN GOOD MEASURE IMPLEMENT THE FUND'S REPORT. PLEASE ACCEPT MY EARNEST APOLOGIES FOR TROUBLING YOU NEEDLESSLY.

H. A. WRIGHT

[illegible] Regional Council

File

Professor Wylie H. Davis
~~Professor of Law~~ School of Law
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Davis:

Miss Dorothy Mitchell of The Fund for the Advancement of Education has forwarded to me your request of November 2.

The enclosed account from the Chattanooga Times of September 13, 1953, is a fair summary of Alabama's actions to date in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decisions on public school segregation. ~~Yet~~ As you will see, no specific plan has been officially adopted, and the Legislature has not yet initiated the constitutional amendments which would be necessary to abandon state responsibility for the public schools.

~~Here is a brief chronology. Early~~

As the Chattanooga Times story reports, State Rep. Sam Englehardt, Jr., of Macon County, introduced legislation in May 1953 providing for conversion to a "private school" system if the Supreme Court should rule against segregation. However, the Englehardt bills died in committee after Governor Persons and various legislators urged a ~~wait~~ "wait and see" attitude and support shifted to the Bonner resolution. ~~Unfortunately~~ Unfortunately, we don't have a copy of the resolution, and I can't give you the exact date of its passage.

Incidentally, it may be of interest that, according to the Birmingham World, Horace C. Wilkinson made the following proposal in a speech before the Mobile Real Estate Association on September 17: "If the provisions in our state constitution requiring separate schools for the races is stricken down, the mongrelization of America may be deferred by Alabama entering into contract with a majority of the states, approved by Congress, to educate the races in separate schools.... Thirty states have laws against miscegenation they do not want broken down. When a majority of these states agree, congressional approval would be in sight." Wilkinson, you may recall, was a leader in the Dixiecrat movement of 1948.

If I can be of any further help, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

MEMORANDUM

11/4

Harold –

Hope I haven't committed you too far – Scanlon & I decided you were the one to handle this – you're such a smart cookie!

It was news to us that Ala. had a scheme – unknowledgeable research staff here!

D.

DOROTHY MITCHELL

Letterhead of
THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

COPY

November 4, 1953

Mr. Wylie H. Davis
School of Law
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Davis:

Your letter of the 2nd to Ruth Morton has been referred to our research department since Miss Morton is not now connected with the Ashmore Project.

We haven't any information here on the Alabama scheme, but I think one of the persons in Atlanta who has been working on the project will be able to find a reference for you. I am forwarding your letter to Atlanta, and I feel sure you will hear very soon from one of the staff there.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Mitchell

CC:Harold Fleming (with incoming)

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
SCHOOL OF LAW
FAYETTEVILLE

November 2, 1953

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
NOV 4 1953
Received

Miss Ruth A. Morton
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Miss Morton:

Dean Leflar and I are currently re-writing for tentative law review publication the material we submitted for the Ashmore Project. We have the story that Alabama has provided for, or is planning to provide for, the establishment of private corporations to take over operation of its public schools in the event of a Supreme Court decree against segregation. We would like, if possible, to document the Alabama scheme with a footnote citation -- to a newspaper release if nothing better is available.

Could you conveniently give us an appropriate reference, or pass this request on to someone who might be able to do so? Our mailing deadline for the article, which we are now footnoting, is November 15.

Sincerely yours,

Wylie H. Davis

Wylie H. Davis
Professor of Law

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

April 28, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I think it will be possible to have advance copies of the Ashmore report available for the Williamsburg Conference. The first copies will begin coming off the press early next week, and Gordon Blackwell of the University of North Carolina, who is driving to the Conference, will take 25 copies with him. He will deliver them to you immediately upon his arrival, and you can then distribute them to the participants.

Best regards and best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely,

John J. Scanlon

John J. Scanlon

May 11, 1954

Mr. Philip Coombs
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Phil:

We all had a notable experience at Williamsburg. Report is being prepared and will come to you as soon as it is done -- which should be quite soon. Nothing startling came out, but many good suggestions on things to do quickly and more slowly. And the meeting put new energy into the many causes which those present are already at work upon.

Dr. Johnson and I, and one or two others, called on Mr. Goodbody, but too late in the weekend to find him with free time to come to any of the meetings.

Williamsburg was the perfect place for the meeting, and I am sure the town and the College and the people and the Restoration made many useful new friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

M E M O R A N D U M

File

May 25, 1954

Dear Harold:

I think you will be interested in the attached summary of reactions to The Negro and the Schools.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip H. Coombs

PHILIP H. COOMBS

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

REACTIONS TO THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS - REPORT NUMBER I

The book, released on May 17, received extensive coverage throughout the country in the form of lengthy wire service stories, local news spreads, editorials, and book reviews. The coverage was particularly extensive in Washington, New York and Southern newspapers. Extensive use was made of the charts and of Mr. Ashmore's picture. Wide reference was made to Justice Roberts' preface and to the Fund's sponsorship.

To the best of our knowledge, there has not been a single unfavorable comment to date, even among the most conservative newspapers of the South or by any Southern political figures. (Advance copies were sent to the editors of all Southern dailies and of major city dailies throughout the country. Advance copies were also sent to all Southern governors and to a number of state legislators through the Southern Regional Education Board).

In addition to the wide press coverage the report has been treated extensively on radio and television, including some national network programs specifically devoted to the book.

The University of North Carolina Press made a relatively small run of copies for the first edition and many book stores have been unable to fill the demands. The second edition, revised to include the decisions of the Supreme Court and certain text changes, is being run immediately. Supplies of the revised edition should be available around June 15.

Attached are excerpts from a sampling of newspaper articles published last week and of letters received by the Fund. This is only a small sample, however, since we have been deluged by the returns.

Philip H. Coombs

May 24, 1954

Report Number I
Reactions to
The Negro and the Schools

EXCERPTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES REGARDING
THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS

Mr. C. A. McKnight, Editor of the Charlotte (North Carolina) News:

May 15, 1954:

"This little volume is a tightly-written summary and interpretation of the first full-scale study of the bi-racial school system in the United States. It is destined to have an impact on the Southern mind totally disproportionate to its size.

"... it is written with such complete objectivity that extremists at either pole of the segregation issue will find no cause for carping.

"Its value to educators, to level-headed public leaders, and to thoughtful adults, both in the South and the non-South, will be incalculable in the months and years to come."

Mr. Tom Waring, Editor of the Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier,

May 16, 1954:

"No agency has been equipped to report on bi-racial education as it exists today in public schools of Southern and border states. This book comes as the most thorough and up-to-date survey in existence.

"The Ashmore book, we believe, will help to spread knowledge both in the South and in the North. It is written with sympathy. It does not aim to coerce either by force or by preaching.

"Today we take editorial notice of this book as a contribution to public information, in the hope that it will have wide circulation. A calm approach by all concerned will prevent friction and help all of

us to deal sensibly with a problem that has no completely satisfactory solution."

Mr. Frank Graham, New York Herald Tribune Book Section, May 23, 1954:

"The Negro and the Schools...will likely become an historic document. This book is compressed in content, scholarly in objectivity, flowing in style and timely in values. It is written, as designed by its sponsors, without advocacy of either side on the eve of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court..."

Mr. Wallace Westfeldt, Nashville Tennessean, May 16, 1954:

"... by far the most complete and up-to-date report on the subject...

"The book does not attempt to conclude which way - equilization or integration - is the best."

Mary Hornaday, Staff Correspondent, Christian Science Monitor, May 17, 1954:

"The report, believed to be the most far-reaching ever made on the subject, took on added significance when it became a backdrop for the historical court decision."

Mr. Charles Mercer, Associated Press Staff Writer, May 16, 1954:

"... the most intensive non-partican study of school segregation ever undertaken in the nation."

Mr. Richard Fryklund, The Washington Star, May 16, 1954:

"This report is a timely, skillful and welcome job of putting the school segregation problem into focus.

"It is the only existing up-to-date Nation-wide survey and analysis of these school problems."

Mr. Luther A. Huston, New York Times Book Section, May 16, 1954:

"The reader who is looking for a partisan argument on one side or the other of a highly controversial public issue had better not read this book. Anything from it that might be used as an argument for or against racial segregation in the schools would have to be taken out of context.

"The reader who is looking for information about a vital educational and sociological situation, dispassionately but authoritatively presented, can hardly afford not to read it."

Time Magazine, Education Section, May 24, 1954:

"For a good 17 months the U.S. has been waiting for the Supreme Court to make its decision on five cases involving segregation in the public schools - and wondering what would happen if the court declared segregation to be illegal. This week, as the Court did just that, the University of North Carolina Press published the first of a series of reports that may provide some answers. Written by Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette Editor Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools is the result of a long investigation carried out by 45 scholars under the auspices of the Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education. It not only reviews the legal history of the issue, it also points to a conclusion: the end of segregation will not be the bloody catastrophe its traditional supporters fear."

Editor's Note on Full-page Spread, New York Herald Tribune, May 16, 1954:

"In preparation for the decision, whatever it will be, this page is devoted to putting into focus the picture of the segregated schools

today and the struggle and gradual progress that, in more than 100 years, led to where we are. ... To Mr. Ashmore, to forty-five scholars who surveyed bi-racial education in America for this study and to the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, which has sponsored the project, go our thanks.

"The book says 'the Fund will not undertake to argue the case for or against segregation,' and so all conclusions and opinions on this page are ours."

(Fred M. Hechinger)

Mr. Douglass Cater, The Reporter, May Issue:

"... it was high time for someone to examine these problems calmly and factually. This is what forty-five experts, predominantly Southerners, have now done under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education. The results of these studies have been turned over to Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, who has brilliantly reported them in The Negro and the Schools (published by the University of North Carolina Press). This document should play a useful role in combating potential hysteria."

Report Number I
Reactions to
The Negro and the Schools

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED REGARDING THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS

Congressman Brocks Hays, May 13, 1954:

"... this is a magnificent contribution to our understanding of an intricate problem. We are indeed making progress."

President Benjamin Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, May 18, 1954:

"I have read from cover to cover The Negro and the Schools. It is a great book, timely and well written. It does justice to the North and to the South. It treats a delicate subject with objectivity so as to shed light on the subject rather than heat. In the light of the Supreme Court's decision, it will be a sane and wise guide to the various communities as they set about to implement the Court's decision. The Fund for the Advancement of Education has rendered the nation a great service."

President Harold L. Trigg, Saint Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, May 17, 1954:

"This volume fills a definite need and will be welcomed by all of those in the South who wish to use intelligence in the solution of a problem that we face."

President A. W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, May 10, 1954:

"I appreciate immensely your sending to me the final copy of the Ashmore report. It is my impression that this report will have a tremendous impact for good as we in the South think about the steps which must be taken to desegregate our public schools."

Mr. Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary, National Association of Chief State School Officers, May 14, 1954:

"We continue to get favorable reactions from those who see the report for the first time. It is proving to be a great contribution as an objective study in an area in which objectivity is greatly needed but seldom found. The Fund and the group who prepared the Report are to be congratulated."

Mr. P. L. Bhandari, Public Relations Attache, Embassy of India, Washington, D.C., May 12, 1954:

"I write to thank you for sending me 12 copies of the report The Negro and the Schools, which I have received in good condition. I have sent copies to our authorities in India, also to the press, and I know that this study will prove to be both useful and interesting."

Report Number I
Reactions to
The Negro and the Schools

EXCERPTS FROM INFORMAL MEMORANDUM
FROM HARRY ASHMORE, MAY 19, 1954

Looking out over the debris this morning, (the day after the Court's decision) I'm right proud of the South. Herman Talmadge exploded on schedule, but virtually every other politician of standing took to the high ground. And the Southern press, as I have had a chance to check it so far, seems to have acted with complete responsibility.

Put this down to undue immodestly if you will, but I am convinced that the project had a lot to do with it. The book was in the hands of all the key editors and most of the politicians by the time the blow fell, and it can only have had a soothing influence. Furthermore, I am convinced they will be turning to it in the critical days ahead. I believe we can already assure Justice Roberts that the Fund's risk capital investment is paying dividends.

Incidentally, while I have by no means seen all the Southern reviews of the book I have looked over a couple of dozen. All are favorable, and most important of all, everywhere we are being credited with objectivity. Remarkably enough, at this reading at least, we haven't been blasted anywhere.

Since the decision came down yesterday I have talked to dozens of people all over Arkansas, many of them educators. A few are distressed, but all are calm. Actually, if I had to define the prevailing feeling here -- and I believe this is generally true over the South except in the really hot spots -- I would say it is one of relief that the other shoe has finally dropped. There is a great difference in brooding over an abstraction and wrestling with a concrete problem that has edges you can get hold of. I think I can

see the beginning of that time I have always dreamed of -- when you can conduct a conversation in the South without having it degenerate into an argument over where a man should sit in a street car.

The manner in which the Court handed down the decision was magnificent -- so much so that I am thinking about writing a fan letter to the Chief Justice if I can only figure out the protocol in the matter. The unanimous opinion spiked many a gun, and the setting of the new precedent well in advance of handing down the specific decrees was a master-stroke. It gives everybody time to get used to the idea, and opens the possibility of intelligent and specific argument on ways and means before the Court which was impossible while the advocates felt they would have to concede their major point if they discussed anything less than Armageddon.

Dred Scott Ashmore

May 18, 1954

May 25, 1954

Mr. Phillip H. Coombs
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Phil:

I send you, enclosed, a couple of copies of the report of the meeting in Williamsburg -- locateable in the welter by being on canary paper.

Excellent meeting. Some of the things proposed are of great interest. But like all meetings, the main outcome really is the ideas and purposes people got by being together under such pleasant circumstances.

Dave Freeman has fifteen copies if you need a reserve supply up yonder--and more for you if you should wish them. It is not a document for public use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Dawes Sydney
for your information

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
MAY 1 7 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 17, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was pleased to hear that you had such a successful conference at Williamsburg. When I saw Gordon Blackwell in Nashville just after the conference he had an encouraging report.

Our proposed follow-up on the Ashmore project seems to be taking shape very well and we hope to get it off the ground soon.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip H. Coombs

June 9, 1954

Mr. John J. Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

Thanks for the word about the NCCIS radio program on the book. I had heard about it in advance, but unfortunately the local outlet didn't carry it. I will write Cass about the possibility of our getting a tape.

The Reporting Service sounds fine indeed. We had a pleasant evening with Phil while he was here for the Morehouse Commencement and heard about it in more detail. Score another one for the FAE.

I have been able to distribute my small supply of The Negro and the Schools to pretty good advantage: For example, one to Max Gilstrap of The Christian Science Monitor, who is doing a lengthy series on the Southern schools; one to Henry Lesesne, who writes for the Monitor, the Herald Tribune, and the Baltimore Sun; and one to Alfred Mynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times, who is using it for a purpose that will become clear in a minute. What I am building up to, of course, is a request for more copies if you can spare them. We could use as many as 100 to good effect, without interfering with the commercial market, but we will be grateful for whatever we can get.

You may be getting a letter presently from a Southern officer of the American Association of School Administrators, requesting that a copy be sent to every Southern school superintendent, if feasible. Hope it will be.

I am to be in New York for a couple of days the week of the 21st, and will hope for a chance to chat with you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

June 3, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avene, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On Monday, May 24, the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools devoted its radio program to a discussion of The Negro and the Schools, with comments by Harry Ashmore. I did not happen to hear the program, but Phil did and said it was very good. Jim Cass of the New York Office of the Commission, who made the arrangements for the show, tells me that tape recordings of the program are available. It occurred to me that you might be interested in obtaining one for possible use in connection with the discussion meetings which the Southern Regional Council plans in the months ahead. I asked Cass about it and he indicated that there was a good chance that he could make one available to you if you are interested. I told him I would write you about it.

I suppose you have seen the story in the newspapers about the follow-up to the Ashmore project - The Southern Education Reporting Service at Nashville. Needless to say we were delighted to be able to get Pete McKnight to direct the project. We think it holds great promise.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

Chattanooga Public Schools

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

June 14, 1954
(Dictated June 10, 1954)

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Alf:

I have heretofore been graciously supplied with two copies of the so-called Ashmore report, but I do appreciate your letter of June 10 which has just arrived with still another copy of this report from which we can profit by using it, along with the other copies I have on hand, among our several staff members.

For your information, W. E. Turner, State Director of the Division of Negro Education, has sent a copy of this report to every superintendent in Tennessee with a letter of transmittal. Of course, I shall be delighted to write Dr. Coombs along the lines of your suggestion, and I shall do so within the next twenty-four hours. I do believe that this book will be very helpful.

Incidentally, I have just returned about an hour or so ago from Cleveland, Ohio, having gone up yesterday on a speech-making mission. In the press of getting away from the office I did not read THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES of June 9 until I was high in the air nearing Cincinnati. All of a sudden I saw the nice editorial that you had written recognizing our splendid mutual friend, Herbert Barks, and me, and my spirits soared even higher over Ohio. I just hope that I can live long enough to half way deserve your friendship and your support and the encouragement you have given me and our schools through your editorial columns. My constant feeling is one of gratitude toward you.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence

L. G. Derthick
Superintendent of City Schools

LGD:rl

COPY

Chattanooga Public Schools
Chattanooga, Tennessee

June 15, 1954

Dr. Philip Coombs
Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Coombs:

The publication, "The Negro and the Schools," in my judgment is a report of pertinent value to every school administrator. I am wondering whether directors of Negro education in other southern states have shown the interest that W. E. Turner, of Tennessee has shown by securing from you enough copies of this so-called Ashmore report to distribute one to every city and county superintendent in the state.

My feeling is that school administrators throughout the South could profitably read this report and use the material so objectively presented. It might be that you could ascertain whether other state departments of education, particularly in this region, would like to distribute copies of the report to their superintendents.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ L. G. Derthick

L. G. Derthick
Superintendent of City
Schools

LGD:rl

Ala.
Tenn
Ark

June 17, 1954

Mr. John J. Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

A hundred thanks for the additional copies of the book. They will be well used. Unfortunately, my time in New York falls on Tuesday and Wednesday, which means that I will probably miss the opportunity to see you. I will be seeing Phil at a Wednesday conference however, and will hope to exchange word of the latest developments with him then.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

June 11, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your interesting letter of June 9. We will certainly look forward to a request for copies of the book to be sent to Southern school superintendents. Even though our supply of complimentary copies is dwindling very rapidly, we will set aside some for that purpose.

With regard to your own request, I will write to the University of North Carolina Press to ask them to send you 100 additional copies.

Your letter indicated that you plan to be in New York for a couple of days during the week of the 21st, but did not say which days. I will be out of the office during the first three days of the week, but will be back on Thursday. I hope I don't miss you. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

July 22, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am finally getting to your letter of July 8 after a considerable period of absence from the office.

With respect to the distribution of the Ashmore Report to local superintendents, I have only moderate progress to report. First, I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Mr. Derthick dated June 15. As you will see, it is a very cordial letter but hardly constitutes a request that we send copies of the report to every superintendent of schools in the region. Perhaps he did not fully understand that this was the point.

Pete McKnight and I had a very satisfactory meeting with several of the Southern Chief State School Officers in New York nearly a month ago. They were very cordial on the subject of the Ashmore Report and seemed very favorable to the Southern Education Reporting Service. Since that meeting, I have received a request from the Superintendent of Alabama asking that we make a full distribution to local superintendents in that state. This means that we have now taken fairly good care of Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas. I wouldn't be surprised to receive similar requests from two or three or more of the other Chief State School Officers, but thus far they have not arrived.

This weekend, I am going to Nashville to attend the briefing session of the field reporters of the SERS. That whole operation seems to be getting off the ground in fine shape.

I ruined a perfectly good evening recently reviewing the "hate sheets" you had sent up to Dave Freeman. I find it hard to believe that such things actually get published in 1954. But there is nothing like having the polar position clearly defined in print!

You or George may be hearing from Mrs. Helen Waller, Director of the Herald Tribune Forum. They plan to build their forum this year (October 18) around the general problem of de-segregation and they hope to have mainly local folks rather than VIP's as participants. Their thought is to get some typical local people from a variety of communities that are struggling to meet this problem in different ways (or to avoid meeting it) in order to demonstrate the diversity in the situation. I told her that you folks might be especially helpful in helping her identify the right communities and people.

Cordially,

Phil

Philip H. Coombs
Secretary

July 8, 1954

Mr. Philip Coombs
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Phil:

Whatever came of the various potential proposals that the book be distributed to local school superintendents in the South? Did Lawrence Derthick's letter ever arrive and serve the purpose, or did you get some proposal from the state school offices at the NEA meeting?

I ask because Alfred Mynders will be here in Atlanta for an Executive Committee meeting some time soon and I want to be able to tell him what finally came of his efforts. You may remember that Mynders wrote Derthick suggesting that he write you.

Thanks for report #3 on reactions to the book. I thought it was a very interesting roundup.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

File

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REACTIONS TO THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS - REPORT NUMBER III

This is the third, and probably the final report on reactions to the Ashmore report.

As was the case in Reports I and II, the excerpts which follow represent only a sampling of the comments in newspapers, magazines, and letters to the Fund.

Press clippings are still arriving in a steady flow, and two major segments of opinion have not yet been heard from - - the Negro press, and the so-called scholarly journals. Our clipping service has not yet sent in clippings from the Negro press, and the scholarly journals (mostly quarterlies) have not yet reviewed the book. If the comments from these two sources appear to warrant it, a fourth report will be prepared. Otherwise, this will be the final report.

On the basis of the reactions to date, the following generalizations appear warranted:

1. The report has been exceptionally well received -- particularly in the South-- by editors, educators, public school administrators, parents, teachers and leaders of civic and religious organizations.

2. In nearly every instance, the report has been highly praised for its timeliness, comprehensiveness, and objectivity. (In the two exceptions which have come to our attention thus far, one alleges bias in favor of the South, and the other alleges bias against the South.) The Ford Foundaton, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Mr, Ashmore, and the scholars who undertook the research have been warmly commended for performing a valuable public service.

3. The report is being widely used as the basic "textbook" by school administrators, civic and religious groups, and others who are wrestling with the difficult problems raised by the recent Supreme Court decision.

In short, the Ashmore report seems to be admirably serving the precise purpose it was intended to serve, which Justice Roberts so succinctly described in his introduction to the book:

"The ultimate solution of (the segregation) problem will rest with the men and women who make and execute public school policy in thousands of local school districts, and their actions will be conditioned by the degree of understanding of the general public which supports their efforts with its tax dollars. If this project serves to assist them in their task the Fund for the Advancement of Education will feel that it has wisely invested a portion of the risk capital of American education with which it is entrusted."

June 24, 1954

Philip H. Coombs

Report Number III
Reactions to
The Negro and the Schools

EXCERPTS FROM NEWSPAPER COMMENT ON THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS

Mr. George E. Arnstein, San Francisco Chronicle, May 23, 1954:

"The background for this (Supreme Court) decision has been clearly presented in the timely publication of this book dealing with legal, social and economic considerations.

"...this book is based on the work of 45 scholars under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford). The result is a massive contribution, presented in readable form, toward an understanding of the problem, the demographic shifts, the changing birthrates, the inequalities and also the progress made over the years.

"...bolstered by thoughtful observations and new perspectives, Mr. Ashmore calmly presents the facts, the inequalities, the waste and the low standards of education in the South. And then, toward the end, his book suddenly takes a turn: Mr. Ashmore ceases to be a competent journalist who summarizes scholarly data and becomes instead an amateur sociologist with nostalgic overtones of the Old South.

"Without any evidence to support it, the author blandly claims that 'If at any point in the past discrimination had been wiped out by total integration... no appreciable economies would have resulted to make additional funds available for improvement of the total system.'

"Earlier he had cited the estimated seven million dollars which could have been saved in Washington; later he writes that 'it is true that examples of waste can be cited;' but he still sticks to his subjective conclusion that 'no appreciable economies' are likely to result from the eventual abolition of segregation.

"In these uneven concluding interpretations, Mr. Ashmore dissapates all the praise his book deserves although it is an otherwise intelligent and thorough presentation."

(Note: The Fund has come across only two reviews which questioned Mr. Ashmore's objectivity. In the review above, which is generally favorable in tone, Mr. Ashmore is said to be biased in favor of the South. In the other, quoted in Report Number II, Manning J. Rubin of the Charleston Evening Post reported that he found in the book "a current of bias against the South's pattern of school segregation.") (Underlining supplied for emphasis.)

Anniston, Alabama, Star, May 30, 1954:

"Reference has been made heretofore in the editorial columns of this paper to Mr. Ashmore's book, but this paper has received so many requests for more information about this great study in the field of sociology that we have felt certain our readers would want to know the address of the publishers.

"Those who favor or those who oppose segregation will get little comfort out of this book. It is strictly objective. But it is definitive in its particular field and is a veritable gold mine of facts about a subject of consuming interest at this time."

Clarksdale, Mississippi, Press Register, May 22, 1954:

"To any Southerner who desires a solid, factual approach to the varied economic and social problems rising out of the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the public schools this book should prove a necessity.

"...Mr. Ashmore has told the story objectively and has brought together all the relevant information for the first time."

Mr. William D. Snider, Charlotte, North Carolina, News, May 23, 1954:

"Few books of recent times handle the segregation issue more succinctly or with greater objectivity. Because the book casts valuable light on the court's decision, the editors of the Daily News herewith present fragments from the massive mountain of ideas it assembles about the genesis, development and current

'egg-beater whirlings' of the segregation-integration issue in the South.

"Mr. Ashmore and the Fund for the Advancement of Education deserve commendation for originating the idea, preparing and publishing 'The Negro and the Schools.'"

Corpus Christi, Texas, Caller-Times, May 23, 1954:

"When the United States Supreme Court delivered its history-making decision Monday against racial segregation in the public schools, the tiny University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill was in a position fortunate enough to turn the commercial book publishers green with envy.

"Entitled 'The Negro and the Schools,' this significant study is a summary and interpretation of the findings of more than 40 scholars, most of them southerners.

"Its findings are set down in forthright nonscholarly prose by an able southern newspaperman, Harry S. Ashmore..."

Mr. Joseph Ross, Dallas, Texas, Times-Herald, May 23, 1954:

"In The Negro and the Schools, Harry Ashmore, the distinguished editor of The Arkansas Gazette, brilliantly summarizes the findings of 45 Ford Foundation scholars on this subject. For the person concerned with the implications of the Supreme Court decision on the South, this book provides a valuable background in which factual objectivity and journalistic clarity are admirably combined."

Mr. Herb Stein, The Oak Ridger, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, May 26, 1954:

"The book called 'The Negro and the Schools,' is impressive for more reasons than just its phenomenal timing. It provides some things that are vitally needed right now, namely, facts, figures and at least one kind of perspective on how the problem of segregation got to be what it is today.

"Since any discussion of segregation attracts at least two broad and

diametrically opposite points of view, it is entirely likely that the book will please some and disgust others. But it is at least one place where a well-heeled organization spent enough money to hire enough brains to take enough time to set down in one place the results of a lot of study on a problem that has just now boiled over from an academic world of courts and laws to an everyday world of people and action."

Mr. Paul Flowers, The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee, May 16, 1954:

"For serious minded people in the South and elsewhere who are sincerely concerned over changes which may be impending, this book will serve as a valuable guide. It will not serve zealots at either extreme; those who look for the dawn of a millenium with a sweep of the Supreme Court's pen; and it will not please the others who view the potential change as the final plunge into an abyss of bitterness and strife.

"Mostly the book is the outgrowth of an effort to make understanding prevail in the place of prejudice."

The Houston Chronicle, Houston, Texas, May 23, 1954:

"This book is a tremendous scoop for Davis and his University Press. There's not a publisher in New York who wouldn't give eyeteeth to own the rights. Beyond that, it is a well written and surprisingly interesting study of segregation as opposed to equal opportunity in public education."

Mr. Walter Spearman, Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, May 23, 1954:

"During the coming year groups and individuals all over the United States will be trying to study the significance of this ruling by the Supreme Court...

"Where will they turn for the latest available information? To Mr. Ashmore's 'The Negro and the Schools' ...

"... This one volume is a treasure-house of facts, and it will certainly be required reading for all those concerned with the problem. Mr. Ashmore has done a magnificent job of summarizing and interpreting the facts gathered by the research workers."

The New Yorker, June 5, 1954:

"The author, a Southerner himself, has done an admirable job of sythesis, with no visible trace of bias but with a few wholly understandable traces of defensiveness. He reports on segregation in Northern, as well as in Southern, classrooms, on the progress that has been made in the South over the last half century (the facts of this matter may surprise those Northerners who assume that certain governors and senators speak for the whole South); and in another chapter that contains some pleasant surprises, on the treatment of Negroes in Southern universities. A valuable book, and, of course, a very timely one."

Mr. A. W. Ford, Commissioner of Education, Arkansas, in the Ashley County Leader, Hamburg, Arkansas, May 27, 1954:

"The publication of the book entitled 'The Negro and the Schools' by Harry Ashmore of Little Rock sheds much light upon the school problem in the South. This book is opportune in that it provides basic facts upon which lay citizens, educators, and legislators may form intelligent judgments with reference to the race problem."

Mr. Tom Twitty, St. Petersburg, Florida, Times, May 23, 1954:

"From (some) quarters have come dire predictions - ranging from bloodshed to bankruptcy - as to what (the Court decision) will mean to the South.

"But the sober facts contained in the most intensive non-partisan study of school segregation ever undertaken have been made public by the Ford Foundation and they don't point to any such thing.

"The Ford Foundation report is a 228-page factual book prepared by more than 50 non-partisan educational research authorities."

The Hickory, North Carolina, Record, May 19, 1954:

"Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, is author of a book just issued by the University of North Carolina Press, at Chapel Hill, which is certainly timely in connection with the United States Supreme Court decision..."

The Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wisconsin, May 18, 1954:

"A distinguished Southerner, anticipating Monday's U. S. Supreme Court decision holding unconstitutional the separating of Negro and white children in public schools, wrote a distinguished book..."

"The Book, 'The Negro and the Schools,' and its author, Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette are to be commended to the South."

The High Point, North Carolina Enterprise, May 18, 1954:

"On eve of the Supreme Court decision there appeared, in about the neatest piece of timing any publication ever received, a volume entitled 'The Negro and the Schools.' It is by a Southerner, Harry S. Ashmore, executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and a native of Greenville, South Carolina, based upon a massive research project carried out in the past year by 45 scholars and assistants, financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

"It comes up with some pertinent, as well as hopeful data..."

Mr. Paul Palmer, The Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 12, 1954:

"Sponsored by Ford Foundation funds, the volume takes no stand for or against segregation but seeks rather to give an objective appraisal of the

historical background, recent developments and current facts on bi-racial education in the United States.

Ashmore and his colleagues present in language of the laymen the facts of expense, time and problems involved in achieving the integration of existing separate school systems in the South and the price the area must pay to close the gap in existing inequalities. Facing the huge problems of increased enrollment for the next two decades any other course than that of integration would be sheer economic absurdity. For that reason this volume is a valuable aid for the perplexed citizen who wants to do more than beat his chest in futile rage or invoke a special dispensation from the Almighty that democracy is applicable only to the white citizen."

H7

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

August 4, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

At the request of Dave Freeman, I am returning herewith the copy of the July 12 issue of The Augusta Courier which you sent on to him, and which he sent over to us for our information.

Needless to say, we were amazed to discover that this type of journalism exists in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. Warm regards and best wishes for you and Harold Fleming.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

Enclosure

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

8/6/54

To: HCF

From: KS

Mr. Scanlon of Fund for Advancement of Education called this morning. The Fund has had a request from the library of the Supreme Court for the manuscript of Earl Johnson on "A Summary of School Integration in the Urban Metropolitan Areas of the Non-South".

Johnson had said that he had only 1 copy and that he had sent one to you ~~[illegible]~~. Scanlon said that if he could get your copy, he'd have a copy made from it for he library.

I looked in the files but could not find a copy - did find the box with individual reports but thought that was not the final version and not to be sent to Scanlon, so I have wired him as attached. I had ~~xpm~~ promised to ~~let him~~ know whether I found ~~it or~~ not.

~~[illegible]~~

Also, John Griffin asked me to remind you that he had written the woman at the Supreme Court library that you would be sending copies of "our latest pamphlet - Answers for Action". He wanted to be sure copies got to her.

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

August 12, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of August 10 bringing us up to date on the whereabouts of the various manuscripts prepared for the Ashmore report.

Just as soon as Phil Coombs returns from vacation, I will raise the question with him of arranging to deposit all of the research material at the Emory Library.

I had forgotten about the Time Magazine material. Since this was given to us in strict confidence, I would appreciate your sending it to me so that we can return it to Time. Best regards.

Cordially,

John

John J. Scanlon

December 13, 1954

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement
of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

Many thanks for the generous gift of Schools in Transition.

I will look forward to hearing from you what comes of your sound idea that Pete McKnight might incorporate the Ashmore file into his materials library. Pete and I have been planning for some time to get together for a real workout. Maybe this will provide the occasion.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

December 7, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of November 30 regarding Schools in Transition.

I am asking the University of North Carolina Press to send you 100 copies out of our supply, for use by your staff people in assisting educators and other community officials who are working on the problem raised by the Supreme Court decision of May 17.

In your letter you also mentioned that you are holding on to the Ashmore file pending further word. Pete McKnight is now building up a library of materials on the question at his office in Nashville, and I think that would be the logical place for the Ashmore material you have. I will get in touch with Pete, to find out what he thinks of the idea, and then I will let you know. Best regards.

Cordially,

John

John J. Scanlon

November 30, 1954

Mr. John Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement
of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

We are delighted to see that Schools in Transition has been published and is getting such a good press. I haven't yet seen a copy but will in a day or two.

John Griffin, following his conversation with you the other day, passes along the cheerful word that we might hope to get a supply of the Fund's copies. This would be welcome indeed, since our state organizations are blossoming out with full-time staff and need all available guidance material in this field.

We can readily make good use of as many as a hundred copies, if that's within reason; if not, whatever you can let us have will be well and gratefully put to work.

I wish, along with you and Phil, that the Pierce-Swanson-Maclachlan manuscript were in the same happy stage of development. My exposure to it has been brief and recent, but sufficient for me to appreciate the headaches.

Incidentally, I am still holding on to the Ashmore file pending further word from you. It is probably just as well to let that matter rest until some of the other loose ends of the project have been tidies up.

Give my best to Dorothy and to Phil. Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold T. Fleming
Assistant Director

HTF/rnf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

February 21, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Attached is a list of the organizations to which we sent bulk copies of the Ashmore report.

I hope that it will be useful to you in distributing copies of Changing Patterns.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

Enc.

Mr. Robert Bondy
National Social Welfare Assembly
✓ 345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

✓ Mr. Richard Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Max Birnbaum
American Jewish Committee
386 4th Avenue
New York, New York

✓ Mr. John Goodbody
Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

✓ Mr. Lester Granger
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

✓ George Peabody College for Teachers
SSCPEA
Nashville, Tennessee

✓ Mr. John Hutchinson, Deputy Chief
Press Service
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

✓ Mrs. William Henry, Director
National Congress of Colored Parents & Teachers
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

✓ Mr. Myles Horton
Hylander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Mozell Hill
Unitarian Service Committee
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

President Charles Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

✓ Mr. S. R. Jeffers, Director of Research
Mississippi Economic Council, Standard Life Building
Jackson 5, Mississippi

Mr. Mark Kinsey, Director
Americanism Department
Veterans of Foreign Wars
Broadway at 34th St.
Kansas City, Missouri

Mrs. Florence Loose, President
Delaware Education Association
Wilmington, Delaware

Mr. Harold Lett
Department of Education
Newark, New Jersey

Mr. Henry Moon
NAACP
20 West 4oth St.
New York, New York

Mr. J. Council Trenholm, President, American Teachers' Assn.
Alabama State College for Negroes
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. A. L. Whitten
Arkansas Education Association
Marianna Public Schools
Marianna, Arkansas

Mr. F. E. Willingham
Oklahoma Educ ation Association
Tecumseh Public Schools
Tecumseh, Oklahoma

Mr. Lee Wilborn
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas

Mr. Charles Winick
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
215 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Mr. Henry Toy
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
2 West 45th Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Leo Perlis, National Director
National Congress of Industrial Organizations Community Services Commission
1776 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Mortimer Graves, Executive Director
American Council of Learned Societies
1219 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

✓ Howard Dawson, Director, Div. of Rural Service
✓ Robert W. Eaves, Director, Dept. of Elementary Education
✓ Paul Elicker, Exec. Secretary, National Association of Secondary School Principals
✓ Edgar Fuller, Exec. Secretary, National Council of Chief State School Officers
✓ William Lloyd, Director of Special Services
✓ R. B. Marston, Director, Division of Membership
✓ Worth McClure, Exec. Secretary, American Assoc. of School Administrators

Jeannes Teachers (list supplied by Curtis Dixon
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress St., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

✓ Ambrose Caliver
Office of Education
Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

✓ Mr. Robert Quick, Manager of Publications
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

✓ Dr. R. L. Hunt
National Council of the Churches of Christ
79 East Adams St.
Chicago, Illinois

John Griffin
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia } I think you know this fellow.

✓ Herbert Seamans
National Conference of Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

✓ Mr. W. E. Turner
Division of Negro Education
Department of Education
Nashville, Tennessee

✓ Dr. Vynce Hines
P. K. Young School
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

✓ President Otto Kraushaar
Goucher College
Towson
Baltimore 4, Maryland

Dr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville Tennessee } for a Fisk workshop

C. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee } for visiting firemen

March 17, 1955

Mr. John K. Weiss
Fund for the Advancement
of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

Apologies for my misleading references to New South. I several weeks ago had your name placed on the complimentary mailing list, but the actual mailing hadn't yet taken place. Anyhow, it will be reaching you from now on.

I will look forward to seeing you on the next Atlanta trip.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF;rnf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

March 10, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your nice note of March 7th. I was happy to learn that you were able to make such good progress with the Doris Duke Foundation. I gather from your letter that I should be receiving New South, but unfortunately I don't so that I can't claim too much familiarity with your program. If you have a mailing list that is susceptible to an addition, you might sneak in my name.

I am working up an agenda of things which ought to bring me to Atlanta, and you are certainly on the list.

Thanks again for your note.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

March 7, 1955

Mr. John Weiss
Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Weiss:

It struck me that I haven't seen or written you since last June when we discussed the Council's prospects with the Doris Duke Foundation.

We did receive from them a grant of $10,000 for 1955, specifically earmarked for our information program. That, together with a grant from the Field Foundation for New South, enables us to do a much better job of collecting the facts and getting them out in a useful form. You should be receiving New South by now, which will give you some idea at least of what we're trying to do with that part of the operation.

I wanted to let you know that we remember and appreciate the good words you spoke for us. The next time the family or business brings you to Atlanta, I hope you will let me know and that we will have a chance to get together.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

June 17, 1955.

Mr. John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

Many thanks for the copies of The Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition, which have just arrived. We are proceeding at once with the distribution.

Thanks too for your suggestion about the Baltimore report. I have written to Mr. Kraushaar about the possibilities of our getting a supply.

It was good to chat with you and Dorothy again, even if only by telephone. I'll be racking my brain for some pretext to come to New York next Fall. If, as, and when, I'll hope to see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director.

June 17, 1955.

President Otto Kraushaar
Gaucher College
Baltimore Maryland

Dear Dr. Kraushaar:

John Scanlon of the Fund for the Advancement of Education recently told me of the report on the public shhool integration in Baltimore which was then in preparation. He suggested that I write you about the possibility of the Southern Regional Council securing a number of copies of the report for distribution to influencial and interested people in the South.

I would be very grateful if you will advise me about the possibilities of our doing such a mailing. In any case, we shall be much interested in seing the report on these significant developments.

Witheevery good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director

HCF/vc

June 28, 1955.

Miss Dorothy Mitchell
Administrative Assistant
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Dorothy:

Since I wrote you the other day the enclosed letter has come in from Goucher.

My natural inclination, of course, is simply to write him that we feel we can make good use of anything up to 3,000 copies, depending on availability. I have no way of knowing how many members of our affiliated state grpups are subscribers to Southern School News.

However, since I had taken up your kind offer to promote our interests, I thought I would exchange a fast communiqué with you before I answered Carroll's letter.

How is Scanlon's trip to Nashville? What is Pete McKnight going to do? Why does everything get so complicated?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Enc.

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

June 17, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed report on desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools is being printed and should be ready in about three weeks. The prefatory note explains the auspices under which it is being published. We wondered if you would be interested in sending it to your New South subscribers? If so, the people at Goucher College would be happy to send you as many copies of the pamphlet as you might need.

In any event, we'll be glad to have them send you as many as you might want to have around your office.

Sincerely,

D.

Dorothy Mitchell
Administrative Assistant

Enc.

Sorry if that phone call ran you out some tonight — but it was lonely to talk to you.

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 30, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I don't think there'll be much overlapping of your state groups and the parts of Pete's list we'll be using for the Baltimore story. Carroll is a real John A., and I'm sure I've told him we're not going to send him all of the SSN list, so there will be plenty to permit your getting your 3,000. When I next communicate with his office, I'll tell them again.

I think the wraps are going to be taken off Pete's future around the 7th of July. Never has such a production been made of a change of jobs. Much as I love Pete, I'm beginning to get a little bored with the whole thing. If he does anything less than announce his candidacy for the presidency, a lot of other people are going to be bored.

I'm feeling very crabby today -- need I point out?

Scanlon's trip to Nashville was quite fruitful -- the immediate fruits being that I'm going to the NEA convention to peddle subscriptions to SSN. I'm going to Nashville tomorrow night to get briefed and brush up on my magnolias, and go up to Chicago Saturday. If I didn't have to be so IMPARTIAL, I'd try to sell some NEW SOUTH for you.

And don't you know that things get complicated because there aren't enough people like you and me around?

As ever,

Don Ray

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

Letter Telegram

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The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA33 BB163

B ARA114 PD=AR NEW YORK NY 23 1130AME=

:HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL:

=63 AUBURN ST NORTH WEST ATLA=

:COOMBS AND WEISS COMING ATLANTA NEXT WEEK. CAN YOU HAVE BREAKFAST WITH THEM WEDNESDAY EIGHT AM BITMORE=

:DOROTHY MITCHELL FUND FOR ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

x

Southern Regional Council 9/23/55

MISS DOROTHY MITCHELL
FUND FOR ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

DELIGHTED AT PROSPECT OF SEEING COOMBS AND WEISS EVEN AT EIGHT A M REGARDS

HAROLD C. FLEMING

November 11, 1955

Mr. John J. Scanlon,
Deputy Director of Research
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter with regard to complimentary copies of Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow. All I have received from the UNC Press is a single copy.

I don't know what your arrangements with the Press are, but we could make good use of an additional 50 copies, if that's a reasonable request. We certainly want the principle staff and lay people in our affiliated state groups to have the book. It will be a tremendously helpful reference as the school question is discussed, debated, and planned about state by state.

If 50 is an excessive number, we will of course be grateful for a lesser number of copies.

I thought the book finally came out pretty well and will be useful to a lot of people down here for quite a time to come.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

November 7, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am not clear about what, if anything, the University of North Carolina Press has done to supply you with complimentary copies of Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow.

If you can make effective use of additional copies, please let me know how many you will need.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

November 29, 1955

Mr. John J. Scanlon
THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter with the good news. Since I know how many demands you have had for copies of the Griffin-Swanson volume I am doubly appreciative of the 50 copies you are sending us. We will try to make extra good use of them.

I am sorry not to have had more time with you when I was in New York. Next time I will try to arrange to snag you for lunch. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

November 18, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to see you the other day, and my only regret is that your visit was so brief. Please plan to spend more time with us next time.

I am asking the University of North Carolina Press to send you the 50 additional copies of Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow which you requested in your letter of November 11. Best regards.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

November 6, 1956

Mr. Philip H. Coombs
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Phil:

Your kind words about the integration report were much appreciated.

As you probably know, we were much helped in this project by the files of SERS. I would have made the acknowledgement more emphatic but felt that might be unhelpful.

I was glad to hear that you've worked out an arrangement with Weldon James on the Louisville story. We'll be looking forward to the book.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

October 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just looked over the book on integration progress prepared by you and David Loth.

It is an excellent job and should do some real good. I hope it gets wide distribution.

Cordially,

Phil
(M.H.)

Philip H. Coombs

December 14, 1956

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear John:

I am glad that you have steered Mr. Alexander Brooks to us. We are already favorably acquainted with the work of the Encampment for Citizenship. In fact, last summer the Encampment made a number of scholarships available through us and we found suitable Southern participants, white and Negro.

My elaborate intelligence system has turned up the fact of your new temporary assignment with the State Committee on Interest Rates. Congratulations on this further contribution to the public interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

P.S. I am also impressed by the Ford Foundation merger with you. (That is the right way to put it, isn't it?)

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

December 11, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am writing to give you advance notice that you may be hearing from Mr. Alexander Brooks some time next month about a project in which I have been interested for some time.

The enclosed brochure describes this project, the Encampment for Citizenship. Through the subvention of a grant from a small family foundation, the Encampment has been able to add Mr. Brooks to the staff as Field Director. Among other assignments he has been asked to spend a good deal of time in four or five selected communities across the country in hopes of establishing the nucleus of continuing support for the Encampment, both in terms of recruitment and finance. The one Southern community on his list this year is Atlanta.

I have suggested to Mr. Brooks that you might be willing to talk with him for a bit when he gets to Atlanta and give him some ideas about persons with whom he might talk further. Any help or advice you can give him will be much appreciated.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

P. S. Don't worry. He isn't fund-raising!

pamphlet sent to Research Dept.

January 8, 1957

Mr. Philip H. Coombs
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Phil:

Delighted to do the honors for Mr. Reddy. I strongly share your view that India, in particular, can benefit from a clearer view of our racial situation.

I hope the recent fusing of TFAE and the Ford Foundation means that 1957 will give you even more opportunities for fruitful work. All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

January 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Chester Bowles recently introduced me to a very interesting Indian who hopes to visit Atlanta around January 21 and 22, though he may possibly have to schedule his trip for a little later.

His name is Mr. G. K. Reddy and is a foreign correspondent of the Times of India who is spending this year at Harvard as a Neiman Fellow. I urged him while in this country to get a first-hand look at the racial situation in the South and to talk with a number of well-informed Negroes and whites. In view of his position in Indian journalism it strikes me that it would be especially useful for him to get a more accurate picture than is often the case in India.

I have suggested to Mr. Reddy that he call you upon arriving in Atlanta in the hope that you might arrange for him to talk with such people as Hylan Lewis, Mozell Hill, Ralph McGill, and any others you think appropriate.

A very Happy New Year to you and the family.

Cordially,

Phil
(m.H)

Philip H. Coombs

January 15, 1957

Miss Dorothy Mitchell
Fund for The Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Dorothy:

I am a powerful long time thanking you for the clipping services and other advices. Believe me, they are much appreciated and I depend on you utterly for coverage of the Monitor.

What do all the big changes there portend for you? For goodness sake let the answer be a cheerful one--I am overstocked with depressing news.

The best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Report to Doris Duke Foundation
+ "South of Broome"

February 14, 1957

Mr. John K. Weiss
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

The Doris Duke Foundation's grant for our information work was terminal in 1956. Enclosed is a copy of the final report which I am sending to Miss Theis.

I have never forgotten how helpful you were to us in securing this grant. I thought you ought to see what came of it.

Alex Brooks has been with us for the last two days, and we are working closely with him in developing possibilities for the Encampment for Citizenship.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 19, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Acknowledged
Erb

Dear Harold:

Your memory and your courtesy certainly go far beyond the call of duty. I was grateful for the copy of your report to the Doris Duke Foundation and was actually delighted to have a chance to know a little more about what you'd done with this money. I hasten to say that I felt no proprietary responsibility for catalyzing it, however, and this is little enough contribution for the SRC to get from a northern well-wisher.

Turning to more mundane things, it is good to get a letter from you signed Executive Director, and I expect to hear and see soon that you are carrying out all the nefarious ideas we hatched over a couple of martinis at the Delmonico one evening. If I can be helpful along those lines, I shall consider it an act of unfriendliness if you don't ask.

You should come to New York more often. I feel better after I've talked with you.

Best to Jane and to you and congratulations on everything.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

February 21, 1957

Mr. John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Weiss:

Thank you for your letter of February 19th, which I am acknowledging in Mr. Fleming's absence. He will be in New York the entirety of next week and, as I have sent him a copy of your letter, will call you if his schedule permits.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

MEMORANDUM

My sentiments,
exactly — but
no Time to express im -

xxx
D.

RECEIVED FEB 21 1957

DOROTHY MITCHELL

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

February 19, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your memory and your courtesy certainly go far beyond the call of duty. I was grateful for the copy of your report to the Doris Duke Foundation and was actually delighted to have a chance to know a little more about what you'd done with this money. I hasten to say that I felt no proprietary responsibility for catalyzing it, however, and this is little enough contribution for the SRC to get from a northern well-wisher.

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You should come to New York more often; I feel better after I've talked with you.

Best to Jane and to you and congratulations on everything.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

March 20, 1957

Miss Dorothy Mitchell
Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Dorothy:

My what affectionate notes you write! My secretary has been looking askance at me every since the latest one came in.

Your small gathering sound real fine, except that the anonymity of this "friend" is disturbing. Is he or she factual and objective? My plane is scheduled to arrive in New York at about 8:30 Sunday night. If the Shoemakers and Weisses aren't too early-to-bed, I might be able to get in in time for some of the gaiety. I will call when I get in.

I am glad Ed Orr takes such a favorable view of me. Quid pro quo, you may pass on to him my view that he is an extremely able writer.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 22, 1957

Mr. John Weiss
Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

I will summarize from the attached.

I got a copy of Marcson's letter too. We have put out our lines to such people as John Griffin and Mozell Hill and a few others.

The only other possibility that occurs to me, which you might want to act on, would be consideration of some of the "alumni" of the Encampment for Citizenship. The more recent encampers would be natural material for the Rutgers workshop. As a Board member, you should be able to get quick and satisfactory action out of the staff.

I am looking forward to seeing you in a few days.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.
/signed in absence

July 8, 1957

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Deputy Director of Research
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

I'm remiss in not having written you sooner about your welcome offer of copies of The Louisville Story.

Would I be out-of-bound if I requested 1,500 copies? Through our channels and those of our affiliates, we can easily get this many into useful hands.

I'm enclosing a list of the organizations participating in our Southern interagency conferences. All of them would be glad to know about the availability of the book.

The best, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 list of agencies

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

June 24, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Simon and Schuster will shortly publish a book entitled The Louisville Story, which describes how Louisville, Kentucky, went about the task of desegregating its public schools in compliance with the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. The book was jointly written by Omer Carmichael, superintendent of the Louisville schools, and Weldon James, associate editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Kentucky correspondent for Southern School News.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education encouraged the authors to write this book and has arranged to purchase a supply of paper-backed copies for distribution to school administrators, public officials, church leaders, and other interested citizens, in the belief that factual and objective information might be of help to those concerned with the problems created by the Court decision. It was this same belief that prompted the Fund to support the Ashmore study, which led to the publication of The Negro and the Schools and other volumes, and to support the Southern Education Reporting Service, which publishes Southern School News.

In view of your organization's interest in this matter, the Fund will be glad to make available to you, if you wish, complimentary copies of The Louisville Story. If you would like to receive copies, please let me know how many. We will try to fill all requests.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

P. S. I will send you an advance copy of the book in a few days.

RECEIVED JUL 18 1957

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

July 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your note of July 12 enclosing the six months report neither requires nor requests acknowledgment. I should be derelict if I did not take the opportunity, at least, to say thank you for passing it along and, more importantly, say "Well done" for magnificent accomplishment.

I was sorry to miss you last time you were here and I hope you will give me an opportunity to make it both a martini and a filet mignon next time you are in town. Why not bring Jane, too?

Best to you.

Sincerely,

John K. Weiss
Assistant Vice President

July 23, 1957

Mr. John J. Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

The books have just arrived, and I hasten to send thanks for this generous response to our uninhibited request.

We will take careful note of the other organizations which are receiving copies and will take special pains to avoid duplication.

The best, as always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

July 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As I indicated in our telephone conversation, we will be delighted to make available to you the 1500 copies of The Louisville Story for distribution to key people in the South through your channels and those of your affiliates. Our concern, however, is with the possibility of duplication. To avoid this, I am enclosing a list of the organizations to whom we have already made available bulk copies of The Louisville Story.

Many thanks for including with your letter the list of organizations engaged in human relations activites in the South. I plan to write to the Southern Regional offices of these organizations to let them know that they can have copies of the book if they wish.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

Enclosure

ORGANIZATIONS SENT BULK MAILINGS OF

THE LOUISVILLE STORY

Mr. Robert E. Bondy, Director
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

Mr. Richard Bennett
American Friends Service Committee

Mr. Max Birnbaum
American Jewish Committee

Mr. John Goodbody
Colonial Williamsburg

Mr. Lester Granger
National Urban League

Mr. John Hutchinson, Deputy Chief
Press Service United States Information Agency

Mrs. William Henry, Director
National Congress of Colored Parents & Teachers

Mr. Myles Horton
Hylander Folk School

Mozell Hill
Unitarian Service Committee

Mr. Mark Kinsey, Director
Americanism Department
Veterans of Foreign Wars

Mr. Harold Lett
Department of Education

Mr. Henry Moon
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

M . J. Council Trenholm, President
American Teachers Association

Mr. Lee Wilborn
Texas Education Agency

Mr. Charles Winick
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Mr. Henry Toy
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools

Mr. Leo Perlis, National Director
National Congress of Industrial Organizations Community
Services Commission

Mr. Mortimer Graves, Executive Director
American Council of Learned Societies

Curtis Dixon
Southern Education Foundation

Ambrose Caliver
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Mr. Robert Quick, Manager of Publications
American Council on Education

Dr. R.L. Hunt
National Council of the Churches of Christ

Herbert Seamans
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Mr. W.E. Turner, Coordinator
Division of Instruction
Department of Education
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dr. Vynce A. Hines, Head Foundations Dept.
College of Education
University of Florida

A.D. Allbright
College of Education
University of Kentucky

Mr. Robert C. Anderson
Southern Regional Education Board

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Mr. John Hope II, Director of Industrial Relations
Race Relations Department
Fisk University Office

November 8, 1957

Mr. John Weiss
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

We are honored by the formal invitation to the forthcoming Sputnik Spree. Where does it stand in light of the emergence of Nutnik? In any case, we won't be able to make it. I have had my fall shot at New York and bipped at you in vain, as Dorothy may have told you. If I ever do make one, you will have to make an exception and let at least one Harvard man into the Geritol bar. I need it bad.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rcd
4/11/58

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

April 9, 1958

In response to the many inquiries we have had, we thought you would like to know that it is the wish of the family of John Weiss that a scholarship be established at the Horace Mann School. Mr. Weiss was an alumnus of Horace Mann and served on its Board of Trustees. If you wish to send a contribution in memory of John K. Weiss, you may do so by sending it to Dr. Mitchell Gratwick, Principal, 231 West 246th Street, New York 71, New York. All checks should be made payable to the Horace Mann School, John K. Weiss Scholarship Fund.

Alvin C. Eurich

Harold - Thought you might like to know @ this - P.

cc Dentz
G.T.K.
4/14/58

October 31, 1958

Mr. John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 ~~575~~ Madison Avenue
New York 2~~2~~, New York

Dear John:

It was good to renew communication with you the other day.

I should like to take you up on your generous offer to supply us with more copies of The Louisville Story. Our supply has been steadily diminishing since this is one of the most popular items we have for distribution. Thanks in advance for any further quantities you would like to turn loose.

Incidentally, this coming Monday night there will be an occasion for a very useful distribution of The Louisville Story. Omer Carmichael is speaking at Emory University to a group of educators and community leaders. This is one of John Griffin's community education programs which has attracted a lot of favorable attention, and we are glad to be able to make Carmichael's book available in connection with it.

All the best to you and my other good friends there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 20, 1958

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Program Associate
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

A word of thanks for the additional copies of The Louisville Story, which have arrived.

As you may have gathered from the press, Atlanta has quite astonishingly started facing the issue of prospectively closed schools a good nine months before it could become a reality. The degree of outspoken concern and determination to preserve the public schools is most encouraging. And so is the thirst for information.

All of which means that, in Atlanta alone, the availability of the Carmichael book is of great value. We will make the most of it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

November 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have checked our stock room shelves and found that we have about 100 copies of The Louisville Story left. I was glad to learn from your letter of October 31 that you can make good use of them, so I am sending them to you under separate cover.

I have read in the Times about John Griffin's community education program. Please tell him the next time you see him that I think he's doing a fine job.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon
Program Associate

April 9, 1959

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Program Associate
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

Many thanks for the complimentary copy of "Action Patterns." We think it is an exceedingly useful piece of work -- in the high tradition of FAE projects in this field. In fact, we wangled a modest supply of copies from Phi Delta Kappa for strategic distribution to school people and others.

If you should find yourself with any dust-gathering backlog, you will find us an even more eager outlet than usual.

My best to you, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

March 24, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

About a year ago, the Fund made a grant to Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity for men in education, for the preparation and distribution of a "guidebook" designed to help school administrators who might be faced with the problem of desegregating their schools.

The project was not designed to persuade school officials or communities to desegregate, but rather to help them if and when they were faced with the problem.

The guidebook has just been published, and I am enclosing a copy for your information. I would very much appreciate any comments you may have about it.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon
Program Associate

enc

via air mail

October 21, 1959

Mrs. Dorothy Mitchell
Administrative Assistant
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Dorothy:

Great news! Welcome to the ranks -- and heaven help you more than it's helped me.

We'd be delighted to receive a gift of several hundred of the new paperbacks. The distribution you describe won't conflict with our normal constituency, and we'll take care not to duplicate.

The Louisville Story is still a very useful piece, but we still have an adequate supply. But I'd like to raise a question about distribution of Action Patterns. We have a roving counsellor to community leaders -- Benjamin Muse of Virginia -- who sees, among others, school superintendents and school board members. He just wrote that he was disturbed to find how few of these people had seen, or even knew about, Action Patterns. I don't know what Phi Delta Kappa's distribution of it has been, but this suggests something further

is needed. Our research director, I think, is writing the fraternity, but I thought I should mention it. If for any reason the distribution presents problems, we could help with it.

Hope to see you and John S. soon. Meanwhile, all my best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

October 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 12 1959

Dear Harold:

Ed Ball and I have been corresponding madly about the distribution of the new Ashmore data (for which we're paying) and it occurred to both Scanlon and me that you might have a use for a sizeable quantity. We've paid for some paperbacks, and if you can use them we'd be happy to give you several hundred.

Copies have been sent to the university and college presidents in the 17 southern states, to the chief state school officers, to the research directors of the state education departments in the 17 southern states, to the superintendents (county, I think) in the 17 southern states, and to the membership list of the Education Writers Association. I can't think that overlaps any of your constituency, does it?

So if you'd like this magnificant gift, let me know and I'll have Ed ship them to you. John also says to let you know we still have some of "The Louisville Story" left.

Best,

Dorothy

Dorothy Mitchell
Administrative Assistant

I'm going to be taking a maternity leave Dec.-Feb.!

November 9, 1959

Mr. John Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Many thanks for your kind words about the report to members and friends of the Council. You do my sometimes jaded spirits good.

I hope to find you in and free the next time I pop up in New York. Meanwhile, my very best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

November 4, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just finished reading your report to members and friends of the Council for the year ending October 19. It was beautifully written and certainly reflected a busy and fruitful year for the Council. Congratulations.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon
Program Associate

BC: John Feild - Legislative Secretary to Sen. Hart

VIA AIR MAIL

April 12, 1960

Mr. John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

A Washington friend of mine, on the staff of a U. S. Senator, told me recently that the Library of Congress has many demands for the SERS microfilm, but is too short of funds to buy it.

This strikes me as a deplorable state of affairs. The basic remedy for this kind of thing is, of course, fiscal. But it occurred to me that the Fund might want to consider relieving this particular shortage by a charitable gift. In any case, I pass along the suggestion for what it is worth.

It's been much too long since we got together. I hope to remedy that, too, before long. Meanwhile, let me hear from you once in a while, and share my best regards with Dorothy and Phil.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Fund for the Advancement of Education

ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION

A REPORT FOR 1961-1962

Established by the
Ford Foundation

The Fund for the Advancement of Education

gr2-5079

A Report for 1962-64

Fund for Adv. Ed.

MS File

MEMORANDUM

December 31, 1965

TO: Mr. John J. Scanlon
Secretary-Treasurer
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

FROM: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

I have discussed the idea of book distribution with several people on the staff and with Dr. Henderson, President of Clark College. The following are some of the initial reactions we have.

While considerably more thought needs to be given to all aspects of this, particularly the selection of titles and the mechanics of distribution, we think the general idea has considerable merit. We believe, too that programs can be developed which are altogether new and which at least in some instances have promise of establishing ideas and patterns that public and private agencies would continue and possibly expand. While the programs are new, it should be noted that some work has been done successfully.

(Enclosed is a report of Books For Equal Education which has been the most elaborated and successful effort of

this kind.)

NEGRO COLLEGES

Much can be done here through the traditional library outlet This would introduce the whole concept of paper backs to most of these college libraries and should increase the resources of the schools dealt with. Here at least two categories of books would have to be developed. One for the accredited schools and another for the unaccredited. And, as we mentioned on the phone, certainly the unaccredited schools should not be over-looked in any programs developed.

Perhaps a special committee to select titles could be made up of librarians, college presidents and representatives of the American Library Association. Another method might be to provide the longest possible list of titles and allow librarians and department heads to select from this list.

Beyond the traditional library system there are areas for experimentation on the campus. For instance, books in substantial number could be placed in dormitories, student union buildings and other places where students gather. Another idea which originated with BEE in cooperation with Tuskegee Institute is that of providing volumes for book mobiles. Perhaps the project could offer books to any institution which could find a means of providing a book mobile and getting volumes out into the community or into the countryside. I think we would find that some colleges would react enthusiastically to this. The Tuskegee book mobile program has been very successful. And, here we could again inject the idea not only of wide circulation but perhaps of book ownership to people who otherwise might not be reached.

COMMUNITY GROUPS

The first obvious outlet in this category would be in public and privately sponsored community centers, freedom schools and the like and, of course, titles could range from self-help programs to children's books. A great deal of this has already been done but generally the idea of paper backs of carefully selected titles and certainly of ownership is new.

There are several established agencies that reach a large number of people who would undoubtedly be anxious to cooperate. For instance, Penn Community Services has programs to reach isolated rural communities in South Carolina. The Southwest Louisiana Co-operative reaches into a number of rural parishes in that state. Through these agencies and others efforts might also be made to establish libraries in churches and other gathering places in the rural communities.

The Councils on Human Relations offer perhaps one of the most promising outlets, although generally these would not reach into rural areas. There are now 10 staffed State Councils in the region and well over 100 local councils. Many of these would respond eagerly to the opportunity of setting up reading centers or of placing books in logical places which already exist. In some instances it is likely that this would create long term programs for these local inter-racial groups and it might well serve to place them in closer relationship with the slum areas of their communities.

Some consideration should be given to the idea of supplying field workers with kits very much like your idea of kits for Vista volunteers. SNCC has a number of these workers, of course. Periodically SCLC does also. Four of the State Councils now have full time persons working exclusively in

rural areas. Next summer we hope to have perhaps 100 college students working in rural and urban self-help and voter education programs. There are others. In every instance it would seem of value to have these people as part of the distribution mechanism.

Some consideration should be given to placing selected titles in the libraries of elementary and high schools. Many of these schools, rural and urban, Negro and White - as you know - have very inadequate libraries or none at all. In some instances I believe we could even get the cooperation of state and local school boards for a program such as this. (See the enclosed newspaper clipping.) These schools also would be appropriate places to experiment with the idea of book ownership and the idea of disseminating information to adults thru school children.

Finally, there are many Head-Start programs and programs of a similar nature privately sponsored and financed. As a part of this there are a growing number of nurseries and day care centers for the children of working mothers. In some of the self-help programs, day care centers are the first thing requested by local people. These, too, would be natural outlets for books and might add a whole new dimension to many of these places which are most often simply places for children to stay without organized programs or trained leadership.

All of these ideas, of course, require considerably more thought. Perhaps there should also be some experimentation before any major committment is made.

File
Fund for Advancement of Education

via air mail

February 28, 1966

Mr. John Scanlon
Secretary-Treasurer
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

Enclosed is the revised proposal. I trust the additions are adequate for your purposes. Please let us know if you need additional information.

We are grateful for your interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure --1.

A Proposal to the Fund for the Advancement of Education
from the
Southern Regional Council

February 23, 1966

- : -

We propose a limited, experimental project in the distribution of paper back books to persons who would otherwise not have access to sufficient or adequate reading materials or to the concept of book ownership. These programs will be developed in close cooperation with several state and local councils on human relations, other local groups such as neighborhood community centers and day nurseries and regional groups such as Books for Equal Education. For this purpose we request consideration of a grant of $25,000 to be used over a period of approximately one year.

While they have been devised after considerable thought and consultation with others, it is important to note that all of the programs described in this request are experimental in nature and some of them may not prove to be effective. We have, however, included only those programs which seem to us to have the greatest likelihood of success. For this reason we believe a limited one-year program is desirable. Thereafter, we would appreciate an opportunity to discuss with the Fund the possibility of continuation and expansion of the best of the projects after the results are known.

Proposal - 2.
Fund for the Advancement of Education
February 23, 1966

In brief summary, the Southern Regional Council would arrange for the purchase of books and for their distribution. We have reason to believe books can be purchased on a wholesale basis with assistance from a regional distributor directly and the paper back publishers indirectly. (We have explored this with Mr. Edward Elson, President, Atlanta News Agency who assures us of his cooperation in title selection, lot purchases, warehouse facilities and in distribution assistance. In fact, Mr. Elson, who is very sympathetic to this project, promises us books at "below wholesale" costs.)

Having made known this program to the appropriate persons and agencies, the Council would invite requests for books, evaluate the programs outlined in the requests, respond to those which seemed most promising, make a reasonable effort to determine that programs were operated as outlined, and attempt to determine the results of the several project approaches.

We would not undertake programs with the idea of their being an ongoing part of the Council's operation. Nor would we assume the Fund's interest in support would be permanent or long-term. Rather, we would seek the objectives of: (1) initiating programs which would be adopted and possibly expanded by other appropriate agencies, especially

public ones; (2) involve local groups in this area of concern, giving them a direct exposure to the disadvantaged of their community through these specific program approaches; and, (3) providing certain -- sometimes technical -- materials to programs which now exist and can be enhanced through this service.

Of the funds requested we anticipate the use of $20,000 for the purchase of approximately 40,000 volumes and the remaining $5,000 used in the distribution of these books and other SRC overhead costs. We do not anticipate a significant "overhead" charge for the Council.

While we would hope not to be limited to them should other opportunities arise, the specific projects we would like to develop are:

(1) Establishing, or increasing the volumes in already established, elementary and high school libraries. While we do not see this as a major purpose of this program, it is an important one. Many public schools, particularly Negro ones, are without libraries. It would, we believe, be a valuable beginning to establish such libraries, no matter how small. The cost would not be prohibitive. We are told, for instance, that "pre-packs"

of one hundred selected classics is available for approximately $40.00. These schools, and predominately white schools as well, also need specific titles such as works on the Negro in American history, appropriate children's books, and books designed to encourage reading for those not likely to do so. This program would be developed in communities where there is a local group willing to participate on a long-term basis. In part, we see this as a means of getting an adult group interested in a school library, its establishment or enrichment, and having an ongoing program of providing volunteer services, other books or resources, or whatever help a private adult group can offer in these situations.

(2) Provide books for tutorial programs and cultural enrichment programs. There are many of these programs. For instance, the East Alabama Council on Human Relations has a cultural enrichment program in Macon and Lee Counties of Alabama for approximately 300 children in 5 small rural schools. Here, using public

school facilities after hours, children are exposed to art, music, and reading. Providing books, for in-program use and for ownership, would assist the purposes of this program considerably.

(3) Provide volumes for neighborhood libraries in city slums and community libraries in rural areas. This is conceived in the "store-front" library pattern in cooperation with local groups who have programs already in progress in city slums or rural isolated areas. Such groups might include the Community Improvement Association of West Jacksonville, (Florida), the Pearl City Civic League of Boca Raton, (Florida), the new volunteer library being started on Daufuskie Island, (South Carolina), Franklinton Community Center of Bricks (North Carolina), or the Coosa County Improvement Association (Alabama). While the "libraries" would be semi-formal in the traditional sense of operating a library, they would be manned by volunteers, be a part of a larger program, and no great

concern would be given to the return of books. It would not be a deliberate purpose of this project but we can imagine that in some instances public library branches would follow from this beginning. We have seen such a development in one rural area of South Carolina.

(4) Supply books for day-care centers. There are a number of privately sponsored day-care centers throughout the region, some of them no more than lay-operated places for children to stay for long hours while mothers work. In Auburn and Decatur, Alabama we know of day-care centers, each serving about 30 children of working mothers. There is such a center in rural Lynwood, Georgia and a center in the Atlanta slums, Vine City Day-Care Center serves some 30 children and is making plans to expand to handle about 100 children. Good children's books, coloring books, and the like, would be a valuable addition to these programs. Some attention might also be given to providing the workers in these centers with books on child care and similar

subjects and experimentation could be done in book ownership and in sending books home to parents.

(5) Four of the state councils on Human relations now have Rural Advancement Project directors. These full-time staff persons could find many opportunities to place books in rural community centers, schools, and homes. We would like to make volumes available to these persons and others engaged in similar work in the more isolated parts of the region.

The state councils on human relations would be the major agencies for the development of these programs outlined above though we would be interested in supporting such programs with any appropriate local or regional group. The Council has a Community Organization Project and a Voter Education Project, both of which will be concerned with work with programs where it would be appropriate to make use of this requested resource. ("How-to-do-it books and basic books in government and politics could be provided, for example.) And, several of the national agencies with whom we cooperate have indicated an interest in assisting this program.

Proposal - 8.
Fund for the Advancement of Education
February 28, 1966

We are excited about the possibilities of such an experimental program. Aside from the primary anticipated results of cultural enrichment through the books, we see this as an excellent opportunity to involve more advantaged indididuals and groups with the disadvantaged and their problems. It might also help to awaken communities to other opportunities; many states and counties in the South have made no attempt to take advantage of the Library Services Act, for example. These side benefits could, in the long run, be as valuable as the direct results of the program.

We are grateful for the Fund's consideration of this proposal and should further information be desired we would appreciate an opportunity to provide it.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Fund for Advancement of Education

REGARDING

Paperbacks Project

See letter of 3/14/66 from Leslie Dunbar to
Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University, New York

DATE

3/14/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Above letter filed in Field Foundation

Rec'd 4/4/66 cc: PHA - 4/5/66

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

(1)

JOHN J. SCANLON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to inform you that the Fund for the Advancement of Education is making a six-month grant of $25,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for an experiment designed to encourage the reading and ownership of pleasurable books by disadvantaged children and adults in several communities where the Southern Regional Council is active through its state and local councils on human relations.

This grant is based on the discussions we have had over the past two months, and specifically on the proposal you submitted to the Fund on February 28, 1966.

It is our understanding that the experiment will involve the following, among other activities:

1. Establishing elementary and high school libraries in several disadvantaged schools which do not have such libraries, and increasing the library holdings of similar schools which now have inadequate libraries--especially in communities where there is a local group willing to participate on a long-term basis.

2. Providing books for tutorial programs and cultural enrichment programs in small rural areas, such as the one being conducted by the East Alabama Council on Human Relations in Macon and Lee Counties.

3. Providing books for neighborhood libraries in urban slum areas and community libraries in rural areas.

4. Providing books for privately sponsored day-care centers, such as the ones in Auburn and Decatur, Alabama, which serve children of working mothers.

5. Equipping Rural Advancement Project directors with books they can place in rural community centers, schools, and homes.

It is also our understanding that the experiment will be carried out in close cooperation with state and local councils on human relations, with other local groups such as neighborhood community centers and day nurseries, and with regional groups such as Books for Equal Education.

Funds under this grant may be used for the purchase of books and costs relating to their distribution. No part of the grant funds may be used for costs that are a part of the normal operating budget of the Southern Regional Council.

It is our practice to request for our records a statement of expenditures under such grants, and we would appreciate an accounting as near the completion of the program as is convenient. Any money under this grant not necessary or employed for the purposes of the grant should be returned to the Fund at the conclusion of this project.

We should also like, at the conclusion of the project, a brief summary of activities under this grant and an appraisal of the program.

We have your tax exemption certificate on file and, unless we hear from you otherwise, will assume that it is in full force and effect.

It is the Fund's usual policy not to make any public announcement of its grants, but rather to leave this to the grantee. However, in this instance the Fund proposes to make an exception and to announce this grant, together with several other similar grants, on April 17th, the first day of National Library Week. If you wish to give additional publicity to the grant, after the Fund announcement, we would have no objection, but we would appreciate having an advance copy of any publicity release you may make, so that we may check any reference to the Fund.

March 31, 1966

Payment of this grant will be made in one installment in the near future.

We are pleased to provide this assistance in support of an experiment which gives promise of enriching the educational experience of disadvantaged children and adults in the South.

Sincerely,

John J. Scanlon

John J. Scanlon

April 4, 1966

file

Mr. John Scanlon
Secretary-Treasurer
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Scanlon:

Thank you for the welcomed news of the six-month grant of $25,000 to the Southern Regional Council.

We note the conditions of the grant and shall abide by them. Shortly after the completion of the project we shall provide the Fund with a program and financial accounting.

The Council makes no public announcements of grants received. We do think your plans to announce these programs in cooperation with National Library Week are very sound. Please know that we are deeply grateful for this support and for the program it will make possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

April 7, 1966

Mr. Clifford V. Walsh
Assistant Treasurer
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Walsh:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Fund's contribution of $25,000 to the Southern Regional Council. We note the conditions of the grant as set forth in Mr. Scanlon's letter of March 31 and shall abide by them.

Please know we are deeply grateful for this assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

copy of original ltr. to RHA -

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

6

April 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

4-5-66 rh

Enclosed is a check for $25,000 drawn to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for payment of the grant for an experiment designed to encourage the reading and ownership of pleasurable books by disadvantaged children and adults in several communities where the Southern Regional Council is active through its state and local councils on human relations, as set forth in Mr. Scanlon's letter of March 31, 1966.

Will you please acknowledge receipt of this check at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford V. Walsh

Clifford V. Walsh
Assistant Treasurer

Enclosure

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

REGARDING

PROPOSAL

Letter from Clifford V. Walsh, Fund For The Advancement of Education regarding enclosure of $25,000 dated April 4, 1966. Letter from P. A. to Mr. Walsh of April 7 acknowledging receipt of $25,000

DATE

April 7, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See PROJECT FOR LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

MEMORANDUM DATE 4/14/66

TO: Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: JOHN J. SCANLON

Paul:

Attached are copies of the Fund press release regarding the book grants.

John

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

477 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

For Release:
Morning Papers
Thursday, April 21

For Further Information:
See Attachment A

NEW YORK, April 20 -- The Fund for the Advancement of Education, established by the Ford Foundation, today announced grants totalling $486,500 for a series of experiments designed to encourage the reading and ownership of pleasurable books by disadvantaged children and adults.

"We are pleased that these grants coincide with the observance of National Library Week," said Fund President Clarence Faust, "because their primary aim is to stimulate reading for enjoyment. The books involved in these experiments are not textbooks, or school books. They are the kind of books one reads for pleasure."

The largest grant, amounting to $200,000 was made to Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA), the domestic equivalent of the Peace Corps. VISTA has more than 2,000 volunteer workers scattered throughout the country, offering various kinds of help to disadvantaged Americans These volunteers are working in urban slums, in poverty-stricken rural areas, on Indian reservations, in migrant worker camps, in Job Corps centers -- wherever there are disadvantaged people in need of help. They work with people of all ages, ranging from pre-school children to the elderly.

The Fund grant will enable VISTA to equip its volunteers with portable libraries, complete with lightweight containers that can double as display racks and carrying cases. The titles in each "library" will vary according to the needs of the people the volunteer is working with. VISTA has engaged consultants from the National Book Committee to prepare advisory lists, but there will be maximum participation by the volunteers themselves in making the selections. It is hoped that books will be in the hands of the volunteers by the end of the summer.

Another major grant, amounting to $158,000, was made to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, for the purpose of establishing small libraries of high-quality paperback books at predominantly Negro colleges and Universities. More than a hundred institutions -- public and private, junior and senior -- are participating in this experiment. Each will receive an allotment of funds sufficient to purchase a collection of paperbacks roughly equivalent in size to a ratio of one book per student. (NOTE TO EDITORS: See Attachment B for a list of the participating institutions and the amount of the allotments.)

A twelve-member committee of faculty members, librarians, and student leaders from the participating institutions has prepared an advisory list of some 1,800 titles, from which each college or university -- through a similarly-constituted committee -- will make its own selections. The list ranges widely over poetry, drama, fiction, art, music, religion, philosophy, history, biography, and other fields, and includes well over a hundred books by Negro authors.

The Southern Association is arranging for the purchase and delivery of the books. When they arrive on the individual campuses, they will not be processed as

"library" books. They will not be catalogued in, they will not be put in the stacks, and they will not be checked out in the usual manner. They will be made readily accessible to the students, either in a special corner of the library, or in the dormitories, or in the student center. They will be loaned out on the honor system, with the understanding that a student must return a borrowed book before he can take out another. On many of the campuses, the student government will be responsible for operating the experiment, with the help of faculty advisors or the college librarian.

The other grants were as follows:

* $50,000 to the North Carolina State Board of Education, to provide each child participating in the state-wide Comprehensive School Improvement Project with a pleasurable book of his own choosing. Approximately 17,000 children in 192 schools throughout the state will receive books under the Fund grant. Each child will make his own selection from advisory lists which have been prepared by the Children's Services Division of the American Library Association and the Library and Instructional Materials staff of the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction.

* Grants totalling $26,000 to equip more than 300 small, isolated, rural schools in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah with special "libraries" of children's books. Most of the 17,000 youngsters who attend these schools do not have access to books that are fun to read. The schools which will receive the "libraries" are participating in the Western States Small Schools Project, which is financed in part by the Ford Foundation.

* A grant of $10,500 to provide each child participating in the Nashville (Tenn.) Educational Improvement Project with a pleasurable book of his own choosing. Approximately 2,600 youngsters in eight Nashville schools will receive books under this grant. Each of the eight schools has established a "reading nook" for parents, and the Fund grant also will cover the cost of equipping each of these reading nooks with a collection of paperback books and popular magazines.

* A grant of $12,000 to establish special "libraries" of pleasurable books for the use of students participating in Project Opportunity, an eight-state experiment in the South designed to offer special help to talented but disadvantaged junior high school students who hope to go to college. Approximately 3,000 students in twelve schools -- located in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia -- are participating in the experiment this year. These students will be given special help through their junior and senior high school years, and the Fund grant will add a new dimension to their educational experience. Project Opportunity is sponsored by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, with financial help from the Ford Foundation.

* A grant of $25,000 to the Southern Regional Council to finance a series of experiments in the South that will involve providing books for "neighborhood" libraries in urban slum areas, for community libraries in rural areas, for privately-sponsored child day care centers, and for school libraries in disadvantaged areas where children do not have access to books that are fun to read.

* A grant of $5,000 to the National Book Committee in partial support of a conference on "Children and Books in a Changing World." This conference, to be

held on May 19 and 20 at Tarrytown, New York, will bring together a small group of book editors and educators for a discussion of how books can best meet the changing needs of children, especially the culturally deprived. It is to be co-sponsored by the National Book Committee, the American Book Publishers Council, the Children's Book Council, and the International Reading Association.

Attachment A

NOTE TO EDITORS:

Further information about these grants can be obtained from the following sources:

For Information About:	Call:
1. The Fund for the Advancement of Education 477 Madison Avenue New York, N. Y.	John J. Scanlon, Secretary-Treasurer Area Code 212 751-2900
2. VISTA 1200 Nineteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.	Edward O'Hara, Public Affairs Area Code 202 382-3143
3. (Paperbacks for Predominantly Negro Colleges) Southern Association of Colleges and Schools 795 Peachtree Street Atlanta, Georgia	John Codwell, Associate Director Area Code 404 875-9543
4. North Carolina School Improvement Project State Department of Public Instruction Education Building Raleigh, North Carolina	Woodrow Sugg, Director Area Code 919 829-3541
5. Nashville Education Improvement Project Fisk University, Box 872 Nashville, Tennessee	N. A. Crippens, Director Area Code 615 242-1948
6. (Books for Project Opportunity Schools) Southern Association of Colleges and Schools 795 Peachtree Street Atlanta, Georgia	Dorothy Bunyan, Associate Director Area Code 404 875-9543
7. Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Paul Anthony, Director Area Code 404 522-8764
8. Western States Small Schools Project 211 East Third South Street Salt Lake City, Utah	Rowan C. Stutz, Coordinator Area Code 801 328-5377
9. National Book Committee One Park Avenue New York, N. Y.	Peter S. Jennison, Director Area Code 212 689-8620

Attachment B

Allotments to Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities

For Purchase of Paperback Books

STATE	COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	ALLOTMENT
ALABAMA	Alabama A & M	$ 2,209
	Alabama State	2,280
	Daniel Payne	677
	Miles College	1,300
	Oakwood College	677
	Stillman College	819
	Talladega College	677
	Tuskegee Institute	3,562
ARKANSAS	Arkansas M & N	3,562
	Philander Smith	855
	Shorter College	677
DELAWARE	Delaware State College	1,087
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	D. C. Teachers College	1,906
	Howard University	10,438
FLORIDA	Bethune-Cookman College	1,247
	Edward Waters	1,265
	Florida A & M	4,417
	Florida Memorial	677
	Hampton Junior College	677
	Rosenwald Junior College	677
	Suwanee	677
GEORGIA	Albany State College	1,781
	Atlanta University	1,158
	Clark College	1,246
	Fort Valley State	2,102
	Morehouse College	1,104
	Morris Brown College	1,336
	Paine College	677
	Savannah State	1,852
	Spelman College	962
KENTUCKY	Kentucky State College	1,870

LOUISIANA	Dillard University	1,140
	Grambling College	4,489
	Southern University	8,194
	Xavier University	1,265
MARYLAND	Bowie State College	891
	Coppin State	677
	Maryland State	1,104
	Morgan State	4,560
MISSISSIPPI	Alcorn A & M	2,547
	Coahoma Junior College	980
	Jackson State	2,921
	Mary Holmes	677
	Mississippi Industrial	677
	Mississippi Valley State	2,850
	Natchez Junior College	677
	Piney Woods Country	677
	Prentiss N & I	677
	Rust College	677
	T. J. Harris	677
	Tougaloo Southern	676
	Utica Junior College	677
MISSOURI	Lincoln University	2,405
NORTH CAROLINA	A & T College	4,702
	Barber-Scotia	677
	Bennett College	908
	Elizabeth City State	1,336
	Fayetteville State	1,514
	Johnson C. Smith	1,389
	Livingstone	1,015
	N. C. at Durham	3,847
	St. Augustine's	1,122
	Shaw University	1,033
	Winston-Salem State	1,710
OHIO	Central State	2,779
	Wilberforce University	802
OKLAHOMA	Langston University	1,692
PENNSYLVANIA	Cheyney State	2,048
	Lincoln University	873

SOUTH CAROLINA	Allen University	1,015
	Benedict	1,532
	Claflin	944
	Friendship	677
	Mather	677
	Morris	695
	South Carolina State	2,850
	Voorhees	677
TENNESSEE	Fisk University	1,372
	Knoxville College	1,211
	Lane College	1,015
	Lemoyne	855
	Morristown	677
	Owen	677
	Tennessee A & I	6,787
TEXAS	Bishop College	1,657
	Huston-Tillotson	855
	Jarvis-Christian	677
	Paul Quinn	677
	Prairie View A & M	4,257
	St. Philip's	1,193
	Texas College	677
	Texas Southern University	5,682
	Tyler District College	3,188
	Wiley College	784
VIRGINIA	Hampton Institute	2,814
	St. Paul's	677
	Virginia State	3,634
	Virginia Seminary	677
	Virginia Union	1,781
WEST VIRGINIA	Bluefield State	1,297
	West Virginia State	3,634

See College Entrance Exam. Bd.
Cr. ref.
Fund for the Advancement of Educ.

May 10, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
Executive Director
College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Enclosed, finally, is Doris Reed's proposal. To my amazement, she has been very reluctant to finish this. I think it is probably because she almost dreaded putting into words a hope that she realizes may well not materialize.

I have, however, insisted that she do this herself, and the enclosed represents her work.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

A PROPOSAL
to the
Fund for the Advancement of Education

May 10, 1966

Submitted by: (Mrs.) Boris Reed

I attended Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia, for 2½ years. My major field of concentration was elementary general education. After graduating from Morris Brown I plan to enter Atlanta University graduate school to obtain a master's degree in education on the elementary level.

In the future, my desire is to work with the preschool child who has just entered kindergarten. I believe that peaceful race and race relations are better established when the child is taught tolerance and respect for his fellow man at an early age. There are several white families now living in the predominantly Negro Vine City area where I reside, and several evenings a week Negro and white children gather together to work, play, or study.

I am a member of the Vine City Community Council, a neighborhood organization composed of residents of Vine City. These people are concerned about their children and their neighborhood, and it is through this council that the fellowship of children was initiated. The chairman of this organization is a white man, Hector Black, who has just purchased a home and has been living in the area for over a year. The downstairs of this house has been converted

into offices, a meeting room, and a recreation room.

I have discovered that the children, both black and white, learn more rapidly when they are in the same surroundings as their story book friends. We have obtained an integrated text book, A Day With Debbie, donated to us by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), one of the civil rights organizations headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Whenever a nasty remark is made about another whether it is about race or religion, the children immediately defend their playmates because they live, study, work, and play together.

The preschooler responds more rapidly because he has not had the chance to really be taught racial or religious prejudice. I feel the hope of our country and the salvation of our youth, both black and white, lies with the children, the ones that are yet too young to hate. This is my life's ambition -- to work with these children and watch love and understanding grow through them.

If I have an opportunity to return to college for my degree, I would like also to help establish and work in a kindergarten-type program especially designed for these children of a slum neighborhood. My formal classwork and this neighborhood work would fit together very well.

To achieve this goal I respectfully request $8,650.00 for a period of approximately eighteen months. (I have three semesters of college work to complete for my undergraduate degree.)

These funds are needed as follows:

Estimated tuition (Morris Brown College)	$1,050	
Living expenses (@ $300 per month for 18 months)	5,400	
Equipment and materials for preschool program	400	
Monthly additional costs for materials, food and other items for preschool program (@ $100 per month).....	1,800	$8,650.00

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

REGARDING

Thank you letter for Mrs. Reed's proposal.
Ltr. from Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

DATE

5-11=66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

College Entrance Examination Board

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

REGARDING

PAPERBACK BOOK DISTRIBUTION REPORT

Introduction, How The Books Will Be Distributed, What Books Are Available, etc.

DATE

5/19/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC PROJECTS - PAPERBACK BOOK DISTRIBUTION PROJECT

Rec'd 10/20/66
File
Send for the Advancement of Education.

Answered by Phone

MS - file

Leadership Fellows Program
Room 571
805 Peachtree Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
October 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Enclosed are several copies of the Program announcement. Now that we have the official word, we're trying to get it out.

Things up in New York are going through transition I hear; you must get around more that way than I. There has been no reaction yet to the loosening of purse strings to help the people you are primarily worried about. It takes big machines a long time to get started; I guess all we can do is keep pushing.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dotty H.

Hassfeld

October, 1966

THE LEADERSHIP FELLOWS PROGRAM

A new experimental project
supported by
The Fund for the Advancement of Education

The Fund for the Advancement of Education, established in 1951 by the Ford Foundation to work in the field of education, is pleased to announce the Leadership Fellows Program, a new experimental project aimed at developing young leaders in education.

The intent of the project is to identify and develop individuals -- classroom teachers and other public servants in educationally-related positions -- who show promise of ability to exercise leadership in education during the next quarter of a century. While there is no ceiling on the age of candidates for this project, priority will be given to those under thirty-five years of age. In addition, special attention will be given to candidates who are working in situations where opportunities for fellowships, leaves of absence, etc., are limited.

Initially the project will focus on the identification and development of individuals from two regions of the country: one region will include small city and rural county areas in Georgia; the other region, northern New England, will include the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine.

The kind of person to be considered is someone making a significant contribution to education in his own school and community at

the present time; someone who is looked upon as a leader, either formally by position or informally by deeds. This may be a school person concerned with such areas as instruction, curriculum, guidance and counseling, exceptional children, school-parent-community relationships. Or this may be a community worker who has found ways and means to rally local community leaders in support of education or who has found ways to make effective use of lay talent in the formal education setting.

Once selected, the Fellows would be supported for a full year of educational experiences related to the development of their own educational leadership talents. The year may be spent in a variety of ways. For example, it may take the form of working with an outstanding scholar, public official, researcher, or leader in some form of educational activity; it may consist of travel, observation and writing; it may be self-initiated and self-directed study at a university or other educational institution; or the year's experience may be a combination of some or all of these activities. The expected consequences of these experiences would be that they contribute to the individual's effectiveness and promise when he returns to his community and to his work. Where warranted, some form of assistance may be awarded to the Fellow to aid him in his activities upon his return.

The amount of the awards will vary depending on the nature of the experiences and the cost of maintenance of the individual and his family. To the extent possible each award will be custom-tailored for each Fellow. In all cases, the Fund will make the award directly to the recipient.

Persons to be considered for these awards can be self-nominated or can be suggested by others by writing to the Fund regional program representative in the appropriate region. These letters should include a brief description of the candidate's work and the special concerns he has about it, as well as some idea of how the award might help him carry out his aspirations for improving education.

All candidates will be contacted by a program representative of the project. At some point, many of the persons nominated will be screened personally through interview and discussion. During this period, the program representative will help the candidate assess his plans for the use of the year which would help develop his leadership promise and abilities.

Individuals in the final phase of consideration will meet with a panel of advisors from their region. These advisors will be persons with a keen interest in the improvement of educational opportunities in that region. At this level the determination of awards will be made.

Program representatives will maintain close touch with the Fellows during their award year and will maintain these contacts after the Fellows return to their work.

Edward J. Meade, Jr., Program Associate of the Fund staff, will be responsible for the overall direction of the project. Special consultative services will be given by Ben W. Gibson, Jr., Assistant Director of the College Entrance Examination Board.

In northern New England, the regional program representative is Henry P. Briggs, Jr. Mr. Briggs was formerly Director of Freshman Scholarships at Harvard University, and has been a public school teacher. The address of the regional office in northern New England is:

Leadership Fellows Program
158 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
Tel: (Area Code 617) 547-2578

The regional program representative for the Georgia region is Miss Dorothy Hassfeld. Miss Hassfeld was formerly associated with the Southern Education Foundation and prior to that served as a member of the Peace Corps in Nigeria. The address of the regional office in Georgia is:

Leadership Fellows Program
Room 571
805 Peachtree Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
Tel: (Area Code 404) 876-3779

Specific nominations and inquiries should be made directly to the regional program representatives. Inquiries of a general nature about the overall experimental project should be directed to Edward J. Meade, Jr., The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 477 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

* * * * *

File - foundations
Fund for the
Advancement of Ed

November 28, 1966

Mr. John Scanlon
Secretary-Treasurer
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Scanlon:

This is to give you an interim report on our development of the Paperback Book Project supported by the Fund, and to get some reaction from you, if possible, as to our timing.

We have found the development of this project to be somewhat more time consuming than we had anticipated. The development of adequate bibliography of books to be made available has been a very time consuming process. For instance, it has also taken longer than we expected to inform local groups of this resource and to work out details with them.

Other than this time factor, we are very pleased with the way the project has been going. Through the Atlanta News Agency we worked out a very good system by which we purchase the books at wholesale cost (and in a few instances below wholesale cost) and in which the Atlanta News Agency packs and ships all of the requested books for us. This has been done at a unit cost of some 40¢ to 50¢ for most of the volumes purchased and will give us, I think, a very high ratio of cost to books in circulation. To date, we have provided books

37 organizations and agencies in eight southern states. A total of 32,672 books have been shipped. The Atlanta News Agency is considerably less efficient in billing us than they are in handling our orders but we believe that approximately $15,000 has been expended.

In continuation of the project, we are now negotiating with an additional 27 organizations for book shipments.

In your letter of March 31, announcing the grant, you indicated this was to be a six month project. This, therefore, is our primary concern at this moment. Should we rapidly complete this program and attempt an evaluation of it, or may we continue somewhat at the present level of distribution with the understanding that we would hope to have these funds expended around the first of the year, and begin immediately thereafter to do an evaluation of the effectiveness of the project.

I was enthusiastic about this idea when it was presented, and am even more so at this point. As our final report will show, in a number of instances we have been able to develop programs, promote the idea of libraries, and perhaps most important give much needed supplement to projects and programs already under way. The project has one other advantage to which I am particularly attracted. Namely, for very little money in each instance a substantial amount has been accomplished.

I would be grateful for your reaction to any of the above, but particularly to any guidance you may be able to offer. on timing of projects.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Interim Report of the Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council

We have received book orders from 37 organizations. They have requested a total of 32,672 books. The Atlanta News Agency is collecting and shipping these orders and has billed the Southern Regional Council for only a part of this total. The attached sheet shows the expenditures up to November 11, 1966, and the remaining funds.

Here are the 37 organizations:

11 State Councils on Human Relations

Greene County Community House (Southern Rural Action Project)
Eutaw, Alabama

Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Toulminville Methodist Church Youth Center, Study Hall, and Tutorial Program
Mobile, Alabama

Mobile Council on Human Relations Library
Mobile, Alabama

Head Start Lee County
Auburn, Alabama

Selma Inter-Religious Project
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Jones High School
North Little Rock, Arkansas

St. Francis County Achievement Committee
Forrest City, Arkansas

West Jacksonville Association for a Better Community, Inc.
Jacksonville, Florida

Florida Council on Human Relations-VISTA Study Hall, Tutorial Program
Miami, Florida

Wilder Park Neighborhood Center
Jacksonville, Florida

Hancock County Community Center (Southern Rural Action Project)
Sparta, Georgia

Technical Rural Agriculture Project
Thomasville, Georgia

Vine City Council Adult and Children's Tutorials and Thrift Shop
Atlanta, Georgia

Project UPWARD BOUND, Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Upward Bound Program, Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

West End Neighborhood Service Center Special Drama Project
Atlanta, Georgia

S.H. Dunlap Elementary School
Thomasville, Georgia

Georgia Council on Human Relations Cobb County Reading Program
Cobb County and Marietta, Georgia

Ad Hoc Committee for a Freedom Library
Opelousas, Louisiana

Youth Educational Services
Durham, North Carolina

SPEED-UP
Columbia, South Carolina

South Street Community Center
Nashville, Tennessee

L.B.J. and C. Development Corporation-VISTA Tutorial Program
Monterey, Tennessee

North Nashville Project
Nashville, Tennessee

Schuyler Elementary School
Schuyler, Virginia

We are presently corresponding with 23 prospects.

SHEET NO. _____ ACCOUNT NO. 30.9

TERMS NAME Project for Library Development

RATING ADDRESS

CREDIT LIMIT

Receipts

1-5109

DATE 19 66	ITEMS	FOL.	✓	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE
	Fund for the Advancement of Education				25000—	
	Disbursements					
	Atlanta News Agency			370990		
	Consultant Fee			100—		
	Travel Expenses			4392		
	Total ~~Expe~~ Disbursements				38382	
	Balance, November 11, 1966				2114618	

file

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

file

JOHN J. SCANLON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

December 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter of November 28 about the Paperback Book Project.

I am delighted to hear that you have made substantial progress, and I am glad to grant your request for an extension of the grant period. This letter will serve as an authorization for extension of the grant period until March 31, 1967.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

file

January 31, 1967

Mr. John Scanlon
Director
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear John:

On Tuesday and Wednesday, February 7th and 8th, I will be in New York. During the course of this time I would very much appreciate an opportunity to talk with you briefly about our paperback book project. On Tuesday morning I will call your office to determine if this is possible.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

D R A F T

February 13, 1967

Mr. Frank Bowles
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Bowles:

As you know the Fund for the Advancement of Education made a grant to the Southern Regional Council of $25,000 for experimentation and redistribution of paperback books. At the time we requested this grant we were very interested in having an opportunity to develop this program and felt there was a need for it. We were not, however, prepared for the success of the project nor for the chain reaction of programs it sparked. Enclosed are several letters which will give you some feeling of some of these developments. We could sight a number of other instances of the way in which this project has stimulated local programs. For example, a group originally organized to encourage voting will be using books on community improvement, political education, and American history. Several community centers which have health, family and vocational training programs will be using books which cover these subjects. In Mobile, Alabama a library has been established for a poor school and a local group - they have made arrangements for study hall quarters in the evening for children who need a desirable atmosphere in which to study. They are proceeding to secure other books such as encyclopedias for this center. Amazingly the chief librarian at the Mississippi Department of Education learned libraries were being established in several poor schools in that state. She immediately sent out an urgent bulletin to every school in the state suggesting that they immediately request books for this purpose from the Southern Regional Council!

D R A F T

IIrealize it is inappropriate to request renewal of this grant from the Fund. However, I also understand there is a special sum of money that remains for precedential grants. This is to respectfully request your consideration of a precedential grant of $10,000 to enable us to fund some particularly appealing requests which we now have on hand and to have a modest continutation of this program during the course of the year. Eventually we would hope to be able to review the results of approximately 3 years of operation of the program and determine whether or not we should seek substantial support elsewhere for it. I

I can well imagine the demands made upon you for the modest remaining funds and am reluctant to add this one. I do feel strongly, however, that it is essential that we maintain the interest and take advantage of the which has been generated by this project and that it is urgent that we continue our experimentation in this area until such time as we can determine its real value and the need for continuation.

Please know we are most grateful for the interest and support of the Fund and for any consideration you can give to this request.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Fund for Advancement of Ed.

March 9, 1967

Mr. Frank Bowles
President
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Bowles:

As you know, the Fund for the Advancement of Education made a grant of $25,000 to the Southern Regional Council for experimentation in the distribution of paperback books.

At the time we requested this grant we were interested in developing this program and felt there was a need for it. We were not, however, prepared for the success of the project, nor for the chain reaction sparked by it. Enclosed are copies of several letters which will give you some feeling of these developments.

We could cite a number of other instances of the success of this program and the way in which it has stimulated larger programs. A

group originally organized to encourage voting will be using books for community improvement and civic education. In Mobile, a library has been established for a school in a poor neighborhood; the local sponsors have added a substantial number of volumes beyond those provided by us and an evening study hall has been established for children who need an adequate place for study. In Mayesville, South Carolina, an entire community organization effort is being sparked by the receipt of several hundred paperback books.

Significant reading and book ownership programs have been established for the first time in several juvenile detention homes.

Some fifty local groups in 10 states have received approximately 58,000 books under this project. Enclosed is a summary report of this distribution.

I realize it is inappropriate to request renewal of this grant. However, I understand there is a modest special sum that remains for presidential grants. This is to respectfully request your consideration of a grant of $10,000 to enable us to fund some particularly appealing requests which we now have on hand, and to continue the program into the summer. Thereafter, we would hope to review the results and determine whether or not substantial support should be sought from some other sources.

I can well imagine the demands made upon you for the remaining funds which are at your disposal, and am reluctant to add this one. It is done only because of our sincere belief of

the value of this program and the need to capitalize on the results to date.

Please know we are most grateful for the interest and support of the Fund, and for any consideration you can give to this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

PAPERBOOK BOOK PROJECT REPORT
Southern Regional Council
March, 1967

The paperback book project is sending books to 50 community groups and schools and the 11 State Council on Human Relations. In addition to various types of tutorial and supervised study hall programs, many of these organizations are using the books as an integral part of other activities under their direction. For example, a group originally organized for the purpose of encouraging voting will be using books on community improvement, political education, and American history (including a large number dealing with the Negro). Several community centers which have health, family, and vocational training programs will be using books which cover these subjects.

The advantage here is one of overcoming the more artifical atmosphere of learning how to read and study in the abstract. Methods like the ones just mentioned would seem to heighten the possibility that the people themselves will make the connection between being able to read and being able to control their lives and enlarge their choices.

Report - 2,
March 1967

The books are in the states of Alabama (7 projects), Arkansas (5 projects), Florida (3 projects), Georgia (16 projects), Louisiana (2 projects), Mississippi (2 projects), North Carolina (5 projects), South Carolina (4 projects), Tennessee (3 projects), and Virginia (3 projects).

The total number of books ordered for these projects is 58,000.

We received 26 requests which we were unable to process because we had used up our funds.

Attached is a list of the projects.

Yale
Fund for Advancement of
Education

March 30, 1967

Mr. G. H. Griffiths
Secretary-Treasurer
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your response to the request sent to Mr. Bowles. While of course we are somewhat disappointed, we were afraid this would be the case.

While any potential source of support is very uncertain at this point, we will give serious thought to seeking funds for a program in the book distribution. Much to my surprise, the results of the first project have become that significant to us.

Early next year I hope we will begin talking with people at Ford Foundation about support for SRC programs after 1968. That will,

of course, involve substantial thinking and evaluation about what we want to continue or propose for new programs, given the opportunity.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

March 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Frank Bowles is currently away from the office and he has asked that I acknowledge your letter of March 9.

First, let me say that all of us are impressed by the very substantial "mileage" you have achieved with the first grant and also with the evidence that has come forward of how much more might be done.

Unfortunately, in the case of the Fund itself, we are entering a period of reduced activity in which virtually all resources are already committed and there is simply no way of funding further activity in the Paperback project.

Whether follow-up activity of one kind or another might be of interest to one of the Program Divisions of the Foundation is a question which may well arise but which has not yet had any real exploration. As you doubtless know, the business of reexamining the present and prospective emphases of various programs is still going on and I suspect it will be a little time yet before all things on all fronts have come into sharp focus.

I am sure that several of us will want to see that your statement and enclosures of March 9 come to the attention of others in the Foundation who might possibly have some interest. If there should be any encouraging developments you will have further word. But, meanwhile, there can be no prospect of Fund support for the reasons indicated.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Griffiths
Secretary-Treasurer

Rec'd 5/16/67

file

file

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

May 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I don't believe I have commented on your letter of April 11th with its enclosure regarding books on Negro history.

I agree with you that it's highly gratifying to note the impact the books distributed have had.

It still seems unlikely that we will be involved in this in any further way - at least not as an internal project. I don't have all the details but I gather some things are developing in Washington with respect to a new national program involving government funds in part. Just what our relationship to this will be, if any, I don't know. However, as things come into sharper focus I will keep in mind your interest.

Meanwhile, many thanks for keeping us informed.

Sincerely yours,

Gil

G. H. Griffiths
Secretary-Treasurer

Juice - Fds
Passed for
Advancement of
Education

LES
mj file

June 28, 1967

Miss Dorothy A. Hassfeld
Regional Program Representative
Leadership Fellows Program
The Fund for the Advancement of
Education
805 Peachtree Building, Room 571
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Dottie:

Thanks for the information about teachers for Northern prep schools. We shall pass it around here and perhaps use it elsewhere. However, I certainly agree with you: it's difficult to encourage good teachers to leave the region.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ES
my file

LEADERSHIP FELLOWS PROGRAM
THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
805 PEACHTREE BUILDING, ROOM 571
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

REGIONAL PROGRAM REPRESENTATIVE

TELEPHONE: (404) 876-3779

June 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Hello:

I promised to pass along the enclosed. I'd hate to see a first rate public school teacher leave the South when we need them so much here. Private schools do not require educational courses however, and it may be a way for a bright young Negro who isn't sure what he wants to do to try teaching. Then maybe we can get him back South.

If you can make use of this material or pass it on to someone who can, it would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy A. Hassfeld
DB

(Miss) Dorothy A. Hassfeld

Encl
The Plan of This Project to Increase the Number of Negro Teachers in Independent Boarding Schools

DAH:rb

THE PLAN OF THIS PROJECT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF NEGRO TEACHERS

IN INDEPENDENT BOARDING SCHOOLS

Our independent schools like to have students and teachers from different sections, nations and cultural backgrounds. They have qualified foreign students, Jewish students, Negro students and qualified teachers, when they can find them, from a variety of nations, religions and cultures.

Limited inquiry has impressed us with the important need for finding qualified Negro teachers, and with the difficulty of finding such men and women based, at least in part, on a lack of communication between the possible teachers and the schools which will accept Negro teachers who meet these schools' standards and needs. By communicating with placement officers, organizations and individuals who may know possible Negro applicants and who, we believe, respect our kinds of schools, we hope to increase communications, and, hopefully, over a few years see more Negro teachers in our schools.

We are developing this project privately with financial help from a foundation and the participating independent Schools. Mr. Atmore has had 30 years' experience at The Choate School.

Negro teachers now teaching at independent schools will be granted short leaves to visit sources of potential, qualified Negro teachers. If you have a suggestion of places where such teachers may interpret their particular jobs to other qualified teachers, we shall welcome your suggestions.

We are not now and will not be in the teacher placement business. We urge you to urge qualified Negro teachers to apply to the schools, and we urge teacher placement officials to encourage qualified Negro applicants for these schools.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Atmore
125 North Elm Street
Wallingford, Connecticut

WE ARE REVISING OUR MAILING LISTS. IF YOU KNOW PEOPLE WHO SHOULD RECEIVE THIS INFORMATION, WILL YOU TELL US? IF YOU REALLY CANNOT USE THIS INFORMATION, WILL YOU TELL US SO WE CAN USE OUR STAMPS ECONOMICALLY?

The schools listed below have asked us to share with you the information they now have about openings for 1967-68.

In independent schools, the quality of the faculty members as persons and as teachers makes the school. Choosing men and women is the biggest task of the head of a school. Available housing necessarily enters into the choice of boarding schools; a school cannot hire a teacher, single or with a family, whom the school cannot house. Many schools find teachers through alumni and parents, from law and business, or other sources besides educational institutions and teachers' agencies. Certification is not a requirement for teaching in most independent schools. Most school obviously have to say no to most of the many applications they receive for the few openings they have. Anyone applying for any job listed below should keep these thoughts in mind.

Name of Independent School	Known Needs for 1967-68
Barlow School - coed boarding Amenia, New York	Spanish, Mathematics, Biology, English Literature combined with Administration
Blair Academy - boys boarding Blairstown, New Jersey	Mathematics (with experience) 2 English - one to be Chairman one for Dramatics Spanish, French, Latin
DeVeaux School - boys boarding Niagara Falls, New York	English - grades 9-12 Possibly French
Friends Academy - coed day, K-12 Locust Valley, L.I., New York	Minimum of two years experience usually required. MA or equivalent desired. First grade and fourth grade Physics - Physical Science 7th and 8th grade Science Latin, also to teach French or German French - grades 9-12 Boys Physical Education - coach wrestling.
George School - coed boarding George School, Bucks County, Pennsylvania	Boys Physical Education, who can also teach one or two academic classes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Gunnery - boys boarding Washington, Connecticut	French and Spanish, but may be filled by time this list is published.
Northfield Schools - girls boarding East Northfield, Massachusetts	PSSC Physics Mathematics - Physics 2 English teachers French History and English History Physical Education - one for games and one for Modern Dance Academic Counselor for 11th grade
Oakwood School - coed boarding Poughkeepsie, New York	Senior English, French, World and American History, Algebra and Geometry, Physics or Chemistry, Religion and Bible. Need single teachers except that there is housing for one married teacher. House mother for girls dormitory. Girls Physical Education and Sports.
Pomfret Schools - boys boarding Pomfret, Connecticut	French Biology
St. Bernard's School - boys day Gladstone, New Jersey	Biology, Mathematics Possibly Modern Language and History
Shipley School - girls boarding and day Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania	Mathematics - high school Part time Music for 4-7
Tilton School - boys boarding Tilton, New Hampshire	Art, and Art History Mathematics, Music Science and Mathematics
Westminster School - boys boarding Simsbury, Connecticut	Latin, 2 History teachers one of which may be a one-year appointment, Mathematics, Foreign Languages, Science.
Westover School - girls boarding Middlebury, Connecticut	French, Spanish

Money and time do not permit us to include all the independent schools who will welcome Negro teachers. For teachers who are interested in geographical locations not listed above, we recommend your consulting Bunting's or Sargent's Directories of Independent Schools.

For those who wish to know more about actual salary arrangements and other benefits (which are many) of independent school teaching, we will send you on request a short summary of rather typical arrangements in rather typical schools. PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE.

Many schools have attractive programs for teacher-training, interneship, and graduate work in connection with nearby universities such as: The MAT Program at Wesleyan University, the Teaching Fellowships at the New Canaan, Connecticut Country School, the Choate-Yale MAT program, and many others.

We spent almost two weeks in late March visiting colleges and universities in Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. We thank the Placement Directors and Professors who welcomed us and helped us to get acquainted with their schools and their students. Although many of the institutions were on vacation, we did have the good fortune to talk with some students. We have received many helpful suggestions which we plan to implement next year, the year of our leave of absence from The Choate School which we plan to devote to intensive work on this project. If you have any suggestions for us we shall be grateful for your counsel.

We are glad to report that we have received more inquiries from teacher candidates this year than in any previous year.

We shall not send out another list like this one until next winter.

From September 15, 1967 until June 15, 1968, you can reach us at 50 Riverside Drive, New York City 10024.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206 10-51

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.	CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Unable to locate Johnson's manuscript which you requested. Will ask Harold Fleming to attend to request on ~~xxxx~~ Monday, Aug. 9.

Katherine Stoney,
Southern Regional Council.

COLLECT

575 Madison
22

YOICKS, YOVICSIN !!! YALE'S YELLOW !!!

MEMORANDUM

TO : All concerned

FROM : Phyllis and John Weiss

SUBJECT : Biennial Sputnik Spree

PLACE : 111 Harrison Avenue
Harrison, New York

TIME : The orbit will cross the source of food and drink between 2100 23 November 1957 and 0830 24 November 1957.

R.S.V.P.

NOTE : All Eli enthusiasts (and Yankee fans) will be permitted to serve themselves at the Geritol bar.

August 28, 1957

Mr. John J. Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement of Education
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

This is a gratuitous note, adding further confirmation of Dean White of the University of Florida. Since those pre-vacation days when we last talked by telephone, I have discussed White with several of our people who have worked with him in one way or another. Their views are unanimously favorable, as to both his personal and his professional qualifications.

I shall look forward to hearing more about that project if it develops.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Invest In Yourself

Veteran and wife complete high school education together

THE OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL

WEST COLUMBIA, S. C.

Summer Session: JULY 6—AUGUST 1, 1948
First Session: SEPTEMBER 7—DECEMBER 2, 1948
Second Session: DECEMBER 3—MARCH 10, 1949
Third Session: MARCH 11—JUNE 3, 1949

Have you ever wished you could:

1. Continue your education?
2. Discover your possibilities?
3. Improve your home surroundings?
4. Fit yourself for promotion?
5. Secure a high school diploma?
6. Develop an effective personality?
7. Understand the American Way of Life?

If So

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE

MISS WIL LOU GRAY

The Opportunity School

WEST COLUMBIA, S. C.

TELEPHONE 4-1995

"To fail to prepare is to prepare to fail."
"Who looks ahead seldom falls behind."

The President of the Student Council confers with the school directors

CALENDAR OF OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL EVENTS

SESSION 1948-1949

SUMMER TERM: JULY 6—AUGUST 1, 1948

JULY	6	Registration, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Opening exercises, 8:00 p.m.
JULY	7	Placement tests and guidance.
JULY	8	Class assignments.
JULY	24	Alumni banquet.
JULY	29	Final tests.
JULY	30	High school examination.
AUG.	1	Commencement sermon, 11:30 a.m. Graduating exercises, 4:00 p.m.
AUG.	2	Dormitories close, 5:00 p.m.

AUTUMN TERM: SEPT. 7—DEC. 2, 1948

SEPT.	7	Registration, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Opening exercises, 8:00 p.m.
SEPT.	8	Placement and guidance tests.
SEPT.	9	Classes begin.
OCT.	28	Holiday, State Fair.
NOV.	24	Thanksgiving holidays begin 1:00 p.m.
DEC.	1	New students register, 9:00 a.m-5 p.m.
DEC.	2	Placement and guidance tests.

WINTER TERM: DEC. 3—MARCH 10, 1949

DEC.	3	Pilgrimage to Columbia. High School Examination.
DEC.	6	Class assignments.
DEC.	17	Christmas holidays begin 1:00 p.m.
JAN.	2	Dormitories open. First meal, supper.
MAR.	9	New students register 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.
MAR.	10	Placement and guidance tests.

SPRING TERM: MARCH 11—JUNE 3, 1949

MAR.	11	Class assignments. High School Examination.
APR.	14	Easter holidays begin, 1:00 p.m. Dining room closed after lunch. Open, supper, 6:00 p.m. April 17.
JUNE	1	Final tests.
JUNE	2	High school examination.
JUNE	3	Commencement.
JUNE	4	Final meal, lunch; dormitories close, 4:00 p.m.

Dormitories will not open until registration dates. Students enrolling for winter and spring terms must register two days before the beginning of the terms.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The Opportunity School is a South Carolina state supported school. Its purpose is to give ambitious adults who do not wish to go to day school and who are not prepared for college an opportunity to study anything they wish in the stimulating atmosphere of a school community. The school offers courses for those:

1. Who were forced out of school before completing their elementary or high school education and who now feel the need for more general education.
2. Who desire to work for a high school certificate or diploma.
3. Who desire to increase their fundamental education while studying at the Trade School.
4. Who are above high school level who now wish a refresher course designed to develop personality, broaden knowledge and enrich experiences all leading to happier and more effective work and life.

The Aim of the School is to teach students how to live, as well as how to make a living. They may work for credit or without credit but are encouraged to take those courses which will make it possible for them to secure a state high school certificate or diploma.

The Faculty consists of teachers selected because of their understanding and special fitness. They live in the same building with the pupils; thus contact between teacher and pupil tends to remove barriers and makes for a democratic exchange of ideas with profit to both. The faculty participates in all activities along with the students, providing stimulating friendships.

Entrance Requirements are based on character and a desire for learning rather than on previous schooling. Pupils must be over sixteen years of age, and have good health, good minds, and clean morals, the one rule being that they are expected to behave as ladies and gentlemen. Only those who are willing to abide by this standard, who are ambitious, cooperative, and wish all round improvement are wanted.

Each Pupil Must Bring a health certificate showing freedom from communicable and infectious diseases, and the following:

Four sheets	One quilt	Six or more towels
Pillow, four cases	Two blankets	Toothbrush
One bed spread	Soap	Other toilet articles

A musical instrument if desired

Mother and veteran son arriving to work for high school diplomas

Discovering the Wonders of Science

School Term The school is open ten months a year—three sessions of three months each (fall, winter and spring), and one session of one month for those who can attend only during vacation. It has been organized in this manner because it has been found that mature, ambitious adults can make a year's progress in one three months' term. (See front page for dates.)

Expenses by Term

	In State	Out of State
Student Activity Fee	$ 9.00	$ 9.00
Maintenance Fee	15.00	15.00
Tuition	...	120.00
Medical	6.00	6.00
TOTAL	$ 30.00	$150.00

Summer Session Expenses

Board and Room	$ 30.00	$ 30.00
Fees	10.00	10.00
TOTAL	$ 40.00	$ 40.00

Other Expenses

Table Board	$ 90.00
Children's Meals	60.00
Room	15.00 to $21.00
Suite of two rooms and bath for families (limited number)	60.00
Apartments with bath	60.00 to 75.00
Individual Meals	.50

Room, board and fees for the term are payable in advance, but monthly payments can be arranged. Since the cost of attending this school has been kept at a minimum, very few paid workers can be employed. Each student therefore, will be expected to work, exclusive of his class duties, a minimum of six hours per week, three hours cleaning his own room and three hours on other detail work.

Registration begins at 9 o'clock on the morning of July 6, September 7, December 1 and March 9. Should students find it impossible to enter on these dates, they may register on the first day of the subsequent calendar month by paying a fee of one dollar for late registration.

Classification The students are classified into homeroom sections according to educational level, aptitude, and interest. To measure academic proficiency, standardized tests are given upon entrance and at the close of each term.

Course of Study A definite effort is made to meet the individual needs of students, whether they have never gone to school or have finished high school. Emphasis is put on fundamental education—all levels of reading, spelling, written and oral English, literature, social studies, arithmetic and science. Courses are also offered in consumer education, home economics, agriculture, commercial work, problems of everyday living, and personal development. Appreciation courses are given to all students in nature, art and music. The pupils who do not plan to attend college or the Trade School are expected to take some work to prepare them for making a better living—agriculture, bookkeeping, shorthand, typing, practical nursing, salesmanship, etc. Through a program of diversified occupations it is planned to teach other vocations through on-the-job training. It is hoped that provision can be made for training in almost any type of job provided there are ten people in every class.

The Day's Program is full to overflowing. The organization of the school is more like a home than an institution. The greater part of the work is done by the students. Therefore, the very nature of the school makes it possible to maintain excellent balance in learning from books and by doing, each supplementing the other. Every situation of the day is a learning situation: the morning is spent in classroom work; then follows dinner and afternoon classes with emphasis on activities such as handcrafts, woodworking, art, and agriculture; the late afternoon and early evening is given to recreation; while the day closes with a study hour.

Recreational Activities Believing that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, the school provides ample recreational activities. A coach directs such games as baseball, volleyball and tennis. The school's beautiful lake makes possible water sports, while the recreation hall is open in the afternoons and evenings for various types of play and entertainment. Pictures are shown weekly in the chapel.

Religious Program The Opportunity School proposes to develop well-rounded citizens mentally, physically, and spiritually. The supreme aim of the religious program is to stimulate and develop Christian character through practical and creative Christianity in everyday living. A well-trained, understanding chaplain is always ready for counseling.

The religious activities center around the church (nonsectarian)

"He Can Who Thinks He Can"

Individualized instruction enabled this student to make one year's progress in two months

ENROLLMENT BLANK

(Tear off and mail to Miss Wil Lou Gray,
The Opportunity School, West Columbia, South Carolina.)

I plan to come to the Opportunity School on

_____

I completed the _____ grade in the year of _____ at _____ school.

I am _____ years old. My present work is

_____

My hobby is _____.

I would like to study the course or courses checked below along with my general education.

Agriculture
Home Economics
Diversified Occupations
Woodwork
Bookkeeping, Shorthand, Typing
Simple Phychology—Personality Development
Music—Chorus, Orchestra
Arts and Crafts—Clay Modeling, Basketry, Toy Making, Rug Making, Sketching

I am enclosing a health certificate.

Name in Full _____

Street or Route _____

Town and State _____

Character Reference _____

* If you are a veteran, have you secured your Certificate of Eligibility? _____

A creative activity from South Carolina clay yields satisfaction

WHAT PUPILS SAY ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL

Will To Do In the summer of 1939 at Clemson Opportunity School I acquired the grit and determination to go on to school, though little did I realize when I made this statement to you that it would be a reality "I'd be willing to go hungry could I only go on to school." I did go hungry for twenty-seven months in a German prison camp. But after my liberation I needed rehabilitation, and I found that readjustment when I returned to the Opportunity School in 1946 upon your request. I began to acquire determination again, and now, Miss Gray, I can see the payoff—I'm on the Dean's Honor Roll, have had some of my work publicized, and will have finished my four years of work in two more semesters. Had not the "spunk, get up and get" been created in me, I'm sure I'd be just drifting along from one small job to another with no knowledge of the better things in life. . . . The Opportunity School, in my estimation, is the most wonderful of its type in the South. (K. D., N. Y. A. student, O. S., 1939, now art major, University of South Carolina.)

I have successfully finished my third year at medical school and am now a rising senior. Many times I have wondered just where I would be if I had not attended the Opportunity School, and having wondered, was grateful for having had the privilege of doing so. (O. T., dropped out of school during the depression after completing the ninth grade. Received high school certificate at Lander Opportunity School, 1943.)

. . . My mind runs back to the vision that I had at Erskine College Opportunity School in 1929. It was then and there that I saw for the first time what life had in store for me. I came away determined to reenter school even though I was nineteen years of age and would have to enter the eighth grade. I am certainly happy over the outcome. (J. M. was graduated from Newberry College before entering the Army as a chaplain and rose to the rank of major. He and his wife will receive their degrees from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in June, 1948.)

Grateful Memories While I was preparing dinner for my small family I kept thinking of the Opportunity School. It has helped me in my home life more than you will ever know. The things I learned have helped me to make a liveable home out of what some people would call very little. Since I am not a rich person, it seems like a lot to me—my tiny home, my family, and our happiness together. (R. H., Clemson, 1939-'41.)

(From a mother) You will probably be surprised to hear from me, but I just wanted to express my thanks and appreciation to you for the Opportunity School and its help to my daughter. I hope she will prove her gratitude to all who helped her by doing her best to help others. (Lander, 1944; Columbia, 1947.)

Every new thing I attempt to do, or just ordinary assignments, I find myself making a connection with some experience at the Opportunity School, and I sometimes wonder just what I would be doing today, if it had not been for the chance I had to attend Opportunity School. (L. B., O. S., 1934-42, now secretary of large textile plant.)

I wish to say that the thing I'll always remember about the Opportunity School will be the understanding I received while there. People actually thought you were capable of doing what you set out to do. From this I have overcome some of the complex I had. We also learned from doing, and thus put book knowledge into use as common sense, which we all need in order to get along in this world. (E. R., Clemson, 1941. Made good in college later.)

ATTENTION, VETERANS

Since the education of so many persons was interrupted by the war, Uncle Sam believes that it is most important not only for his citizenes to be educated, but that they be given an opportunity to receive the right kind of education for only in this way can our Democracy live. The returning serviceman is given the privilege of continuing his schooling with the aid of the government under the GI Bill.

Who Is Eligible? Practically all veterans who have served over 90 days on or after September 16, 1940, and who have been discharged or released under conditions other than dishonorable. **Veterans should secure a Certificate of Eligibility before leaving home.** This can be obtained by executing Form 1950 and mailing it to the Regional Office of the Veterans Administration, Columbia, S. C. Consult your service officer about this.

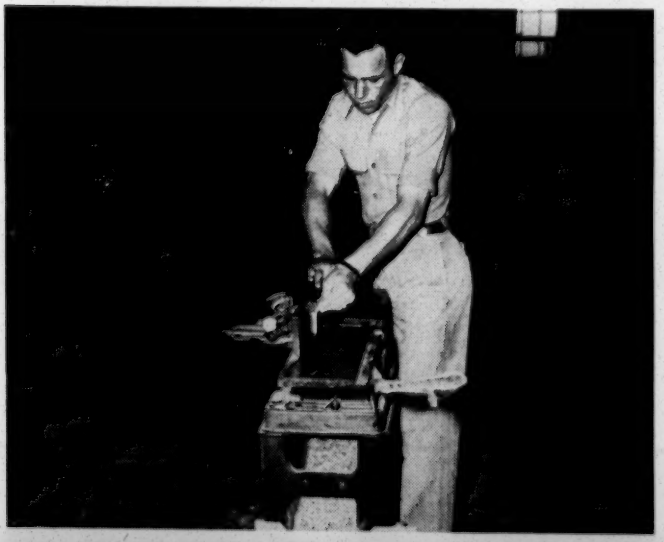
What Part of the Expense Will the Government Bear? The veteran will receive tuition, fees, books and necessary supplies while in the school he chooses from a state approved list. In addition, if single with no dependents, he will be paid a subsistence of $75.00 for a full-time course; if married, or with dependents, he will be paid from $105.00 to $120.00.

Is the Opportunity School On the State-Approved List? Yes. In developing the course of study for the Opportunity School, the returning veteran's needs have been uppermost. Every effort will be made to put the student in contact with outstanding teachers and leaders who will assist him in analyzing his own problems and capabilities and in mapping out a program of achievement toward which he might work.

May a GI Bring His Wife with Him? Yes, there are some suites of two rooms with baths available, and a number of apartments with one and two rooms.

ALL PHOTOS BY G. W. HOPKINS

Wood work shop affords constructive leisure-time activity



Eight of this group of veterans earned high school certificates with an average of six months' study. Their average age was twenty-five, their average educational background eighth grade. They average nine points higher on the examination than the average high school graduate. Three of the group are still in school; three have gone on to other work.

High School Credit Since a high school diploma is more and more becoming a prerequisite for employment, the State Board of Education has authorized the State High School Supervisor to offer a special qualifying examination for a state high school certificate, which is equivalent to a state high school diploma. Eligibility is restricted to applicants who are 18½ years of age and over and not enrolled in day school. Recognizing this need, the Opportunity School, through its advanced courses offers training which is a requisite for passing this test.

High School Diplomas The Opportunity School plans to issue its first high school diplomas on August 1. The diplomas will be based not on credits earned through hours spent in a classroom, but rather on the student's ability to demonstrate achievement. The student must make an average of fifty on the state high school examination and must further demonstrate:

a. Ability to speak and write correctly.
b. General knowledge of South Carolina's history.
c. Qualities of good citizenship.

Student Aid Small sums of money have been contributed by interested folk for scholarship aid. This will be assigned, either in whole or in part, to pupils unable to pay their own way who present the best qualifications. Application blanks will be provided upon request. . . . For those who find it necessary to earn a part of their expenses, the school will make a definite effort to secure for them profitable part time work.

SUMMER SCHOOL, JULY 6—AUGUST 1, 1948

Everybody Needs a Vacation but a vacation is like a sum of money—you can squander it on something you don't need, or invest it in something which will give you life-long pleasure.

The Opportunity School invites you to spend your vacation on its campus. Here you will find delectable meals, wholesome recreation, and stimulating study in the congenial atmosphere of a school home. Here you will have a chance to extend your culture, work for a high school certificate, acquire a hobby, improve your skills, broaden your mind, make new friends and gain new viewpoints.

Who? Anyone over sixteen with a strong body, a good mind and clean morals, who is ambitious and cooperative. The school is approved for G.I. training. Veterans must bring Certificates of Eligibility. A day nursery will be provided for children.

The Theme will be "South Carolina—Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." As formerly the students will be divided into homeroom groups. Each group will develop a unit on the general theme for the purpose of helping the students appreciate the past, understand the present and, "See the vision of the world and all the wonders that can be."

Courses While informal schooling is stressed at the Opportunity School, emphasis will be placed on basic subjects and those subjects leading to a high school certificate. In addition to home room, the following courses will be offered, provided as many as ten people register for one course: English, Spoken and Written—Literature; Vocabulary Building; Arithmetic—Algebra; Parliamentary Law; Leadership Training; Consumer Education; Community Problems and Leadership; One World; Home Nursing; Orchestra—Chorus; Interior Decorating—Sewing; Planning, Cooking and Serving Meals; Agriculture—Gardening; Canning; Woodworking, Concrete Masonary; Typing, Bookkeeping—Office Practice; Plumbing, Painting, Papering on a home repairing basis.

PLEASE read the entire bulletin carefully for general information and follow instructions.

Wanted to Attend Ambitious Students who wish to grow. Employers, Citizens and Organizations to find pupils, encourage them to come, report names, and help secure scholarships if needed.

Write MISS WIL LOU GRAY, Opportunity School, West Columbia, South Carolina, for further information. Telephone 4-1995, Columbia.

While the parents study, their children attend the Nursery School sponsored by the Columbia and Hartsville Pilot Clubs

C
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June 17, 1951

Dear Dr. Colwell:

Several of us had hoped that you would be in Atlanta shortly, so that we might talk to you about a matter that deeply concerns us and with regard to which we are certain that you can be of immeasurable aid to us -- that of the appeal of the Southern Regional Council to the Ford Foundation. We have no question as to the merit of the appeal, either standing alone or relative to rival efforts to win support, but we feel that a word from you to Mr. Huchins might win a far more sympathetic hearing. With all my heart, I ask you to speak such a word.

I cannot know how familiar you are with the nature and work of the Council. There are many of your friends who can assure you of its immense and unique usefulness. You may remember best the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which was established after World War I as the work of Dr. Will Alexander, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Dr. Plato Durham, Dr. Howard Odum, and Dr. Charles Johnson. With the backing of the great foundations it did a work of reconciliation and pioneering beyond estimate. About ten years ago, as a result of South-wide meetings of mind among whites and Negroes the Commission was reorganized on a broader base as the Southern Regional Council. It carries on a broad program of its own and sponsors state divisions and state and local committees of inter-racial cooperation. It has an exceedingly impressive record: Negro police, better handling of race news, community self-surveys, research in Southern problems, etc. Its director, George Mitchell, is one of the noble people of the earth -- warm, shrewd, brave, and intelligent. Your sister-in-law, Mrs. Massee, is his neighbor and friend. He has a splendid staff.

Since the folding up of the Rosenwald fund the Council (nearly) has been done to death with fund-raising. Certain of the big foundation people took the position that they had put in something like a million dollars, and now it was time for the South to carry its own burdens. Well, I don't have to spell that out to you. If the South were ready to carry its own burdens, we might not even need the Council.

As things stand, our membership is in fact growing steadily and the number of the thousand dollar and five thousand dollar grants is holding up. But twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars a year -- a handsome sum only if you have to raise it in the South -- will simply not do the job that has to be done, particularly if the whole staff and all the associated amateurs have to break their hearts to raise it.

One of the things that the Council will certainly continue to do as long as it exists is to try to broaden its base of membership.

Among the people actively interested in the Council are Bishop Moore, Ralph McGill, several leading Catholics, Leonard Haas, nearly all the principal Negro college presidents and other leaders in the Negro group,

June 17, 1951

Dr. Odum, Guy Johnson, etc. You need have no fears as to the Council's integrity or as to the responsibility of its leadership.

You will know best what good you can do us in this appeal. You will know best how to approach Mr. Huchins. You may be sure that all the necessary official steps have been taken. We have no doubt that Mr. Huchins would want to turn to you for advice on a Southern matter. Beyond what I am enclosing, is there anything else that you would like to see or know about the Council?

I would like to take this opportunity to do what I have had it steadily in mind to do — to express my own deep gratification at the news that you are coming back to Atlanta. You must know that I remember you always with pride and pleasure. Emory, I think, has done herself proud.

Before you come back South, please hit as hard a lick for the Council as you can. When you get here, you will be proud that you did. There is so much that needs some kind of intelligent and good-spirited attention here, and the resources are so limited. I do not criticize the grants of the Ford Foundation, but honestly one dollar for the Southern Regional Council would be worth a hundred or a thousand of those already appropriated for certain other purposes!

John Griffin and I agreed that I would write this letter. He would second all of it, including my enthusiasm over your coming back here.

Cordially and sincerely,

Glenn W. Rainey

(I am, God have pity on the Council, Chairman of its Finance Committee.)

THE FORD FOUNDATION

914 East Green Street

PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

Paul G. Hoffman
Director

August 28, 1951

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal
The Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

We are glad to have your endorsement of the request for a grant made by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. If the Foundation should decide to interest itself in the field of racial relations, a request from the Southern Regional Council would have serious consideration. However, we reached the conclusion some months ago that funds available to the Foundation should be used in support of projects which will contribute to maintaining the peace and to relieving present world tensions.

Sincerely yours,

Paul G. Hoffman
Director

August 23, 1951

Mr. Paul Hoffman
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I understand that you have received a request for a grant from the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The request was made to the foundation late in May of this year. I would have written sooner concerning it except that I have just returned from an extended trip to the Middle East.

I do not know if this request comes under any of the provisions of the Ford Foundation but I do believe that the foundation's board will find it worthy of interest and consideration.

I have followed the work of the council and of its predecessor, The Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Rosenwald Fund board, of which I was a member along with Mr. Hutchins, made annual grants to the committee for what we considered extra good work.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

C
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P
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November 9, 1951

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5
California

My dear Dr. Hutchins:

I have written President Hoffman a supplementary note with reference to the proposed grant for the Southern Regional Council. I should be glad to discuss this personally with you some time when you are in the South or East if it should seem worth while. In some ways our efforts are futile until we make them more dynamic and forthright in the framework of a regional leadership and realistic basis. Now, in this transitional period, is the time we need to do more, not less.

At present we are decidedly on the "less" side.

I hope you are, as usual, moving with dynamic and satisfying steps.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh
enclosures

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November 27, 1951

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins
Ford Foundation

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

The purpose of this letter is to call to your attention the importance and urgency of a request now before the Foundation. The support is requested for the Southern Regional Council.

The request outlines a workable and statesmanlike plan for offering leadership and skill to the onrushing forces of social change in the South today. Under present circumstances both resistance and change find vocal leadership and produce in plenty the noise and passions of conflict. What is needed is knowledge, example, and strong organization among the conscientious and moderate citizens of the South, willing full status for the whole people, and working for it through normal and local channels.

The Southern Regional Council is our best in leadership and conviction. It has built confidence and intimate personal knowledge reaching back thirty years. It last had important help from outside the region in 1949. While the Council has shown that it can survive--on a ludicrously inadequate basis--without outside help, it is clear that substantial sums not to be had in the South must be forthcoming. There is a further urgency as the Council's decisions for the coming year must be taken early in December.

The compelling pressure for change now demands informed and widely active leadership. This plan provides that. I urge that the Foundation take advantage of the eagerness of this movement to apply its forces in a really productive way, and match that eagerness and experience with funds adequate to its task.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

JAG:my

George — Here's a copy of my letter to Quigley, Ford Foundation.

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
August 11, 1952

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
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Dear Quig:

Thanks very much for the exhaustive fill-in on my friend George Mitchell. It came to much more than I had expected.

I was sorry to see the note that action on his request for a grant was deferred "pending development of a race relations program by the Foundation." That sounds like it might be a long time.

None of any of this is my business, but I fear what might happen is that an extremely effective instrument of social action (the Southern Regional Council) may very well disappear by default unless Mitchell gets help from someplace.

The trouble with [redacted] his sensible and constructive middle-of-the-road approach to race relations is that in such a contraversial setting most people feel it more important to Take A Stand than actually to get something done. As you will remember about me, I like to see something happen, and Mitchell everyday is making things happen -- getting Negro cops on southern police forces, etc. His hand is in almost every good achievement in race relations in the South. Nobody within the South is hitting more telling licks than Mitchell. Don't be deluded by the noble cries of southern "liberals" like Hodding Carter. Essentially they are apologists for the south, end up by writing pieces about how horrible Harlem is, and how much happier the southern Negro is. That doesn't help the Negro in Harlem nor the Negro in the south. It does, apparently, help Carter. But guys like Carter do very little to help guys like Mitchell. Guys like Carter are strangely loathe to take a specific problem and find for it a workable solution; and that is where Mitchell shines.

Can you hit a lick for him in any way?

I look forward to hearing from you in a more personal vein.

Cordially,

George McMillan

December 22, 1952

Miss Anna Lord Strauss
27 E. 69th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Strauss:

Cosmopolitan Club. Tuesday, December 30, one o'clock. Many thanks.

Here is the main item to ponder about in advance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Same letter to heads of Ala., Fla., Ark., Miss., N.C., Ky., and La. Divisions.

December 22, 1952

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The Executive Committee on December 20 agreed to this letter.

If we get some help, this is what we think should be done in each State.

Will you ponder its relevance to the South Carolina situation, and if you like the idea, begin to build up names of people who ought to be on such a committee.

Your comments and criticism would be welcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oc

December 22, 1952

Ralph Rose, or Dick Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph or Dick:

Here are three copies of the letter our president is sending tomorrow to the Fund for the Republic.

Arrangements have been made for me to see Miss Anna Lord Strauss in New York Tuesday, December 30. Possibly she will send me on over to see Freeman or Strunsky. Thus, I may get opportunity myself to urge that the letter, when received at the offices for the Fund for the Republic, be put to work. You remember my supposition was that a going organization would automatically reproduce such a letter and send it out to board members.

I leave to your good judgment whether you should prompt such an arrangement or whether I should next week. Seems to me best if you try it.

I'll be in New York the 29th, 30th, and 31st. Probably going on the train. Easiest to shoot straight through on the northward leg. Catching you in Philadelphia over New Year's doesn't sound likely, but if you will let me know your plans, I will try to fit in a proper visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. I had hoped that this idea could get personally discussed in some way with your man Linton. Clarence Pickett to talk to Linton, or what?

GSM:ec
3 encls.

Linton, Albert M.

GSM asked Ralph Rose and Dick Bennett to try through Clarence Pickett.

Harold Fleming's father-in-law to contact Linton.

Dec 28, 1951

Executive Secretary
Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Ave.
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council forwarded to the Ford Foundation at Pasadena in May, 1951, a formal request for aid, and a bit later sent out also exhibit folders. We have supposed that work in our field would come within the province of the new Fund for the Republic, and were therefore pleased to note the announcement the other day of the Board for this new fund.

I should like to lay before the Fund for the Republic the urgency of favorable action upon the Council's request.

The analysis made in our 1951 request of the situation in the South and the plan there described for an expanded program for integrated action and research stands; that is still the basic program we wish to be enabled to follow.

In the meantime, events call the more urgently for this program. I invite the Fund's attention to the problems looming up in the matter of school segregation. The decision next spring of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases lately argued before it will almost certainly begin a period of intense strain in race relations throughout the South. Whatever the terms of the actual decision, each Southern State and each city and rural school board will be confronted with a requirement for rapid changes in policy and in expenditure, far-reaching administrative adjustment; and a supreme test of the statesmanship of our leaders and of the disposition of the people to abide by the law.

It may not be apparent that what is called a "moderate" decision of the Court would bring about such strain; but it is to be remembered that any decision will make heavy demands in speeding material equalization. This will be most in evidence in the rural areas of the lower South, where our school systems have, thus far, in the main, avoided the expense of consolidation of Negro

schools. Such equalization would greatly exceed in cost the present announced programs of the lower Southern States for their total measures toward equalization.

Even if the Court should uphold the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, considerable areas of the South will have before them necessary decisions on the question of segregated schools. Those counties and towns more thinly peopled with Negroes will have as an alternative to the erection and maintenance of physically equal facilities the opening of their present facilities to the small number of Negro students within their populations. For some, the task of providing equal school plants for a mere handful of Negroes would be staggering economically. Here is a test of our deepest traditions. It will be nip and tuck in many such counties whether to open or not. Good work by people effective in leadership could bring the decision down on the side of open schools. And the example of some open schools in most, or in all, of the Southern States would do much to spread that experience.

Clearly, those who have in the past composed the membership of the Southern Regional Council and those who have shared in our approach have a high duty in these coming months to prepare wisely for the strains ahead. The Council is in many ways uniquely fitted for this task. It has behind it an unbroken tradition of trustworthiness and responsible action which has won friends and respect throughout the South. It can summon the cooperation of a network of thoughtful and influential people in scores of Southern communities. It has skill and experience in presenting the nation-wide demands for full democracy in ways that can win allegiance and acceptance in the South. For these and other reasons, the Southern Regional Council feels equipped to mobilize a constructive body of opinion for the difficult transitions which must be made.

Our proposal would be a special organization to meet this special need in education. That has been our method in the past, as when the old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, integral with and yet separate

from our predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, produced a South-wide action program whose particular years of work coincided with the years in which the annual figures of lynchings came down dramatically. The present Fellowship of the Concerned works in similar ways to improve an understanding by Southern church women of the courts of law and to inform law enforcement officers in the back parts of the South on their proper duty in all matters affecting race relations.

Our thought would be to establish in each Southern State a special voluntary committee of from twelve to eighteen persons, addressing itself to this problem of the schools and race relations. The members would be representative of interests both of white and Negro citizenship in school matters. Every effort should be made to have the committee itself serve as a cross-over between persons reflecting the views of white and Negro teachers' organizations, white and Negro parent-teacher groups, white and Negro teacher-training institutions, church organizations, and simple citizens with public conscience. Clearly, the membership of the committee would need to proceed from recognition of the fact that segregated school systems will not endure and that it is a present duty to plan and work for sound and effective integration.

The committees would, in some sense, parallel official State school boards. Be it noted that in all Southern States except one (North Carolina), no Negro persons sit on the State school boards. The same thing is true of local school boards, with a handful of known exceptions. It would be the business of the committee to inform itself expertly on the practices, policies, personnel, and costs of the schools in their State, as at any given time conducted. So informed, the committee would serve as a reliable and competent resource for facts very difficult to obtain in the growing public controversy.

It would serve also as a meeting place for two sets of opinion now rapidly drawing apart in increasing bitterness and suspicion. Negro groups, rightly pressing for their full constitutional heritage, tighten their insistence upon imme-

diate and drastic solutions. And in too many places, those who figure in State and local government tighten their resistance to any change not in accordance with their own prejudices. In this situation it is the interest of the one party to overclaim on such facts as it can muster, and of the other party to defend and hide known inequities. One of the great stumbling-blocks to public understanding of educational inequities has been the failure of public officials to make known the facts, honestly and without distortion. A committee of fair-minded and thoughtful citizens could do much to give to the citizen body, which is the ultimate judge, both the accurate facts and a lead toward solution.

Voluntary committees of this kind could get little done if they had no funds and no paid personnel. Which is where the paid personnel, State by State, requested in our memorandum of May, 1951, comes in. It would be their first business to serve as executive and research aids for the special school committees.

[See next page.]

This would be matching organization to need. It is the wisest thing we can see to do. It will draw upon the best of Southern leadership and tradition and enable it to work factually and effectively, and not merely in a weak, though sincere, emotionalism.

One further point. The ultimate solution of this cleavage lies in acceptance of Negroes throughout the South as proper members of State and local school boards. Only when that has been achieved will the Negro community be officially and regularly supplied with the facts that must rule in every controversy as to what is equal or what is workable. ~~and fair.~~ Voluntary committees operating for some years (we would hope only four or five) would accustom the South to a ~~very similar~~ process in which white and Negro citizens, cooperating, would examine the facts and advise on answers. So we would hope that a service, at first provided privately and from the citizen body, would be picked up as a regular part of the public life of the South.

The time to make these preparations is now.

We bespeak your earnest attention to the problem of providing funds under which the whole program of the Council, including this, can move forward.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

December 22, 1952

Mrs. Milton P. Adler
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
8116 Freret St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

Many thanks for your letter of December 18, sent on by the wonderful acquisition, a full-fledged executive secretary!

That's fine, and I am sure with your continued interest it heralds a new period of usefulness for the Committee.

Here is a letter which Marion Wright is sending in to the Fund for the Republic. Please think about it a good deal. I sent one to Father Twomey also, as acting chairman of the Louisiana Division. But clearly, there would be need for some special New Orleans representation on any such Louisiana Committee. Your ponderings and advice would be most welcome.

I haven't yet succeeded in finding Mr. Roper in New York on either of my two visits since you kindly gave me a card to him. But I am going up next week and will hope to catch him in--hope the more urgently because he is on the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

8116 FRERET STREET

NEW ORLEANS LOUISIANA

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
CHAIRMAN

RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MR. LESTER KABACOFF
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
TREASURER

MRS. ARIA STANLEY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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MISS IONA BERTEAU
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MRS. ROY M. SCHWARZ
MRS. ROGER P. SHARP
DR. RUTH SHUSHAN
MISS FLORENCE SYTZ
MR. A. P. TUREAUD
MR. ERNEST J. WRIGHT

December 18, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I very much appreciate your communications regarding the meeting on Human Relations, which was held in Nashville last month. At the time your letter came, the mechanics of our Organization had not been adequately set up, however, I am very happy to report that we have now secured the services of Mrs. Aria Stanley as Executive Secretary. The Executive Committee feels that with this forward step, we shall be able to get organized to such an extent that we can more actively participate in these important events as they occur.

I hope that you have not misconstrued my silence as lack of interest,- I simply have not been able to devote a large block of time to secretarial pursuits. As a result, a great deal of correspondence for the Race Relations Committee has back-logged.

I am certain that by the first of the year, we will be in good shape to forge ahead.

If you have any suggestions to make as we plan for 1953, they would be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes for a Happy Holiday,

Sincerely yours,
By Aria G. Stanley
Exec. Secty
Mrs. Milton P. Adler, Chairman
Race Relations Committee

MPA/ags

December 23, 1952

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
213 Mockingbird Rd.
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

This letter may get us back into a field that you worked so hard.

I would be extremely grateful for your advice, if you would write me about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Same letter; Harold L. Trigg

December 23, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here is some information about Fund for the Republic Board members that I failed to enclose in the letter Dr. Mitchell wrote you this morning.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

December 23, 1952

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Harold:

This is what we think ought to be done on the school business, State by State.

I've sent one to Leon Russell and one to Guy.

Will you, as the one man in the South best equipped to advise, ponder the letter and send me your advice?

Here is also a list of the Board members of the Fund for the Republic. If you have access to any of them, directly or indirectly, and will use it, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 23, 1952

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Here are the members of the new Fund for the Republic.

Have you ways of reaching any of them? If you have, and will try to get through, please let me know.

See also the letter to the Fund for the Republic. I would be grateful for your ponderings and advice on it. I've sent a copy to Emerson Smith. I would greatly value your advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 23, 1952

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Richardson:

After you got away on Saturday I distributed this list of members of the Fund for the Republic.

If you have access to any of them and will use it, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 23, 1952

Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
864 Hunter St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Birnie:

After you got away on Saturday I distributed this list of members of the Fund for the Republic.

If you have access to any of them and will use it, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 23, 1952

Rev. C. Emerson Smith
Dept. of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
109 W. Grace St., Rm. 202
Richmond 20, Va.

Dear Emerson:

Please go through this letter with some care. It is what we would like to do in all the school business if there were some money.

Nothing to stop Virginia from doing it anyway if it seems a good idea.

I would be grateful for a letter with your best advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 23, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

Here is what Marion Wright is sending in to the new Fund for the Republic. I send you also a list of the Fund for the Republic people.

Item A. Though I sent one of these letters to Leon Russell and asked for his ponderings, I would be most grateful for your own views.

Item B. If you or your associates have access to any of these F. for R. Board members, go ahead and try to persuade him or her. Please let me know what approach, if any, is used.

We are still much assisted by that meeting and by the $600 which Wheeler has duly sent.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Will you seek an opportunity to discuss the Marion Wright letter with Odum?

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 23, 1952

Prof. M. A. F. Ritchie
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Fla.

Dear Miller:

Here is a letter we are writing to the Fund for the Republic.

We think it has a high-powered idea.

Will you ponder it, as an expert, and give me your kind advice? I don't want to spread at around just at this stage, but I would greatly value your views.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 23, 1952

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Alex:

For your semi-private information, here is a letter I am presently sending to the Fund for the Republic.

If we get a chance to unroll this, I will need your co-operation straight through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 23, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Do, please, read this letter and ponder it. If it seems like a good idea for Texas, you would be free to unroll it there if you want to.

We still are hoping that fairly soon we can have some word about money that would enable such a committee to use full-time personnel.

Your most earnest thoughts and advice would be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 24, 1952

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
John Hay Whitney Foundation
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

I am not at all sure that I remembered to enclose the letter to the Fund for the Republic that Dr. Mitchell referred to in his letter to you yesterday; so here is a copy.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

fr2

December 23, 1952

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
John Hay Whitney Foundation
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Bob:

I'm coming up to New York, to be there December 29, 30 and 31, and will hope to catch you in. I expect to stay at Broadus's home, 313 West 20th Street.

I will be grateful if you could read this letter and advise me about it. I am in hopes also that you and Charles Johnson can reach Bromlee, and quite possibly, others of the members of the members of the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 24, 1952

Miss Emily Calhoun
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Miss Calhoun:

I am returning the NEW YORK TIMES story which you inadvertently sent me in the letter of December 23. Thank you for sending me the information from WHO'S WHO.

With kind regards and the Season's Greetings.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:c
Enclosure

December 23, 1952

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Clement:

After you left on Saturday we distributed this list of the members of the Fund for the Republic. Please let me know what approaches you use to any of them.

Also, later in the morning the committee authorized postponement of the annual meeting until some date to be fixed prior to March 30. Which knocks in the head the plan for joint use of the February 10-11 days. But it does seem to me wiser to give more time for the Ford people to act.

We all appreciated your presence on Saturday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ed
Encls.

December 24, 1952

Executive Secretary
Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council forwarded to the Ford Foundation at Pasadena in May, 1951, a formal request for aid, and a bit later sent out also exhibit folders. We have supposed that work in our field would come within the province of the new Fund for the Republic, and were therefore pleased to note the announcement the other day of the Board for this new fund.

I should like to lay before the Fund for the Republic the urgency of favorable action upon the Council's request.

The analysis made in our 1951 request of the situation in the South and the plan there described for an expanded program for integrated action and research stands; that is still the basic program we wish to be enabled to follow.

In the meantime, events call the more urgently for this program. I invite the Fund's attention to the problems looming up in the matter of school segregation. The decision next spring of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases lately argued before it will almost certainly begin a period of intense strain in race relations throughout the South. Whatever the terms of the actual decision, each Southern State and each city and rural school board will be confronted with a requirement for rapid changes in policy and in expenditure, far-reaching administrative adjustment; and a supreme test of the statesmanship of our leaders and of the disposition of the people to abide by the law.

It may not be apparent that what is called a "moderate" decision of the Court would bring about such strain; but it is to be remembered that any decision will make heavy demands in speeding material equalization. This will be most in evidence in the rural areas of the lower South, where our school systems have, thus far, in the main, avoided the expense of consolidation of Negro schools. Such equalization would greatly exceed in cost the present announced programs of the lower Southern States for their total measures toward equalization.

Even if the Court should uphold the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, considerable areas of the South will have before them necessary decisions on the question of segregated schools. Those counties and towns more thinly peopled with Negroes will

have as an alternative to the erection and maintenance of physically equal facilities the opening of their present facilities to the small number of Negro students within their populations. For some, the task of providing equal school plants for a mere handful of Negroes would be staggering economically. Here is a test of our deepest traditions. It will be nip and tuck in many such counties whether to open or not. Good work by people effective in leadership could bring the decision down on the side of open schools. And the example of some open schools in most, or in all, of the Southern States would do much to spread that experience.

Clearly, those who have in the past composed the membership of the Southern Regional Council and those who have shared in our approach have a high duty in these coming months to prepare wisely for the strains ahead. The Council is in many ways uniquely fitted for this task. It has behind it an unbroken tradition of trustworthiness and responsible action which has won friends and respect throughout the South. It can summon the cooperation of a network of thoughtful and influential people in scores of Southern communities. It has skill and experience in presenting the nation-wide demands for full democracy in ways that can win allegiance and acceptance in the traditional South. For these and other reasons, the Southern Regional Council feels equipped to mobilize a constructive body of opinion for the difficult transitions which must be made.

Our proposal would be a special organization to meet this special need in education. That has been our method in the past, as when the old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, integral with and yet separate from our predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, produced a South-wide action program whose particular years of work coincided with the years in which the annual figures of lynchings came down dramatically. The present Fellowship of the Concerned works in similar ways to improve an understanding by Southern church women of the courts of law and to inform law enforcement officers in the back parts of the South on their proper duty in all matters affecting race relations.

A notable example of the Council's successful experience in this approach was the Veteran's Servicing Program carried out in the years 1945 to 1947. The aim was to ease the transition of Southern Negro veterans to civilian life. A field staff of ten veterans, nine of them Negroes, traveled to cities and towns throughout the South, acquainting veterans servicing officials with the needs of Negro veterans and informing Negro veterans of the benefits to which they were entitled. The result was a substantial contribution to orderly and healthy readjustment in the post-war period.

Our thought would be to establish in each Southern State a special voluntary committee of from twelve to eighteen persons, addressing itself to this problem of the schools and race relations. The members would be representative of interests both

of white and Negro citizenship in school matters. Every effort should be made to have the committee itself serve as a cross-over between persons re-flecting the views of white and Negro teachers' organizations, white and Negro parent-teacher groups, white and Negro teacher-training institutions, church organizations, and simple citizens with public conscience. Clearly, the membership of the committee would need to proceed from recognition of the fact that segregated school systems will not endure and that it is a present duty to plan and work for sound and effective integration.

The committees would, in some sense, parallel official official State school boards. Be it noted that in all Southern States except one (North Carolina), no Negro persons sit on the State school boards. The same thing is true of local school boards, with a handful of known exceptions. It would be the business of each committee to inform itself expertly on the practices, policies, personnel, and costs of the schools in its state, as at any given time conducted. So informed, the state committee would serve as a reliable and competent resource for facts very difficult to obtain in the growing public controversy.

It would serve also as a meeting place for two sets of opinion now rapidly drawing apart in increasing bitterness and suspicion. Negro groups, rightly pressing for their full constitutional heritage, tighten their insistence upon immediate and drastic solutions. And in too many places, those who

figure in State and local government tighten their resistance to any change not in accordance with their own prejudices. In this situation it is the interest of the one party to overclaim on such facts as it can muster, and of the other party to defend and hide known inequities. One of the great stumbling-blocks to public understanding of educational inequities has been the failure of public officials to make known the facts, honestly and without distortion. A committee of fair-minded and thoughtful citizens could do much to give to the citizen body, which is the ultimate judge, both the accurate facts and a lead toward solution.

Voluntary committees of this kind could get little done if they had no funds and no paid personnel--which is where the paid personnel, State by State, requested in our memorandum of May, 1951, comes in. It would be their first business to serve as executive and research aids for the special school committees.

This would be matching organization to need. It is the wisest thing we can see to do. It will draw upon the best of Southern leadership and tradition and enable it to work factually and effectively, and not merely in a weak, though sincere, emotionalism.

One further point. The ultimate solution of this cleavage lies in acceptance of Negroes throughout the South as proper members of State and local school boards. Only when that has been achieved will the Negro community be officially and regularly supplied with the facts that must rule in every

controversy as to what is equal or what is workable. Voluntary committees operating for some years (we would hope only four or five) would accustom the South to a process in which white and Negro citizens, cooperating, would examine the facts and advise on answers. So we would hope that a service, at first provided privately and from the citizen body, would be picked up as a regular part of the public life of the South.

The time to make these preparations is now.

We bespeak your earnest attention to the problem of providing funds under which the whole program of the Council, including this, can move forward.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

December 29, 1952

Mr. & Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear The Davidsons:

Many thanks for inviting me to keep so nice a habit. You may be sure I will knock on your door on January 23 and hope for my bed. I doubt that I can bring Alice, though it might just be possible.

We had a good meeting of the Executive Committee December 20 and agreed to send off the enclosed letter to the Fund for the Republic.

Here is also the list of people who are on their new Board. If you have ways of reaching any of them, I do hope you will make use of them and let me know what you do.

Alice and I sat down at the supper table and solved the great puzzle. Much enjoyment and appreciation. Ellen and Charlotte were all for peeking to find the answers, but we persisted. Hardest one was that business about mega-something-or-other. And aphasia was by no means easy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Dec. 23, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Delighted that you are coming to Daytona Beach on Jan. 23. Hope you will spend the night with us, thus keeping unbroken a habit which gives us much pleasure. Any chance of bringing the missus? And I hope you will bring us some cheering news from the Ford Foundation.

Sincerely,

Herbert

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

December 29, 1952

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Many thanks for your helpful notes on Bryan, Shuster, and Finnegan. I will follow up on Bryan and Shuster and do hope that you will find some access to Finnegan.

Do let me know when you have talked further with Mr. L. J. Williams. I will greatly like to see a revived Tennessee Division.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The Chattanooga Times

December 22, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Some notes on that list of directors of the Fund for the Republic:

Malcolm Bryan of Atlanta, one of the members, is a strong Catholic. I am told that Hugh Spalding, prominent Atlanta lawyer, is also a strong Catholic layman and, of course, Bishop McNamara has been a strong worker in Southern Regional Council although I have a dim recollection that he is working in Europe.

George N. Shuster of Hunter College, another member of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, is a leading Catholic layman and a frequent contributor to the Commonweal and other Catholic publications.

John Popham is of the impression that Finnegan, another Board member who is the consulting editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, is a Catholic. I remember that Cardinal Stritch a few years back contributed $1,000 to the Southern Regional Council.

I am worried about the "inactive" status of the Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council. I talked to L. J. (Lou) Williams, president of the Keep Tennessee Green Association, and former president of the Tennessee Conservation League. I am not yet quite sure whether he goes along with the Council on its chief ideas but he is a very close friend of mine and if he is "en rapport" with the Council he can organize a state-wide division. He has a large following all over Tennessee. I will keep you in touch. I am not content to have Tennessee continue to be listed as "inactive".

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders

AM/ea

Shuster, George N.

Alex Miller said Dec. 17 he would, on an early trip to N.Y., try to open contact with Shuster.

Morris Abram tells me that Shuster is the new head of the Committee on Discrimination in the Nation's Capital.

Epstein told Alex to let
C. Roper handle Shuster. Agreed.
P. Wm understands quite
have a good friend
Shuster in our behalf

December 29, 1952

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Executive Committee approved this letter, and it has gone on up to New York.

I will be grateful for your thoughts about it. Seemed to us a useful move.

Will you be kind enough to send an impulse or two along the links you may have to any of the members of the Fund for the Republic? I thought particularly you might be able to reach Brownlee. What seems to you wisest?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

f 12

Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

12-29-52

Dear George:

I have read Mr. Wright's letter with care. It covers the subject and should bring results. It may be necessary for somebody to present the case in person.

Best wishes to you and family, and SRC Staff.

Sincerely
Harold.

P.S. Was shocked when Budeng put the finger on Ira.

December 30, 1952

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.
St. Louis Church
10th & Cedar Sts.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Father Vince:

We missed you at the good Executive Committee meeting December 20. Minutes herewith.

Do ponder this letter to the Fund for the Republic. Does it seem to you a good idea?

The members of the Fund for the Republic are as listed. If you know any way to reach any of them and will do it, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Hyndman

December 30, 1952

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville 16, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

Excellent meeting of the Executive Committee December 20.

Please ponder the attached letter from Marion Wright to the Fund for the Republic. I will be most grateful for your writing me your advice about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 2, 1953

Miss Anna Lord Strauss
27 E. 69th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Strauss:

The warmest thanks for all your kindnesses and help.

I can't see Leonard until tomorrow, so can't till then write up to Freeman. But all my reflection points toward going for the whole program, as originally presented way back yonder to the Ford Foundation. The two States idea is tempting, but in the present state of the administrative development of the Fund for the Republic, it seems to me riskily apt to be all they would do this year. And the situation needs able and steady action everywhere.

Here is the list of people, with what was available in Who's Who. Observe that on Mrs. Stevenson Who's Who had no entry.

I will send you a copy of what results from the conference with Leonard tomorrow.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

January 2, 1953

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

I am grateful for your letter of December 31 about the request to the Fund for the Republic. Yours is the advice I most cherish in all these matters.

I went up there and saw two or three Ford Foundation people on December 30 and 31. Still looks hopeful, though we found no passage through the dilemma of immediate need for money the while they get their organization in shape. My guess is that they bring their organization to a head within the month of January.

No word as yet from Dr. Lawless. Clement called Dent December 20 and asked Dent to back up that request, which Dent said he would do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NEW HOPE FARM
ROUTE 3
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

December 31, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1953
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George,

I think your submission to the Fund for the Republic is excellent.

If the Fords have any statesmanship and any real interest in this field it ought to get you some money. It seems to me that this document is entirely satisfactory.

I am sincerely,

WWa
Will W. Alexander

December 23, 1952

Dr. Will W. Alexander
RFD 3
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Will:

We are sending this to the Fund for the Republic.

Please give it some reflection and write me your advice.

I am going to New York December 30 to see Anna Lord Strauss, who is on the Fund for Adult Education. We thought possibly she could prize loose money that would enable us to get this rolling.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

January 7, 1953

Mr. David Burgess
95 Morritts Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dave:

Here are the members of the Fund for the Republic.

Observe that Malcolm Bryan, whose name is carried, resigned from the Board not long after the newspaper announcement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

f 112

January 8, 1953

Mrs. Milton Adler
61 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

I went to New York for two or three days last week and had the good fortune to catch Mr. Roper in. Your small card worked miracles, and he readily agreed to see me. Cordial remarks from him about all the Adlers. And then he proceeded to tell me quite a number of things of the greatest interest about the mechanics of the new Fund for the Republic. You will have seen, of course, that he is a member on that Board, and therefore in a vital position anent us.

I doubt if I could have got to see him at all without your card, and the whole Council is grateful to you.

Congratulations on having a staff. We hasten to eke out the twenty dollars of refund of dues that we were owing to the New Orleans Committee and send it on to Rousseve.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 12, 1953

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

What did you find out in New York?

Phone me, if you will.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

January 12, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have read Marion Wright's letter to the Fund for the Republic, dated December 23, and have nothing but praise for it. Certainly I could not improve upon this document.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr

f 112

January 19, 1953

Mrs. Helen F. Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Bldg.
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Helen:

That was a very nice thing that you did in going to see Mr. Dearmont. And you did it so well.

Here is a new letter we've sent to the Fund for the Republic to prod them. We had hoped that the F. for R. would reproduce the letter and send it around to its Board members. Evidently, they have not. Would you consider the wisdom of your getting this copy of the letter to Dearmont? If you see the opportunity, go ahead and do it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Dearmont, Russell

Alex Miller Dec. 18 wrote Mrs. Myron Schwartz (formerly Mrs. Helen Cohn) and asked her to see if she could establish a channel of communication with Dearmont. Mrs. Schwartz to report back to Miller.

Helen Schwartz wrote Alex Miller Dec. 23 that she had an appointment January 5 to see Mr. Dearmont.

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BLDG. • SAINT LOUIS 1 • TELEPHONE: CHESTNUT 2584

RECEIVED JAN 19 Southern Regional Council

MEMO TO: Alex Miller

FROM: Helen F. Schwartz

DATE: January 15, 1953

Last Wednesday I spoke with Russell Dearmont about the Southern Regional Council. I started by telling him a little of my background, i.e., Valdosta, Ga., sociology, New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, ADL, by way of explaining my interest in the Southern Regional Council and its usefulness in the South. I said that although I didn't know the specifics on which the request was based, I knew it to be a thorough, careful, research oriented and reliable group. He then asked some questions about its structure, the nature of membership, etc.

He had received, just that morning, a list of organizations making requests, with a one or two sentence summary of their planned operation. When I learned the S.R.C. plans a five-year training program, I told him of George Mitchell's belief that a voluntary FEPC was needed to train a body of people who could do a job in the South later, with a compulsory law. I also told him about the Veteran's program George conducted right after the war as an example of how the Southern Regional Council was and is able to do a job in the "gaps", areas where government or private agencies are not operating. Such a training program seems to me such a gap, and one that Foundations are interested in.

Mr. Dearmont admitted he knew little of all this and was glad to have the information. As I left he asked if I would let him see my thesis — which I had referred to by way of explaining the detailed knowledge I have of the Southern Regional Council.

Today I am sending him the latest copy of New South, to illustrate another point I made, that it is a source of accurate information about the status of legal action, of Negro police, of integration of state or local professional groups, health or housing needs, etc. I also explained how the reprinted Durham statement led to the Richmond and Atlanta Conferences, resulting in the birth of the S.R.C.

I hope I have at least given Mr. Dearmont an interest in the organization. Certainly it is no longer just another name on a list to him.

If there are any further developments or any other way I can help, please let me know.

With my warmest regards.

HS:ah

cc: George Mitchell

COPY

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Dr. George Mitchell

RECEIVED
JAN 6
South

Alex Miller

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
ALFRED FLEISHMAN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

RECEIVED
JAN 6
Southern Regional Council

AFM

MEMO TO: Alexander F. Miller

FROM: Helen F. Schwartz

DATE: December 23, 1952

In reference to your letter of December 17 about the Southern Regional Council's application, I will give you a progress report. I spoke with Virgil Border of the NCCJ and acting upon his advice, I called Mr. Russell Dearmont. (Mr. Dearmont is chairman of Virgil's Board).

Mr. Dearmont was extremely cordial and we have a tentative appointment for January 5. At that time I will give him some of the background on the South and the Southern Regional Council which he admits he knows nothing about.

I noticed that Mr. Bryan of Atlanta is also on this committee and so I mentioned to Mr. Dearmont that I had met Mr. Bryan when I lived in Atlanta. I mention this by way of reminding you, although I know that such a detail would not escape you, that Morris Abram is quite chummy with Mr. Bryan.

I hope you have a very happy holiday season. Our warmest regards.

P. S. I am not sending a copy of this letter to George Mitchell as you had not sent him a copy of your letter, but I assume he is aware of your efforts in his behalf.

December 19, 1952

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Alex:

Many thanks for that kind letter to Helen Schwartz. And we look forward to hearing what you can learn about the two people in Chicago and Shuster and Roper.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

adl

12-17

eleven pryor street, s. w.
atlanta, ga.

dear George Mitchell

Got the attached to-day. Also memos to my Chicago office re: Kestenbaum & Fumigin (a fine combination) & to N.Y. re: Shuster & Roper. Will follow up in N.Y. next week. Sure Hope the hunting is good!

Best Regards

alex miller

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

December 17, 1952

Mrs. Myron Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Building
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Helen:

I see by the papers that Russell L. Dearmont, a prominent St. Louis attorney, has been appointed to the board of the Fund for the Republic, the new agency set up by the Ford Foundation.

As you may know, in April of 1951 the Southern Regional Council made an application to the Ford Foundation for a substantial grant. I understand that now this application has been turned over to the Fund of the Republic for consideration. The Council is in a bad way financially. Unless it receives this grant, it is very likely to be forced to close up shop. There is no need for my trying to sell the value of the Council to you or point out its importance to the Southern scene particularly at this time with the school segregation suit decision in the immediate offing.

I wonder if you or Mike can establish a channel of communication with Mr. Dearmont to speak to him about the Council, its value, its need, its application for an allocation. I would be very much obliged if you could advise me about this matter just as soon as possible because I understand the application may be acted upon within the next few weeks. With all best wishes to Mike, little Helen, and yourself

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:tc

f 22

January 20, 1953

Mrs. Milton P. Adler
Waldorf Astoria Hotel
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

The Ford Foundation, not long after its establishment, let it be known that its work would be done through several subsidiary Boards or Foundations. An early one of these was the Fund for Adult Education. Another has concerned itself with higher education. Last December, after various postponements, they brought into being the Fund for the Republic. The announcement in the NEW YORK TIMES story spoke of it as a body to concern itself mainly with civil liberties, but I have been told from my earliest negotiations with representatives of the Ford Foundation that the new Fund for the Republic, when organized, would embrace both the fields of civil liberties and race relations. That is also forecast in the REPORT OF THE STUDY FOR THE FORD FOUNDATION ON POLICY AND PROGRAM, published in late 1950.

The Fund for the Republic was organized, I believe, December 11, with the following trustees:

James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney & Co., New York
Huntington Cairns, lawyer, Washington
Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Russell L. Dearmont, lawyer, St. Louis
Richard Finnegan, consulting editor, THE CHICAGO SUN-TIMES
William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, Calif.
M. Albert Linton, president, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia
George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College, New York
Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School
Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago
Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Co., Houston
Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York
Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, wife of William Edwards Stevenson, president of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco

To this new Foundation were handed the various proposals and requests made long since to the Ford Foundation, ours among them. I rather think that the Fund for the Republic is actively reviewing those proposals at the present time, and I hope that by the end of February they will have begun to reach conclusions as to whomand what they will help. As I wrote you, it is obvious that Elmo Roper is a key figure in these considerings.

The Southern Regional Council's request to the Ford Foundation was made in May, 1951. It is a lengthy document, and for the moment I have no further copies, or I would send you one. It argues the need for an active organization in each Southern State, working in the field of human relations. As an example, it cites the State of Connecticut, which, when its in-migration of Negroes had reached 55,000, proposed and passed through the legislature an annual appropriation of fifty or sixty thousand dollars for a Connecticut Commission on Human Relations to assist the integration of the new Negro population in the civic and economic life of the State.

Here sit the Southern States, fons et origine of the problem, and the legislatures don't appropriate funds to help. And despite thirty years of activity by the old Interracial Commission and the Southern Regional Council, substantial private resources have not yet been found for such work. Yet, it is the continued shortcomings of Southern race relations which hamper justice within the country and our effort to earn the friendship of the two-thirds of the people of the world whose aspirations make them peculiarly sensitive to the problems of the Negro community in the United States, and particularly in the South.

We therefore ask the Ford Foundation to enable the Southern Regional Council to provide in each Southern State funds with which to pay a white and a Negro executive secretary and a clerk. Also, we ask for a modest staff at a central Southern office, to link for research purposes in economics and sociology the field activity of the State organizations and legitimate going research institutions, mainly State universities.

If the grant is made, the Council presumably would turn back to each State organization that State's present roll of members in the Council and would expect each such organization to build up its own membership and manage its paid personnel through its own Board. In that event, the Southern Regional Council itself would become a South-wide Board, coordinating the work of the State organizations and managing the assistance given to those organizations by SRC. This, we think, is a minimum needful program for bringing human relations in the South abreast of the times with practicable speed.

We in this office have always recognized the quasi-independence of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, and it would be my hope that the Board of the Council, under the proposed new arrangement, would continue to see the importance of a special relationship with the New Orleans group.

Just after Christmas the Council's president, Marion Wright, sent on to the Fund for the Republic a long letter, copy of which was sent to you, proposing a special program for just now on the problems of the schools.

If the grant were made, it would be the Council's intent to unroll that program as the first order of business in each State. I gave Mr. Roper a copy of that letter, and I hope he has found time to read it. In any case, to refresh your own memory, here is a new copy for you.

Do do your best with Mr. Roper. This is plainly the time when a grave decision is to be made: whether race relations in the South will be tackled by reasonable, constructive people of both races or whether they will be allowed to drag on, unassisted by careful knowledge, accurate assessing of trends and opportunities, and earnest, continuous action in the best spirit of Southern people themselves.

We ask for enough money to enable a program of this kind to be carried on for five years. I myself think that at the end of five years most of the State groups would be able to carry on independently of heavy subsidy. In any case, five years will tell the tale of what can be done with thorough-going organization.

I add that we have been careful straight through to protect our proposal from invasion by political motives. The mechanics seem worked out for avoiding difficulty on that score.

The whole thing seems to us exactly within the sphere of the Ford Foundation and of the Fund for the Republic. The problem now is whether that new Board can be rapidly brought to an understanding of the importance of action of this kind. We are convinced that these things get accomplished soundly if they are undertaken by Southern people. It has been proven over and over again that interracial groups within the South can rise to opportunities for creative action. What has always been needed are the resources for steady, sustained effort. That is what we want the Fund for the Republic to provide.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

8116 FRERET STREET WA 0806 W

NEW ORLEANS LOUISIANA

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
CHAIRMAN

RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MR. LESTER KABACOFF
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
TREASURER

MRS. ARIA STANLEY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STEERING COMMITTEE

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
MISS IONA BERTEAU
MRS. L. T. BURBRIDGE
MISS SADIE BARROW
MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
MR. LAWRENCE CHENIER
MRS. CORNELIA CRAWFORD
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
MRS. C. C. DeJOIE, JR.
MRS. GEORGE A. DREYFOUS
RABBI JULIAN FEIBLEMAN
MRS. T. JEFF FEIBLEMAN
THE REV. JOSEPH FICHTER, S.S.J.
DR. RIVERS FREDERICK
MRS. JOSEPH E. FRIEND
MR. JAMES E. GAYLE
MRS. ISAAC HELLER
MRS. VERONICA B. HILL
MISS BEATRICE HODGE
THE REV. N. A. HOLMES
MISS CARMELITE JANVIER
MR. LESTER KABACOFF
MRS. HARRY KELLEHER
MRS. CHARLES KELLER, JR.
MR. FRED KULLMAN
MRS. LUCIUS M. LAMAR
MRS. EDITH D. LASHMAN
MRS. DAGMAR LeBRETON
DR. HAROLD N. LEE
RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
MRS. RALPH P. LEVEY
MRS. SIMON K. MARX
MR. JOHN McCANN
MR. J. WESTBROOK McPHERSON
THE REV. FATHER V. J. O'CONNELL, S.M.
MISS MARY RAYMOND
MRS. PHILIP RITTENBERG
MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
MISS LUCILLE SAVOIE
MISS DOROTHEA SCHLESINGER
MRS. ROY M. SCHWARZ
MRS. ROGER P. SHARP
DR. RUTH SHUSHAN
MISS FLORENCE SYTZ
MR. A. P. TUREAUD
MR. ERNEST J. WRIGHT

January 17, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 20
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your letter of January 8th. I am very happy that my calling card served a good purpose on your recent trip to New York. Mr. Roper is a very capable man and does a great deal of good in our area of work.

I am not at all familiar with the Fund for the Republic and would like very much to know more about it. I will be in New York from January 20th to February 5th and expect to see Mr. Roper some time during my stay. If you have any information about the Fund for the Republic, that you can forward to me in New York, I would appreciate it very much. We will be stopping at the Waldorf Astoria.

I received a copy of the letter to Mr. Rousseve concerning the $20.00 refund on dues which we were happy to receive.

We are making plans for our Annual Meeting which we will hold in February and we may have to call on you for help.

Cordially Yours,

Elizabeth T. Adler

Mrs. Milton P. Adler, Chairman
Race Relations Committee

MPA/ags

January 21, 1953

Mr. Channing Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tobias:

If you have some link with Mr. Richard Finnegan of the CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, I do hope you will be good enough to send along the link an impulse on behalf of the Southern Regional Council's major request to the Fund for the Republic. You will have seen, of course, that Finnegan is one of the new members of its Board.

Here is the lengthy letter our Council's president lately sent to the Fund for the Republic, setting out the urgency of getting a real program under way in the South.

One of our Board members, Herbert Davidson of Daytona, who edits the paper there, has lately written Mr. Finnegan, but so far as I know, that is our only contact made with him about the Council. Do help us with him or with other members of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, as you may think suitable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Jan. 2, 1953

Mr. Richard J. Finnegan
211 Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Finnegan:

I have met you two or three times, during my Chicago Daily News days in the '20s and in Tampa, in the '30s, I believe, at a meeting of the Florida publishers. You doubtless do not have the foggiest recollection of me, but I remember you distinctly as a top figure in our profession and as a hard hitting and clear thinking realist.

It is as such that I address you, on the basis of so tenuous an acquaintance, in behalf of the Southern Regional Council, whose request for aid doubtless will come before you as a member of the Board of the Fund for the Republic.

I have been a member of the Board of Directors of this organization for three years, and its annual meetings in Atlanta have never failed to inspire me with new faith in the human spirit. That there are in the deep South so many men of good will, men of such diverse faiths and interests who are willing to travel from their homes to discuss the South's No. 1 social problem, is stimulating enough; that they are as fiercely dedicated to the advancement of human justice as were the men who met together to proclaim the Declaration of Independence, is a revelation; and that they have accomplished so much with so little to work with is a tribute in part to their determination and in part to their success in acquiring a remarkable Executive Secretary, Dr. George S. Mitchell.

It is self evident that the cause for which this group stands deserves help from those able to give it. It would be presumptuous and unnecessary to tell you that. But what I'd like to convey to you is my strong conviction that this group represents the most promis-

ing medium which could be found through which that cause can be forwarded. The plan to set up grass roots organizations with paid staffs in each of the Southern States is well thought out. It is practical and constructive. I am certain, with the leaven that I know to be working in the South toward the gradual dissolving of old prejudices, that this plan can't help but be effective, especially under the leadership of Dr. Mitchell and such men as constitute the Board of the Southern Regional Council. Its implementation awaits only sufficient financing so that it may be tackled as a task to be done, rather than an experiment to be dabbled in.

Please give it your every consideration.

Sincerely,

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

Finnegan, Richard

Alex Miller did Dec. 17 write his Chicago people for information on access to Finnegan.

GSM to see Channing Tobias about him.
Herbert Davidson wrote Jan. 2, 1953.

GSM wrote Tobias
Jan 21.
P. Lowe. understood to get a
Chicago board of P.&T.
to function (fund is on
the further (fund is in Lincoln
relation of Sun) to do in Jan 21 '53

January 23, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

The good news from your brother fills in on Mr. Joyce a real gap. I had had no means of establishing contact with him. Zellerbach we had had one or two links with and used them, though we have no report on results.

We have contrived an approach by someone to practically all of the members of the Fund for the Republic. Dean Griswold at Harvard Law School we have not yet worked out an approach to. It has been suggested that we should tread carefully, as Griswold would be of a judicious turn of mind, impatient of anything like pressure. Have you some means of reaching him? I suppose it ought to be through a Harvard law graduate who is Southern, has done well, and knows us.

William Trent is son to the aged president of Livingston College at Salisbury, N. C. The boy works with the United Negro College Fund, I think. He and I have an old acquaintance from Washington days when he worked in the Interior Department.

Katherine Stoney thanked Mr. Rubin by letter directly to him January 7.

The annual award business was exploited by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Catholic Committee of the South still uses it and once so honored Guy Johnson. It has frequently been proposed for SRC, but nobody has done anything with it. General view is that the device is a little shopworn. But some special twist to it might be a good thing. The old Interracial Commission had a bronze medal which it awarded to sheriffs which had prevented lynchings. We occasionally pin one of them on to the chest of some volunteer who has faithfully helped the Council!

Presidential stationery happily received.

We have a young woman making up a map of the counties in the South which, by the 1950 census, have less than five per cent Negro population. She's nearly through with it. We have been holding our fire on any use of that

topic until after the Supreme Court's decision shall come out. Negro leadership has now so concentrated its hopes on a sweeping decision on principle that it would be invidious for us to offer just now so tempting a compromise.

I have no further news on the Ford people but still expect them to make up their minds somewhere on the turn between January and February.

Mrs. Adler in New Orleans has an old connection with Elmo Roper. She is now head of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, affiliated with us. She wrote us lately that she was about to go to New York and would see Roper, and could we tell her all about the Fund for the Republic. I sent her the attached letter. It was by dint of a card from her that I originally got in to see Roper.

The Steelworkers sent us a thousand dollars January 15, which got us over that hump. And yesterday we received $250 from the Northern Presbyterians. I expect the Sidney Hillman people will send $2,500 before the end of this month. Other sums in the offing are: a possible $2,000 from Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Whitney, a thousand from the UAW-CIO, a thousand from the National Council of the Episcopal Church, four or five hundred from Miss Stein, $200 from Mrs. Ascoli, and so on. All in all, I think we'll do all right through March. The audit will be done in a few days. Our habit has been to seed the clouds with copies of it and produce thus what snowfall we can.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:oc
Dictated but [illegible] read.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
JAN 21
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 19, 1953

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of January 7 and report of your New York trip. I am sure that good will come of it and I hope it will come in time.

I have not had an acknowledgment of contribution of $100 through Mr. Hyman Rubin which he sent in some weeks ago. I do hope that acknowledgment has been sent direct to Mr. Rubin as I requested

My brother, Preston, who lives in Los Angeles, was here about a week ago. He is conducting inquiries with Mr. Zellerbach and Mr. Joyce of the Fund for the Republic. It so happens that my brother's secretary was formerly secretary for Mr. Joyce who is, according to her, "quite a liberal, progressive and public-spirited man". He has been a close friend of Paul G. Hoffman for years and acted as one of his principal assistants in administering the Marshall Plan.

My brother is also acquainted with one Robert Trent who holds an important position in some Negro college group. He has alerted Mr. Trent to give some advice on the matter of approach to the Fund for the Republic.

Has any consideration ever been given by SRC to the matter of an annual award to some southerner for work in the field of race relations? I have no opinion as to the merit of the idea but it occurs to me that the presentation of such an award might be an interesting feature on the program of our annual meetings.

Tell Miss Calhoun that the presidental stationary is going forward by this post.

I enclose a story from a recent issue of the Asheville Citizen which lists the ratio of white to colored population in several of the mountain counties. It staggered me to learn that Mitchell has 99.5% white and others are very close behind.

I doubt that any consideration has been given by these counties to the expense they will incur in providing for a handfull of Negro students educational facilities fully as good as those enjoyed by the white students. These counties would be perfect laboratories for merging the two school systems.

It occurred to me that perhaps Harold might like to pursue this matter by learning the number and percentage of Negro public school pupils in each of these counties, the present expenditure in their behalf and the prospective expenditure if full equality is to be attained. It did seem to me that a fairly interesting and valuable article might be printed in New South based upon what lies ahead for these counties in the event that segregation continues to be our policy.

Incidentally, I thought the article on the segregation issue in the December issue of New South was quite well done.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

raj

f 212

January 7, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

You remember that Leonard Haas gave us a hundred dollars to enable a trip to New York to try to work out with Anna Lord Strauss your suggestion of special immediate money for getting on with the school committees.

I duly went up and in two or three days saw quite a number of people. Sidney Hillman Fund, which is sure it will be sending us $2,500 in January. National Council of the Episcopal Church, which is practically sure it will be sending us a thousand in February. Doris Duke Foundation, which had received our letter saying that we nearly had a matching thousand and hoped we could still match their conditional gift for the Commission on Equal Penalties, even though we weren't prepared to match it until the early part of this new year. Personnel changes, and they hadn't considered the letter, but I expect they will be nice about it. A refugee friend, who is doing well in Wall Street and gave us a check for $200. (Took me to lunch where your friend had also been kind enough to carry me last year.) For informational purposes, three people in the General Education Board interested in the whole problem of segregation in the Southern Schools. I just thought it well to check in with them, because anybody seriously proposing to help us would probably get their advice. Friends at the John Hay Whitney Foundation, to ask them to be in touch with the man Brownlee, of the Fund for the Republic.

Miss Strauss opined that getting parallel action out of the Fund for Adult Education would produce displeasure in the Fund for the Republic's channel. She liked the idea of the Ford Foundation itself taking money out of some other pocket, and arranged for herself and me to see Mr. Gladieux, high in the F for R circles. We talked with him and with David Freeman, separately and together. They are in such a state of busy-ness that they hadn't read your letter, and I had to sketch it all in again, despite preoccupiedness of each moment. They queried about a bit as to what it would take, and I stood my guns for something like a fifth of the whole million and a half, saying I could not go to responsible people in each State and offer them

merely uncertainty and temporariness about paid personnel for a school committee. Finally it was suggested that some such sum as $25,000 was the upper emergency limit in the Ford Foundation proper, and that if we cared to get in in four or five days a letter requesting something on that order to finance pilot school committees in two States (one upper and one lower South), an effort would be made to crowd the request into a budget being prepared for a forthcoming Pasadena meeting of the Ford Foundation proper.

I came on back and consulted Leonard and my best advisers here and talked by phone with some of the Quaker people. Conclusion in the attached letter to Freeman. You can read between the lines and see that we were afraid that the exertion of getting that sum, staff-wise, would use up either the staff's good will or the patience of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, leaving us with only that sum for this year. It may have been the wrong decision. I don't know. But there it is.

Another thing that influenced our thought was facts gleaned in a conference with Elmo Roper, to whom I had a card from some of his long-ago New Orleans friends. The Board of the Fund for the Republic at its meeting December 11 had eleven members present out of fifteen on the Board. They selected a planning committee of five, of whom Roper is one. The planning committee will meet all day every Friday in January. At the end of January the Board of the Fund for the Republic will assemble again and hear the report of the planning committee. I carefully was not told who the other four members are, but common sense would suggest that they are people in or near New York. As Roper praised Brownlee, I dare say Brownlee is one. The F for the R had an initial sum (elsewhere I heard that it was a million) and have been told that they may have up to $25,000,000 if they present a good plan for using it. From those statements I gathered that the F for R may be in a position to decide on us by February. Wherefore, I was the more loath to push the $25,000, with the possibility of the larger sum looming near.

I have been in touch with Ralph Rose again by phone, and He was to be in New York yesterday and try to give things another push.

Malcolm Bryan, I learned from McGill, who saw him before Christmas in our behalf, resigned from the F for R a few days after his appointment. He had trepidation on possible involvement of himself, as a Federal Reserve Bank official, with F for R activities which he thought might trespass upon lobbying. Told McGill he was well disposed toward us and offered to write the Fund for the Republic on our behalf anyway, but McGill did not push it, I suppose wisely, as a recent resignee would hardly be the best pusher. Anyway, if queried, he would be not unfriendly.

Roper told me the man Parten had lately given five million dollars for interracial activity in Texas, but I have not been able to find any trace of such a gift from my Texas connections.

A good deal will depend on who turns up as a replacement to Bryan.

No word yet from the Dr. Lawless in Chicago.

The auditor is here and will have his report in a matter of two or three

weeks. I am always glad to get that report, because it is a convenient document for money-raising approaches. I have written about, however, to the more accessible groups for early donations.

On the new salary schedule, the net payroll is $1,125. Old one was $999. New one would be more, except that Katherine Stoney collapsed into her job the job of membership secretary.

Your by-law proposal is excellent and will be followed through on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

January 26, 1953

Mr. J. Edwin Smith
Attorney
Texas Avenue Bldg.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Smith:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's letter to the Fund for the Republic, which Mrs. William H. Hogue asked us to send you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Encl.

C
O
P
Y

CROWN ZELLERBACH CORPORATION

343 Sansome Street

San Francisco, 19

Office of the President

January 26, 1953

Mrs. Louis Aronstam
834 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Blanche:

I have your recent letter on the subject of the Southern Regional Council. I am glad you are taking an active interest in the problem of race relations in the South; and from all I have heard so far, the Southern Regional Council is working effectively in this field.

As to the possibility of assistance from the Fund for the Republic, this is a matter which will not be considered for some months yet as, at the present time, the Board of the Council is developing a policy and program for operation, and selecting a permanent staff, including a Chairman and President. Until this is accomplished, no specific projects, such as the one you refer to, can be considered. You may be sure, however, when the request of the Southern Regional Council comes before the Board, I will remember your interest in it.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

J. D. Zellerbach
lmf

Zellerbach

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN & ABRAM
515 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG

February 3, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 4
Atlanta Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a letter Blanche Aronstam received from Dr. Zellerbach. If I can help you any further in this, or any other connection, please by all means let me know.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

A/c
Enc.

Jan. 2, 1953

Mr. James D. Zellerbach
343 Sansome Street
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Zellerbach:

If I recall correctly, I had the pleasure of meeting you in Los Angeles in the year 1920, when you were of some assistance to my father and me, who had an idea at that time that we wanted to buy a California newspaper.

I hardly expect you to remember this, but I am going to use this nebulous memory of the past to address you in behalf of the Southern Regional Council, whose request for aid doubtless will come before you as a member of the Board of the Fund for the Republic.

I have been a member of the Board of Directors of this organization for three years, and its annual meetings in Atlanta have never failed to inspire me with new faith in the human spirit. That there are in the deep South so many men of good will, men of such diverse faiths and interests who are willing to travel from their homes to discuss the South's No. 1 social problem, is stimulating enough; that they are as fiercely dedicated to the advancement of human justice as were the men who met together to proclaim the Declaration of Independence, is a revelation; and that they have accomplished so much with so little to work with is a tribute in part to their determination and in part to their success in acquiring a remarkable Executive Secretary, Dr. George S. Mitchell.

It is self evident that the cause for which this group stands deserves help from those able to give it. It would be presumptuous and unnecessary to tell you that. But what I'd like to convey to you is my strong conviction that this group represents the most promis-

ing medium which could be found through which that cause can be forwarded. The plan to set up grass roots organizations with paid staffs in each of the Southern States is well thought out. It is practical and constructive. I am certain, with the leaven that I know to be working in the South toward the gradual dissolving of old prejudices, that this plan can't help but be effective, especially under the leadership of Dr. Mitchell and such men as constitute the Board of the Southern Regional Council. Its implementation awaits only sufficient financing so that it may be tackled as a task to be done, rather than an experiment to be dabbled in.

Please give it your every consideration.

Sincerely,

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

January 6, 1953

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

How very kind indeed that was of you to write, and so persuasively, to Mr. Zellerbach and Mr. Finnegan.

The Fund for the Republic is the third autonomous foundation which will enjoy revenues from the Ford Foundation. F for R is to do things in the field of civil liberties and race relations.

I was in New York last week and talked to various people. F for R is still without a chairman and without an executive secretary, but I have some hopes that by February they will have decided what to do about us.

I won't be able to bring Alice to Daytona. Too many home responsibilities. I expect I will fly, but I haven't yet worked out the trip. I will let you know in a day or two. But am certainly proposing to stay at your home that night, Friday, January 23.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Jan. 2, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We'll expect you, and I hope Alice, on Friday, Jan. 23. If you are not coming by car let me know when you'll arrive at the airport or railroad station so we can meet you.

I have written letters to two people on the list of Board members of the Fund for the Republic, whatever that is. I assume it is a sort of subsidiary of Ford Foundation. Enclosed find copies.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely,

Herbert

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

Enc.

Zellerbach, James D.

Morris Abram tells me that Mrs. Aronstam is a West Coast person with many musical connections there, and would doubtless be able to reach Zellerbach. GSM to visit the Aronstams.

Samuel at Sidney Hillman Fund told GSM he would ask Potofsky to be in touch with Zellerbach.

Jan. 2 Morris Abram called Mrs. Aronstam, who knows Zellerbach well, who got him to finance a scholarship for an acquaintance to Italy. Abram will supply her with a memo re SRC, and she will be asked to telephone Zellerbach, saying that as one living in the South she knows grave importance of SRC, etc.

Herbert Davidson wrote Zellerbach Jan. 2, 1953.

Mrs. Aronson was asked by Mr Abram to write him about Jan 16. '53.

January 26, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Dr. Mitchell was leaving for a trip to Arkansas just as your letter arrived this morning, so did not have time to write you personally. He agreed that it would be a good idea to send Mr. Smith another copy of the letter to the Fund for the Republic, and I am doing so today. And here is another copy for you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Encl.

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

Friday

Dear Dr. Mitchell.

As I planned, I saw Mr. Smith this morning, and he offered to see Major Carter, and I hope will give him your statement. I did not say that you wanted him to read that perhaps quite emphatically enough, so will drop him a short line tonight, reemphasizing it; the reason being that I did not know but what I might get further with Mr. Smith, if he felt it was my personal concern or S.R.C.

Mr. Smith considers him a broad, enlightened, liberal democrat — seeing Negro-white relationships as part of democracy. He is a U. of Texas

He is meeting with them quite easily.

alumnus. struck it rich on oil during the Roosevelt administration, and the President appointed him to some important commissions — among them, the International Oil & Petroleum Commission. In addition to his being an educated man who has come in contact, thro' travel, with enlightened people, he thinks the Roosevelt contact was a factor. He is very much interested in making money, (but not too inordinately so) and is surrounded, therefore, by men of a different outlook. Mr. Smith knows him from the political angle, not the social, because he doesn't have that kind of money. For Alfred on his racetracks, whom we have trusted so much, appointed him to the Board of Regents of the University. His money throws him into prominence despite his liberal views. He does not believe he has the amount, tho' to have

given five millions. The first Mrs. Parten and Mrs. Smith are very good friends, and that ex-wife is a thorough liberal. He does not know the second.

As to the Negro rate in the State for 1952 - he too, does not know of any accurate figures.

Mr. Smith is, judging from the calls when I was there, very busy, but I stressed that time was of the essence, and he said he'd try to see him promptly. If he was in Houston, and report the result to me. I also know a close friend of Major Parten, Mrs. R.D. Randolph, 2414 Rosemond but as he sees much more of her, I think, than I do, I won't try to talk to her.

As a logical reason for reminding him to frame the statement with Major Parten, should he be able to contact him, I'd offer to get him another, or better still, say you'll send him one. Make that is O.K. - His address is J. Edwin Smith, Attorney, Texas Co. Building. My earlier impression of him was confirmed today - simple, direct, warm, and very alert on Negro affairs. (Your release is fine - may I have one?) He has read the "New South", and seemed to agree with my glowing estimate of it. In the conversation, he mentioned the most recent copy of the Saturday Review of Literature's article - I've a recollection it may have been by Major Parten, or a friend of his.

I'm swamped with my publicity for February the eighth - hence haste and resulting mistakes. Please pardon.

Every good wish

Sincerely,

Oveta Hobby

Houston, Texas

The Council on Education in Race Relations will hold one of its customary community services of worship, interfaith and interracial, on Race Relations Sunday, February 8th, 3:30 P. M. at the First Christian Church, corner Main and Bell Streets. This Sunday service, observed throughout the nation, will be enriched for us by the presiding of the Rev. John D. Knowles, pastor of the church, the address by Dr. George D. Kelsey, and the exceptional singing of the Texas Southern University Choir, Dr. James E. Dorsey, Director.

Dr. Kelsey will speak on "Religious Bases for Human Rights", and is highly qualified for the occasion. He grew up in Columbus, Georgia, and was ordained to the Christian ministry in the Providence Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. His B. D. degree was received from Andover Newton Theological School and his Ph. D. from Yale University. Dr. Kelsey has been Director of the Morehouse School of Religion, Associate Director in Field Administration of the National Council of Churches, and is now Associate Professor of Christian Ethics at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey. Among other writings, he is the author, with others, of the Christian Way in Race Relations. In November, 1952, he was the main speaker at the Texas Conference of the Methodist Student Movement, whose host was the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

"The brotherhood of man will become an established fact as soon as each man determines to live like a brother in relation to his fellows. * * * He who wishes to enter into fellowship with the nation or race with which he lives must free himself from all isolating practices and beliefs. * * * There is no loftier human experience than that of becoming one with all mankind."

This service can be a channel for such an experience. Will you use it by attending yourself, by informing the members of your organization about it, and by appointing a group to attend. If this comes to you as an individual, we shall welcome your attendance and any assistance you may give by telling others of the service.

Thank you very much.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL:

Ministers' Association of Greater Houston
Rabbinical Association of Houston
Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance
The United Church Women of Houston
Jewish Community Council
Young Women's Christian Association
The Council of Churches of Greater Houston
Houston Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Letters to ministers the same except that I ask the grounds that they appoint to retain later in their meetings.

January 21, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Many thanks for digging around about the voting matter. We had various estimates on hand and finally accepted 175,000 as the total number of Negro persons registered to vote in Texas. It may be higher or it may be lower!

How kind of you to send the check. We are grateful.

I am counting on you to be in touch with Mr. Smith at the end of this week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oc

$5.00

RECEIVED
JAN 19
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas
January 17, 1953.

Dear Dr. Mitchell.

I regret so much that I have unable to obtain any authentic figure re the Negro vote in Texas. It appears that several groups are or have been concerned about getting it but with no definite results yet, so far as I could learn.

I've just called Mr. Smith's office. He phoned this morning that he would return on Wednesday so I plan to see him Friday.

With every good wish.

Olivia Hogue (Inside)

P.S. I hope the enclosed will help a bit with the phone calls.

P.P.S. Since writing this, Mrs. Bernice T. Smith, Executive Harris County Democrats, 2501 Crawford, Houston, has called me after I talked with her. The above is the official name, but they are the Loyal Democrats. I know her very favorably. She thinks you can get a clearly indicative figure by writing the Tax Division, State Capitol, Austin, Texas, and getting the list of some 260 County Tax Assessors for the State. She thinks for the most part they will have the Negro rate broken down. She reports that of the 19 precincts in Harris County, predominantly Negro voters, the vote was:

20,181 Stevenson
1015 Eisenhower
2 Progressive or Communist

She says whenever they can help you, do write her, above address.

Parten

January 13, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Mighty nice of you to write me further about Mr. Parten. All in all, sounds better than I had dared to hope.

If I could be in Washington myself in the next few days, I would hunt up Mr. J. Edwin Smith, but I hesitate to entrust an indirect contact to Washington friends. What would you think of your going to see Smith when he gets back to Houston? That seems to me normal and quite helpful. Do it if you think well of it.

Here is a copy of a letter sent on to the Fund for the Republic. If, through Smith's kindness, Mr. Parten would read it (before the end of January if possible), that would be quite a contribution to the Council.

I sent a copy of this letter to Mrs. Crate ten days or so ago and asked her to be pondering its applicability to Texas.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

P.S. Please pardon my closing in the most formal fashion. I want to get this to you at once for fear it may be too late.
Best wishes
O. H.

5319 Cherokee St
Houston 5, Texas
January 10, 1953.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I so regret that I, too, can't help with much telling information about Mr. Tarter. He was prominent — at least to membership on the Reception Committee for Adlai Stevenson, I think it was — in the last campaign, and fought openly against Governor Shivers, and has opposed the Dixiecrats. An exceptionally well-informed "liberal" tells me of the latter points, and he says that all he has heard of him has been "uniformly good." Another friend, a social worker, says that

four or five years ago he went to his office to get a check for $100.00 for the Texas Social Welfare Association. Learned from him by a close relative and gathered because he was interested in the legislative program. Mr. Carter struck him as being a warm person by temperament (when I questioned him) and he thinks now he is probably in his late forties or early fifties.

This same friend, a Quaker, says that the money from the Ford Foundation now being used in Texas for two workers for two years, headquarters in Dallas, is "ridiculous for Negroes. Would not familiarize approach five million" - but since a larger sum is being spent over the South in a fund & Point 4 program, I wonder

If he has not donated thro the Fund or the Republic
I learned that he is not known to Dr. Lamer, Tres.
T. S. U. nor is he a member of the N. A. A. C. P.
locally, and the Executive and I both think that if
a large donation had gone to the National Office, she
would have been informed.

I remember his efforts in behalf of Dr. Kainey and his
stand against the Dixiecrats, and particularly Governor Sheers
suggests that he is not afraid to buck popular opinion.
He lives at 1913 Sharp Place, a section of Tuxedo
Oaks, swank suburb, and is Pres. of the Woodley Petroleum
Co. office, 2nd National Bank Building. His officers,
appearing in the Directory, are not prominent from a
community standpoint, so far as I know.

But then again with the tidelands question up and possibly
his own financial interest involved, he was on the other
side. The picture interests me.

I have one lead you may find helpful. Mr. J. Edwin Smith,
Sen. attorney - D.K. I believe on the Negro question and his wife also
who works with him - was Chairman here of the Fund for
Stevenson. Several people think as I do, that they may know
him well. Years ago, in one of the campaigns, in which the
Smiths were working, an interracial meeting was held in the
Parten home. And the latter was still working with them in
this one, you see. Mr. Smith's office tells me this morning
that they will be at the Statler Hotel, Wash. D.C. for a
week or ten days. They left yesterday afternoon. A mutual
friend thinks my name will register, and you are most
free to use it in communicating with them, as well as my deep

interest in S.F.C. Mr. Smith was with the Commission several yrs.
Public Library, and the day of that Committee contacts here.
Tuxedo Division Tague.
Thing he was fine.

January 6, 1953

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Many thanks for your letter of January 1.

Here are a couple of copies of the FEPC New South.

I was told on pretty good authority in New York the other day that Mr. Parten "lately gave $5,000,000 for interracial work in Texas." If he did, I do hope he gave it to you or your friends! Can you find out any more?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

2410 Ivywood Drive
Houston 19 Texas
Jan. 1, 1953.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter concerning the Board members for the Fund for the Republic came when I was out of town.

In regard to Mr. J. R. Parten. I do not know him personally but he has functioned on a number of civic committees and projects in Houston, especially in a monetary capacity.

I worked with his former wife on the Y.W.C.A. Board and have been in their home twice when the meeting was interracial. He was not present so I do not know his attitude toward our work.

Please send a copy of the New South for Sept. 1952 to me, if you have one to spare. I sent mine to the University of N. Mexico on request for information on F.E.P.C.

Kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year,

Cordially yours. (Mrs. Jas.) Margaret B. Crate

January 6, 1953

Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Rayzor:

Many thanks for your letter of January 1 about the Good Neighbor Commission.

If you get any more information on Mr. Parten, do let me have it.

We are still aglow with your kindness in sending in that fifty dollars at Christmas time!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

.. 1.

Austin, Texas.
Jan 1, 1953.

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1953
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Please forgive my delay in answering your inquiry concerning the Good Neighbor Commission. It is mainly a body created to deal with Mexican problems. There has been a good deal of discrimination here in Texas against Latin-Americans, who comprise a large segment of

the population here. In Houston alone, there are some 40,000 Mexicans, as in San Antonio, they represent about one-third of the total citizenship. The Chairman, Mr R. E. Smith, is a very fine Christian, who has taken the lead independently, not there the Commission, in keep for the negros in this area.

You asked if I knew Mr. Porter. Yes, but very slightly. He is a liberal & is pleading with Gov. Stevens a Democrat. Regards - many wishes for a good year.

Eugenia Rogers

December 23, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Can you give me a line on the man Jubal Parten in this list?

Obviously, as one of the two Southerners on the Board, he will be influential in our case.

Have you any means of getting his sympathetic interest? If so, please do it and let me know.

Observe also Marion Wright's letter to the Fund for the Republic. I would greatly value your advice about it. It seemed to us the right way to proceed. I have sent a copy to Mrs. Crate. If you in Texas like the idea, you could unroll it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

December 16, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

We notice that the papers a couple of days ago announced the new Board for the Fund for the Republic. This is the Board that will have to pass on us.

The only two Southerners on it are Malcolm Bryan in Atlanta, who is a bank economist, and Jubal R. Parten of the Woodley Petroleum Company in Houston.

Will you be kind enough to write us something about Mr. Parten?

I had a letter from Mrs. Rayzor the other day, and I have asked her to send us something about Mr. Parten too.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Parten

December 16, 1952

Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Rayzor:

How kind that was of you to send us a whole fifty dollars! It came at a time when we were particularly low on funds at the end of the year, and we appreciate it very specially.

On the matter of libraries, we have just, in the last day or two, agreed to make a survey by mail of library facilities all over the South on the matter of access by Negro citizens. It will take the usual two or three months for the results to come out in NEW SOUTH, but we hope that within that time we can have a table that will be helpful.

Can you tell us something about the Texas Good Neighbor League, which had some political notice a few weeks ago? We had never heard of it.

Also, I would be most grateful for confidential word from you about Mr. Jubal R. Parten of the Woodley Petroleum Company of Houston; he was appointed the other day to the Board of the Fund for the Republic, which is to distribute the Ford Foundation's aid in this general field. We have a long-standing application with the Ford Foundation, which the new Fund for the Republic will have to pass on, soon, we hope.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

HORSE VALLEY RANCH
MEDINA, TEXAS

Dec 12, 1952

Dear Mr Mitchell,

I have delayed writing you because of the serious illness of my husband. He is much improved now, for which I am very thankful.

Thanks for the splendid report of this year's work of the SRC. I was particularly impressed with the information gathered on housing, and its connection with delinquency and mob violence. Here in Houston we have had a condition that threatened to follow the Miami pattern.

HORSE VALLEY RANCH
MEDINA, TEXAS

A group of us have formed a Council of International and Government Category to be ready and alert in case of any emergency along this line.

Our International Commission is at present working on city library facilities. Negros are not permitted free access to books in our Central Library. Any suggestions you feel free to make to us along this line would be greatly appreciated.

I wish I could be of more financial assistance. At any rate, the enclosed check carries my heartfelt wishes + hopes for the continued success of the Council.

Cordially,
Eugenia Rayson (Mrs. Rayson)

$50.00
K.S.

January 28, 1953

Mr. John A. Griffin
Emory University, Ga.

Dear John:

I doubt that this is the right tone for your letter to Mr. Zachry, but I think all the information you want is included. Do with it what you can; and if I have left out anything, let me know, and I will supply it at once.

This is why we count you among the most loyal.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:ec
Encl.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council was in large measure an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 out of the racial troubles which came after the first World War. Thus, in friendship and reputation and responsibility, the Council goes back thirty years. Its members are Southerners of both races who are active in the civic life of their communities—ministers, teachers, college presidents, leading church women, business men, doctors, and the like. In the Council, these people have sought to build a human relations organization which expresses the best in Southern thought and conscience.

The Council's leadership is typified by the signers of its charter, who were Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Rufus Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Over the years, the Council has worked quietly but steadily for improved race relations. It has fostered the employment of Negro policemen, promoted fairer handling of racial news in Southern papers, spread the facts about our bi-racial school systems, pressed for Negro representation on official bodies, provided a network of trustworthy people who know how to lessen racial tensions and avert violence, and issued a series of publications on Southern life which have won wide acceptance.

In order to do more of this sort of thing more effectively, funds are needed for paid personnel in every Southern state who can give detailed guidance and direction to local programs. Also, the growing body of research in human relations, developed by our universities and colleges, needs to be related to communities where the problems are found. These needs are particularly immediate now, in order to ease the tensions and difficulties of a transitional period in Southern racial patterns.

The Council has applied to the Ford Foundation for funds to carry out this needed program in the South for the next five years. The application will be acted on by the newly established Fund for the Republic, the members of which are as follows:

James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney & Co., New York

Huntington Cairns, lawyer, Washington

Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Russell L. Dearmont, lawyer, St. Louis

Richard Finnegan, Consulting editor, The Chicago Sun-Times

William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, Calif.

M. Albert Linton, president, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia

George N. Shuster, president Hunter College, New York

Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School

Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago

Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Co., Houston

Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York

Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, wife of William Edwards Stevenson, president of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corp., San Francisco

Kestnbaum, Meyer

Alex Miller said Dec. 17 he had sent a memo to his Chicago office for information on Kestnbaum.

John Griffin Dec. 18 undertook to get his acquaintance, Zachry, necessarily acquainted with the Hart, Schaffner & Marx man, to talk to or write to Kestnbaum. John Griffin doesn't know Zachry's views anent these matters, but Griffin and GSM took a chance.

Samuel at Sidney Hillman Fund told GSM he would ask Potofsky to be in touch with Kestnbaum.

Remembered June 21. GSM.

John Griffin talked to Zachry in Atlanta, who, about the end of Jan., promised to write Kestnbaum & praise the Council. HCF prepared basic data for John Griffin.

February 2, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Here are the clippings, including an extra one of the article on Mrs. Tilly.

I do hope something will come from the contact with Clarence Johnson and Chester Davis. And if you get to see Straus, along about now ought to be time for that to come off the stove.

The Sidney Hillman people told me by phone today that they only squeezed us out $1,500 instead of $2,500, but that will come this week, they said. And that will solve our most pressing payroll problem.

I spent last week in Arkansas and saw John Rust. Future prospects pretty good for an annual contribution of a couple of thousand dollars from the John Rust Fund. He begins now to get royalties from his cotton picker invention.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 1
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 28, 1953

Dear George:

I enclose copy of a letter from Clarence R. Johnson to my brother under date of January 16. I think that Mr. Johnson is a Negro; at any rate he is quite a well known figure in inter-racial matters and, through my brother, knows a good deal about SRC. My brother has told him that you need money--the year's under statement--and I hope he may be reporting something of interest to my brother today. If and when I hear anything, I shall pass it on to you.

I also enclose letter from Chester S. Davis under date of Jan. 22 to me. Of course, you place Mr. Davis in memory. I wrote him a short while ago asking if I could come down and have lunch with him and secure his good offices in getting me entree to certain Winston-Salem people of wealth who might be of some help to us. The enclosed letter is the reply to my communication.

If the snow is all melted by tomorrow morning, I plan to drive down to Winston-Salem for the interview with Mr. Davis and such other interviews as he may arrange.

I am going over the proposed new by-laws very carefully and will write you about them more fully in the next few days.

I am keeping the list of names of members of the Fund for the Republic constantly before me. I believe that I may perhaps reach Dean Griswold through certain South Carolina lawyers who went to Harvard. Unfortunately, most of them would be somewhat luke warm on matters in which SRC is quite interested. You will be advised of any approach which I may try to make to any of these men.

I am going to send the Christian Science Monitor's article to Mr. Straus at Asheville and believe that it would be a good idea to send at the same time two editorials from the Asheville Citizen which I have mailed you in the last few weeks. If you can put your hands on these clippings, I will appreciate your getting them back to me since they might do some good if they were placed before Mr. Straus.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

[redacted]

January 16, 1953

INFORMAL

Mr. Preston L. Wright
Executive Director
Los Angeles County Housing Authority
439 North Panola Walk
Los Angeles 22, California

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is to advise that I'll be passing through Los Angeles enroute to San Diego on January 26.

In connection with the items we discussed regarding the Southern Regional Conference, I have some information I will be glad to impart to you.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE R. JOHNSON
Racial Relations Officer

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY

WINSTON-SALEM TWIN CITY
JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
MORNING SUNDAY EVENING

WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

Jan. 22, 1952

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright-

The invitation is fine and appreciated and I would very much like to take advantage of it. When you come to Winston-Salem the next time why don't you drop Frank a line and ask him to call me.

Like you, I am disturbed that so little is being done to prepare people for the changes that are coming in the field of race relations. Just yesterday our local school board solemnly ruled that Negroes would not be allowed in the municipal auditorium. Now, of course, there will be a test made of that ruling. The unawareness of the extent of the changes now underway is frightening.

Sincerely
Chester S. Davis
Chester S. Davis

W S J S "THE JOURNAL AND SENTINEL STATIONS" National Broadcasting Company Affiliates WSJS-FM

FLY, SHUEBRUK AND BLUME
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK
CIRCLE 7-3040

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY
PETER SHUEBRUK
JACK P. BLUME
WILLIAM J. DURKA

WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6190

February 3, 1953

Dear Bob

Through the Foundation I assume you have some concern with the "Fund for the Republic Board". I want to commend to the Boards earnest consideration the merit of the Southern Regional Council. This is a very solid and constructive organization devoted to the solution of the practical problems underlying the South's interracial and interfaith needs. The people involved in the undertaking are of the South's most responsible, civic minded citizens. They are trying to do a real and much needed job in accordance with the highest American traditions.

If you want more specific information, I will try to dig it up.

Please help in any way you can.

With all kind regards,

Very sincerely

Larry

James Lawrence Fly

Mr. Robert Hutchins
Ford Foundation
914 East Green Street
Pasadena 1, California

Herbert — Best to you and Lillian and S.R.C.
Larry

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 4, 1953

James Lawrence Fly, Esq.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Larry,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 3, with its mention of the Southern Regional Council.

The Fund for the Republic is still very much in the organizational stages. The Board has had several meetings, but we have not as yet worked out any clear policies. And, in particular, we have not yet selected a President. Until a President is chosen, and we have his recommendations, it is hard to know just what sort of activities the Fund will pursue, and whether "disbursing" will be one of the activities which it will undertake.

In the meantime, I can assure you that several members of the Board are aware of the Southern Regional Council, and know of its activities. When the time comes, I feel quite certain that it will not be overlooked.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Erwin Griswold

FLY, SHUEBRUK AND BLUME
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK
CIRCLE 7-3900

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY
PETER SHUEBRUK
JACK P. BLUME
WILLIAM J. DURKA

WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6190

February 3, 1953

Gilbert
Fidelity Onion Skin

Dear Erwin

I note your membership on the "Fund for the Republic Board". I want to commend to the Boards earnest consideration the merit of the Southern Regional Council. This is a very solid and constructive organization devoted to the solution of the practical problems underlying the South's inter-racial and interfaith needs. The people involved in the undertaking are of the South's most responsible, civic minded citizens. They are trying to do a real and much needed job in accordance with the highest American traditions.

If you want more specific information, I will try to dig it up.

Please help in any way you can.

With all kind regards,

Very sincerely

James Lawrence Fly

Dr. Erwin N. Griswold
Dean, Langdell Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

JLF:bm

GRISWOLD, ERWIN N.

Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote him Feb. 3, 1953.

f 112

February 5, 1953

Mrs. Milton Adler
New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
8116 Freret St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

How did you make out with Mr. Roper?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 6, 1953

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Herbert:

Hi! Those were good letters from Fly.

We are very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

FEB. 5, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 6

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ROOM 432
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR GEORGE:

LARRY FLY SENT ME THE ENCLOSED CARBONS.

THEY SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

SINCERELY,

Herbert

EDITOR

HERBERT M. DAVIDSON/EB

ENC.

RECEIVED
FEB 6
Southern Regional Council

FLY, SHUEBRUK AND BLUME
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK
CIRCLE 7-3040

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY
PETER SHUEBRUK
JACK P. BLUME
WILLIAM J. DURKA

WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6190

February 3, 1953

Dear Bill

I believe you are well acquainted with some of the men having to do with the "State of the Republic Fund". I have written comparable letters to Bob Hutchins, Erwin Griswold and Jim Brownlee. Bob, because of his relation to the Foundation, the other two as members of the Fund Board itself. Paul Hoffman I have barely met. My hope is you can and will communicate with him, and perhaps others.

My concern is with the Southern Regional Council. This is a very solid and constructive organization devoted to the solution of the practical problems underlying the South's inter-racial and inter-faith needs. The people involved in the undertaking are of the South's most responsible, civic minded citizens. They are trying to do a real and much needed job in accordance with the highest American traditions.

If you want more specific information, I will try to dig it up.

Please help in any way you can.

With all kind regards,

Very sincerely

James Lawrence Fly

The Honorable
William Benton
Southport, Connecticut

987 -

These sound good but not as if "recovery" were "just around the corner"

HWD

RECEIVED
FEB 16
Southern Regional Council

FLY, SHUEBRUK AND BLUME
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK
CIRCLE 7-3040

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY
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WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6190

February 13, 1953

Dear Herbert

Herewith the responses. Maybe this will help a little. If I can do more, please whistle.

Very sincerely

James Lawrence Fly

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Editor
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

THE FORD FOUNDATION
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

February 9, 1953

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
Associate Director

Mr. James Lawrence Fly
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Larry:

Thank you for your letter of February 3 in regard to the Southern Regional Council. I am passing it along to the Secretary to The Fund for the Republic in New York City.

As ever yours,

Bob

HUTCHINS, ROBERT M.

Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote Hutchins Feb. 3, 1953.

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

8116 FRERET STREET

NEW ORLEANS LOUISIANA

February 10, 1953

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
CHAIRMAN

RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MR. LESTER KABACOFF
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
TREASURER

MRS. ARIA STANLEY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STEERING COMMITTEE

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
MISS IONA BERTEAU
MRS. L. T. BURBRIDGE
MISS SADIE BARROW
MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
MR. LAWRENCE CHENIER
MRS. CORNELIA CRAWFORD
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
MRS. C. C. DeJOIE, JR.
MRS. GEORGE A. DREYFOUS
RABBI JULIAN FEIBLEMAN
MRS. T. JEFF FEIBLEMAN
THE REV. JOSEPH FICHTER, S.S.J.
DR. RIVERS FREDERICK
MRS. JOSEPH E. FRIEND
MR. JAMES E. GAYLE
MRS. ISAAC HELLER
MRS. VERONICA B. HILL
MISS BEATRICE HODGE
THE REV. N. A. HOLMES
MISS CARMELITE JANVIER
MR. LESTER KABACOFF
MRS. HARRY KELLEHER
MRS. CHARLES KELLER, JR.
MR. FRED KULLMAN
MRS. LUCIUS M. LAMAR
MRS. EDITH D. LASHMAN
MRS. DAGMAR LeBRETON
DR. HAROLD N. LEE
RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
MRS. RALPH P. LEVEY
MRS. SIMON K. MARX
MR. JOHN McCANN
MR. J. WESTBROOK McPHERSON
THE REV. FATHER V. J. O'CONNELL, S.M.
MISS MARY RAYMOND
MRS. PHILIP RITTENBERG
MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
MISS LUCILLE SAVOIE
MISS DOROTHEA SCHLESINGER
MRS. ROY M. SCHWARZ
MRS. ROGER P. SHARP
DR. RUTH SHUSHAN
MISS FLORENCE SYTZ
MR. A. P. TUREAUD
MR. ERNEST J. WRIGHT

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I have just returned from three weeks in New York and was delighted to get your letter of January 20, for you truly primed me so I could take advantage of two "golden" opportunities.

Mr. Adler and I had dinner with Elmo and Dorothy Roper on the 27th and a delightful evening that stretched into the morning hours. If I could ever be sure of one thing, it is, that Elmo is aware and optomistic about the future of your request. In fact, before the evening was over he began to express concern, as to whether the Fund for the Republic could get its own set-up in motion quickly enough to help. The more I talked with him, the more encouraged I felt over the chances of our dream materializing.

On Friday I reached Chicago, and as I was waiting in the station I came across Elmo again. He is on vacation and was trying to decide which one of three trains he should take ---I convinced him the Panama Limited and New Orleans and he agreed. Once again I found myself with a very long evening to pursue further, conversations that had been started in New York. Mr. Roper is still here but due to leave for Jamaica tomorrow.

I am going to be perfectly frank with you, despite the fact Elmo cautioned me not to tell you certain things. I feel it will be more helpful than harmful, and that it is not meant to be in any way critical.

The written appeal which was sent to the Fund for the Republic was one that they looked upon as a general appeal and as soon as it was read ---put aside. Elmo spoke up and said he had talked with you and felt he could point out to them some specific things which you had in mind. When he told them, they then decided to place it with the requests for consideration. I then asked Elmo if he felt it would strengthen our hand any to send another request with out and out specifics in it, and his reply was----- but definitely! He said to remember that the Fund is interested in specific projects. This was a suggestion he made and despite its validity, it may only serve as a source of inspiration for your second appeal.

This is the example: The impending Supreme Court Decisions will make a certain impact on the south regardless of the

outcome. If you could present your case and say, if segregation must be enforced.....then this and this and this must be done; on the other hand, if the decision says we are forced to have integration then.....this and this and this faces us. We need money for staff, for educational material, etc., ---then they consider that this is a sound project....and a project with specifics.

In addition, there is nothing that says all of the grant of money has to be used for this one thing. Elmo feels that you have in the above, a situation in which you cant miss getting money, for regardless of the decision of the Supreme Court there is a job to be done --- and you must have money to do it. Its as simple as that.

It does not need to be a lengthy appeal. Better that it be brief and concise, for Elmo and about three other people know what you want and are sympathetic to it. However, to swing the others along when it comes up for attention, you must send another appeal with specifics.

If I may be of help to you in any way, please feel free to call upon me. You know I'll do all I can.

We are pleased that Mr. Abrams will be here on the 25th for our Annual Meeting. We are making it an open meeting and hoping to stimulate interest that will grow into gaining additional members for us. Our plans for 1953 include several open meetings with outstanding people who can help us retain an interested and alive membership.

I shall send you a copy of the flyer and the letter we are using. Also hope you note on the bottom of the letter the note about expired memberships. We are grateful to your office for their help in supplying that information to us. We are also enclosing the membership blanks that I requested.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours
Elizabeth T. Adler
Mrs. Milton P. Adler

Roper, Elmo

Alex Miller said Dec. 17 he would, on an early trip to N.Y., try to open contact with Roper.

30 Rockefeller Plaza, Plaza 7-4900.

Alex Miller told me Jan. 8 that the ADL's head man would be seeing Roper in the next couple of days and would reiterate his interest in us.

Mrs. M. Adler was to see him in late January.

Alex Miller had note from Benjamin Epstein Feb. 11

saying he (Epstein) had spoken to Elmo Roper, and would contact him again.

f V12

February 18, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Harold and Katherine and I have read with the greatest interest your long letter of February 11. All praise for getting thus near to the citadel.

Chester S. Davis called over here Monday and talked to Fleming, who was ill at home. He wanted to get an article in the Winston-Salem paper for Sunday, February 22, and his deadline was this Wednesday morning. So in great rush-rush, we collected evidence of action since the exhibits and sent it all off to him, air mail, Tuesday night.

It so happens that Harold Fleming did write Chester S. Davis ten days or so ago, with pleasant allusions to the success of the FEPC number.

We were teased by a long distance telephone call from New York, quite unidentified, that came through for you here Monday after 12:30 p.m. Emily Calhoun explained to the New York operator that reaching you at Linville Falls, via Marion, was complicated, and in the end she gathered that whoever the New York party was would drop the call. We thought maybe that was some of your pressures popping out.

We are setting a meeting of the Executive Committee for Saturday, March 21. Hope that is all right with you.

I haven't done anything about setting a date for the annual meeting. You remember, at the last meeting of the Executive Committee it was put that the meeting had to be before March 30. I don't see us any nearer to real decision, so I have just not set a date.

I am planning a northward trip for the week beginning Sunday, March 1. If you're going to be at home late that afternoon, I would want to stop by and check things over with you.

Mrs. Adler wrote us most interestingly. She had seen Roper for several hours in New York and had given him quite a lot about the Council. A few days later

she met him in Chicago and persuaded him to come on down to New Orleans for a rest on his way to Jamaica. He stayed with the Adlers in New Orleans about a week. So she could tell him some more. Apparently, we are in the running, and she wants us to write up a renewed request to the Fund for the Republic, casting our appeal in project form. I gather it is to be mainly the School Committees thing, but it is permitted for the money for the School Committees to carry the weight of other specific things to be done by paid State personnel also. Bless me, I had hoped that those eminent ones, the Fund for the Republic, would be beyond the stage of wanting projects, which is a baby stage in foundation work, it seems to me. And it is deucedly hard to make the things that the Council does fit into Project molds. But compelled, I guess we can. We are drafting such a thing, and I will send it up to you for your scrutiny, revision, signature, and dispatch--if you agree at all.

It does seem to me that, what between Chester Davis and Elmo Roper, plus all the other cultivating that has been done, we ought to get somewhere. Herbert Davidson got his friend, Larry Fly, former head of the Federal Communications Commission, to write to Hutchins, Griswold, and William Benton, chairman of the Board of Encyclopaedia Britannica, who is close to Hutchins. Hoffman resigned at about that time, as you know. Benton, in writing back to Fly, said, "My own impression from my talk with Bob Hutchins and Paul Hoffman is that the Southern Regional Council is exactly the kind of organization in which the Fund for the Republic may wish to take an interest."

Griswold, in replying to Fly, referred to the inchoate state as yet of the Fund for the Republic--no president, and therefore no recommendations from a president--but said, "In the meantime, I can assure you that several members of the Board are aware of the Southern Regional Council, and know of its activities. When the time comes, I feel quite certain that it will not be overlooked."

Presently finances are at a low ebb. We really ought to have an extra $10,000 to see us through till the middle of this year. That was how we made out last year. And I don't know where such a ten thousand is coming from. One reason for going north would be to see whether Ralph Rose, lately of the AFSC, has any leads. Another would be to line up renewal of the Marshall Field grant for NEW SOUTH for this year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. I will check and try to get what you want about Winston-Salem. Harold Trigg, president of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, taught for several years in Winston-Salem. I think, at the State Teachers College. He still knows the town pretty well. He could tell you some of the suitable persons to help.

PP.S. Can you pick up the trail of Mr. Straus again?

fOVR

February 18, 1953

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
DAYTONA BEACH NEWS-JOURNAL
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Many thanks again for the extremely interesting replies to Lawrence Fly. They look more hopeful than otherwise, certainly.

Mrs. Milton Adler in New Orleans has had a good many recent opportunities to talk at length with Elmo Roper, and that encourages us also. Further, Marion Wright has turned up some leads to Chester Davis. For your and his and everybody's working, I still think the thing is going to come through. But they keep us mighty busy writing new proposals and projects and so on. And Goodness knows how long it will be. I only hope we can hang on to the shriveling vine until then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/ec

February 20, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

I told you that Mrs. Adler said Roper said we should, "but definitely" send in a more specific request.

Here is a first draft. Will you go through it and send it back, pronto, with your views?

As I am going to be in New York the 3rd and 4th of March, I suppose I could simply bring some copies of it on to my acquaintance, Freeman, in the Fund for the Republic. Perhaps I could then take one over to Roper or to his office. We could send one to Mrs. Adler too.

Harold and I have our trepidations about firing these successive missiles into the unanswering void of the Fund for the Republic. But we suppose the man Roper knows what he is talking about.

Advise us, please.

Observe that this is the only copy of the document, so treat it accordingly.

Thanks for the interesting clippings on Arizona and Avery County. Fundamentally, the two situations ought to be the same.

We will hope for Chester S. Davis's story along about Monday or Tuesday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

C
O
P
Y

J. H. WHITNEY & CO.

630 Fifth Avenue

New York 20, N.Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 2
Southern Regional Council

February 24, 1953

Mr. James Lawrence Fly
Fly, Shuebruk and Blume
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Larry:

It was a pleasure to have your letter of February 3. Only the fact that a considerable portion of my time is now being spent in Washington has prevented my thanking you for it.

I shall be glad to see that the Southern Regional Council is considered by the Fund for the Republic when we reach the operating stages. At present the organizational phase is keeping us busy, but that should hopefully be completed at an early date.

And I do hope to see you soon. Best regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jim Brownlee
HJ
James F. Brownlee

JFB:hj

FLY, SHUEBRUK AND BLUME
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK
CIRCLE 7-3040

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY
PETER SHUEBRUK
JACK P. BLUME
WILLIAM J. DURKA

WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6190

February 3, 1953

Dear Jim

After all these years, I still hope to meet up with you again. Maybe this will be the occasion. I note your membership on the "Fund for the Republic Board". I want to commend to the Board's earnest consideration the merit of the Southern Regional Council. This is a very solid and constructive organization devoted to the solution of the practical problems underlying the South's inter-racial and interfaith needs. The people involved in the undertaking are of the South's most responsible, civic minded citizens. They are trying to do a real and much needed job in accordance with the highest American traditions.

If you want more specific information, I will try to dig it up.

Please help in any way you can.

With all kind regards,

Very sincerely

Jim

James Lawrence Fly

Mr. James F. Brownlee
Greenfield Hill
Fairfield, Connecticut

JLF:bm

Fidelity Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

The Members of the

National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools

invite you to participate in

A Citizens Assembly on Education

to be held at the

Cosmopolitan Hotel, Denver, Colorado

in connection with

The Commission's Fourth Annual Dinner

January thirtieth and thirty-first

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three

R.S.V.P. *Dinner Subscription $4.00 per person*

MRS. BARRY BINGHAM . . . *Vice President, Louisville Courier-Journal and Times*
JAMES F. BROWNLEE, Vice Chairman and Treasurer . . . *General Partner, J. H. Whitney & Co.*
HODDING CARTER . . . *Editor, Delta Democrat-Times*
JOHN COWLES . . *President, The Minneapolis Star and Tribune*
EDWARD R. EASTMAN . . . *President and Editor, American Agriculturist*
SAMUEL C. GALE . . . *Vice President, General Mills, Inc.*
GEORGE GALLUP . . . *Director, Audience Research, Inc.*
MRS. BRUCE GOULD . . . *Editor, Ladies' Home Journal*
LESTER B. GRANGER . . . *Executive Director, National Urban League*
ROBERT HELLER . . . *President, Robert Heller & Associates, Inc.*
FRED K. HOEHLER . . . *Director of Public Welfare, State of Illinois*
PALMER HOYT . . . *Editor and Publisher, The Denver Post*
ROY E. LARSEN, Chairman . . . *President, Time Inc.*
MRS. SAMUEL A. LEWISOHN . . . *Chairman, Board of Trustees, Public Education Association*
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ROBERT LITTELL . . . *Senior Editor, The Reader's Digest*
STANLEY MARCUS . . . *President, Neiman-Marcus Company*
JAMES G. K. MCCLURE . . . *President, Farmers' Federation, Inc.*
NEIL H. MCELROY . . . *President, Procter & Gamble Co.*
GEORGE HOUK MEAD . . . *Honorary Chairman of the Board, The Mead Corporation*
KARL A. MENNINGER, M.D. . . . *The Menninger Foundation*
MRS. EUGENE MEYER . . . *The Washington Post*
LEO PERLIS, Secretary . . . *National Director, National CIO Community Services Committee*
VICTOR G. REUTHER . . . *CIO, Paris, France*
O. H. ROBERTS, JR. . . . *Partner, Roberts & Roberts*
RAYMOND RUBICAM . . . *Scottsdale, Arizona*
BEARDSLEY RUML . . . *New York, N. Y.*
HARRY SCHERMAN . . . *Chairman of the Board, Book-of-the-Month Club*
LOUIS B. SELTZER . . . *Editor, The Cleveland Press*
BORIS SHISHKIN . . . *Economist, A. F. L.*
RICHARD JOYCE SMITH . . . *Partner, Whitman, Ransom, Coulson & Goetz*
FRANK STANTON . . . *President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.*
CHARLES ALLEN THOMAS . . . *President, Monsanto Chemical Company*
P. BERNARD YOUNG, JR. . . . *Editor, Norfolk Journal and Guide*

HENRY TOY, JR. . . . *Executive Director*

Friday, January 30, 1953

MORNING SESSION

9:15—"The Commission and its Program"

MRS. EUGENE MEYER . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Trustee*—Moderator

Participants

The following members of the Commission will explain the background, development and program of the Commission:

JAMES F. BROWNLEE, MRS. SAMUEL A. LEWISOHN, STANLEY MARCUS, NEIL H. MCELROY, GEORGE HOUK MEAD, DR. KARL A. MENNINGER and FRANK STANTON.

10:30—"One Town's Schools" (Greeley, Colorado)

RICHARD JOYCE SMITH . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Trustee*—Moderator

Participants

HON. H. BRADFIELD . . . *Justice, State Supreme Court*
MRS. INEZ MCKINLEY . . . *Member, Board of Education*
MR. BURL HEWITT . . . *Chairman, Citizens' Advisory Committee*
DR. LESTER GRIMES . . . *Superintendent of Schools*

LUNCHEON SESSION

12:15—"Lay-Professional Cooperation in Public Education"

Participants

Yearbook Committee of the National Society for the Study of Education:

MR. A. H. BLANKENSHIP . . . *Superintendent of Schools, Tacoma, Washington*
DR. WILLIAM A. BROWNELL . . . *Dean of the School of Education, University of California*
MR. J. C. MOFFITT . . . *Superintendent of Schools, Provo, Utah*
DR. EDGAR L. MORPHET . . . *Professor of Education, University of California*
DR. KENNETH E. OBERHOLTZER . . . *Superintendent of Schools, Denver, Colorado*
DR. THEODORE L. RELLER . . . *Professor of Education, University of California*

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30—"Significant Developments—Citizens at Work at the State Level"

SAMUEL C. GALE . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Member*—Moderator

Participants

ADAM S. BENNION . . . *Chairman, Utah Public School Survey Commission*
MISS VIOLET EDWARDS . . . *Executive Director, New York State Citizens Committee for the Public Schools*
DR. RAY LOWRY, JR. . . . *Education Chairman, Minnesota Junior Chamber of Commerce*
W. W. JACKSON . . . *Member, Texas State Board of Education*

FOURTH ANNUAL DINNER

of the

NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMISSION FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Friday, January 30, 1953 7:00—Silver Glade Room

PROGRAM

ROY E. LARSEN . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Chairman*

HENRY TOY, JR. . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Executive Director*

CLARENCE FAUST . . . *President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation*

PALMER HOYT . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Member, Editor and Publisher*

Dress Informal Adjournment: 9:45 p.m.

Saturday, January 31, 1953

MORNING SESSION

10:00—"The Citizen and the Schools—From Four Viewpoints"

GEORGE GALLUP . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Member*—Moderator

Participants

H. M. HAMLIN . . . *Professor, University of Illinois*

FRED HECHINGER . . . *Education Writers Association*

J. H. MACDONALD . . . *President, Colorado State Board of Education*

MRS. PEARL WANAMAKER . . . *Superintendent, Washington State Department of Public Instruction*

LUNCHEON SESSIONS

12:15—"Informal Interest Groups"

Three separate luncheons will be arranged to provide an opportunity to discuss problems with others from communities of about the same population as your own.

(continued on last page)

Saturday, January 31, 1953

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30—"National Organizations Work for Better Schools"

FRED K. HOEHLER . . . N.C.C.P.S. *Member*—Moderator

Participants

MRS. ROLLIN BROWN . . . *First Vice President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers*

CLAUDE W. FAWCETT . . . *Educational Director, Western Division, National Association of Manufacturers*

WILLIAM J. HART . . . *Director, District 19, United Steelworkers of America*

JOHN J. LACEY . . . *Director of Press and Radio Relations, American Farm Bureau Federation*

Throughout the two-day meeting, Commission members, citizen school improvement leaders, educators and Commission staff members will be available for consultation on the Mezzanine. Staff members will include:

HENRY TOY, JR. . . . *Executive Director*

Assistant Directors: ELEANOR COLE GLORIA DAPPER JAMES CASS

Regional Directors

SAMUEL G. ATKINSON . . . *New England Region, Boston, Massachusetts*

MAURICE D. BEMENT . . . *Southern Region, Louisville, Kentucky*

KENNETH H. DOBELBOWER . . . *Western Region, Sacramento, California*

CECIL H. HARTUNG . . . *Midwestern Region, Minneapolis, Minnesota*

LEEDS R. LACY . . . *Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, Colorado*

CLINT PACE . . . *Southwestern Region, Dallas, Texas*

Brownlee, James F.

GSM asked both Charles Johnson and Bob Weaver to ~~write~~ try to reach him.

Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote Brownlee Feb. 3, 1953.

February 24, 1953

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
THE NEWS-JOURNAL
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Many thanks for your interesting news. I had heard it whispered to the same effect, but will now believe it. I think, on the whole, that's good, as showing more courage in the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Hoffman

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Feb. 23, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 24
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I learned from confidential sources that Paul Hoffman will be Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely,

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA
342 MADISON AVENUE
SUITE 702
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

WILLIAM BENTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Recd 2/13/53

February 12, 1953

Dear Larry:

By now you have seen that Paul Hoffman has resigned as president of the Ford Foundation. Whether he will maintain an interest in the Fund for the Republic I haven't yet heard. There was a rumor that he might become chairman of its Board.

The present key problem is to select a president for the Fund. And, if Paul isn't the chairman, to decide on a permanent chairman. I do not recall the original announcement and thus am not clear as to whether a chairman was named but, if so, I think perhaps he was a temporary appointment.

My best advice to you is to keep your eye peeled for the announcement of the men who are going to take these key posts. Then move in on them on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. My own impression from my talk with Bob Hutchins and Paul Hoffman is that the Southern Regional Council is exactly the kind of organization in which the Fund for the Republic may wish to take an interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Bill

William Benton

Mr. James Lawrence Fly
Fly, Shuebruk and Blume
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

March 13, 1953

Mrs. Milton Adler
61 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

Here is the letter which Marion Wright sent to the Fund for the Republic. I sent to New York week before last and took up other copies like these. I left a number with the Fund for the Republic and was at pains to take one to Mr. Roper's office and leave it with his secretary for his personal attention (he being away).

I saw nobody high in the F. for R., but came away with some impression that they are unlikely to do the big things needed in the field of race relations. I hope as they get deeper in, they will come around. We've got some influential friends thereabouts.

Our warmest thanks to you for all that you have done. I think it will turn out to be quite a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 16, 1953

Mr. Oliver May, Treasurer
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. May:

At the request of Mr. Chester C. Davis, we are sending the enclosed photostatic copy of the United States Treasury letter, granting tax exemption to the Southern Regional Council. A copy has also been sent to Mr. Davis at Pasadena.

If any further information is required, please let us know, and we shall supply it at once.

We are most grateful to the Ford Foundation for this vital assistance to the program of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec
Encl.

March 16, 1953

Mr. Chester C. Davis
The Ford Foundation
910 Green Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Enclosed is a photostatic copy of the letter from the United States Treasury, granting tax exemption to the Southern Regional Council. A copy has also been sent by air mail special delivery to Mr. Oliver May in New York.

I shall see that your message is passed on to Mr. Wright and Dr. Mitchell as quickly as I can reach them by telephone. I know that each of them will want to write you personally.

Meanwhile, please accept my profound thanks, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, for this vital emergency assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec
Encl.

-1-

S.R.

The Gotham

RECEIVED MAY 20

5TH AVE. AT 55TH ST. · NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · PHONE CIRCLE 7-2200
TELETYPE NY 1-3091

May 18, 1953

Dear George,

I spent about an hour to-day with Messrs. Gordon and Matthews at the Ford Foundation office.

They received me cordially, knew all about the Council and of the twenty thousand dollar grant. They were interested in hearing the summary I gave them of "One Methodist Voice" — thought it was nice of us to inform them.

They stated that if anything in connection with the matter came to their attention,

The Gotham · Hampshire House · The Warwick NEW YORK CITY · The Blackstone CHICAGO · The Warwick PHILADELPHIA
Saranac Inn ON UPPER SARANAC LAKE, N.Y. · Sunset Tower HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. · Beverly Wilshire BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.
The Kenilworth MIAMI BEACH · Hotel Nacional de Cuba HAVANA · El Panama PANAMA CITY, R. OF P.

The Gotham

5TH AVE. AT 55TH ST. · NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · PHONE CIRCLE 7-2200
TELETYPE NY 1-3091

they would communicate with you promptly.

Sincerely,

The Gotham · Hampshire House · The Warwick NEW YORK CITY · The Blackstone CHICAGO · The Warwick PHILADELPHIA
Saranac Inn ON UPPER SARANAC LAKE, N.Y. · Sunset Tower HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. · Beverly Wilshire BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.
The Kenilworth MIAMI BEACH · Hotel Nacional de Cuba HAVANA · El Panama PANAMA CITY, R. OF P.

March 20, 1953

IMPULSES BROUGHT TO BEAR ON MEMBERS OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Brownlee, James F.

GSM asked both Charles Johnson and Bob Weaver to try to reach him. Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote Brownlee February 3. Received reply February 24.

Cole, Charles W.

Rufus Clement tried to see in California, but Cole wasn't there. Dr. Clement was to try to see him again in Washington in January.

Dearmont, Russell

At request of Alex Miller, Helen Cohn Schwartz contacted Dearmont and had personal interview with him January 14, giving him various SRC material and telling him about SRC.

Finnegan, Richard

Alex Miller wrote ADL people in Chicago December 17 for information on Finnegan. Herbert Davidson, who has slight acquaintance with Finnegan, wrote him January 2. GSM wrote Channing Tobias about Finnegan January 21. Paul Williams undertook January 21 to get a Chicago friend of his business partner (friend is an editor of CHICAGO SUN) to be in touch with Finnegan.

Griswold, Erwin N.

Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote Griswold February 3. Griswold replied February 4.

Kestnbaum, Meyer

Alex Miller wrote ADL people in Chicago December 17 for information on him. John Griffin talked to his friend Zachry, who is a good friend of Kestnbaum, and Zachry agreed to write Kestnbaum about SRC request. We sent John Griffin memo on SRC January 28, which John Griffin turned over to Zachry to send to Kestnbaum. Mr. Samuel at Sidney Hillman Fund told GSM he would ask Mr. Potofsky to be in touch with Kestnbaum on our behalf.

Linton, Albert M.

GSM asked Ralph Rose and Dick Bennett to try to reach Linton through Clarence Pickett.

Harold Fleming's father-in-law, Mr. T. A. Phillips, an insurance executive and longtime friend of Linton, was with Linton in February and discussed at length with him the Council's request. Mr. Phillips was fully briefed, having been supplied with a copy of the Council's original application. Linton declared himself particularly impressed with the urgent international reasons for Southern progress in race relations. He can at least be counted on to be thoroughly familiar with the Council and the purpose of its application for major help.

Parten, Jubal R.

Mrs. William Hogue in Houston supplied us with information in January about Parten. She contacted a Houston attorney, J. Edwin Smith, who offered to see Parten on behalf of SRC. Smith was supplied January 26 with copy of letter to Fund for the Republic.

Roper, Elmo

Alex Miller reported January 8 that the ADL's head man would be seeing Roper in the next few days and would put in a word for SRC.

Mrs. Milton Adler of New Orleans, a longtime friend of Roper, saw him several times during January and was able to supply him with detailed information about SRC. At Roper's suggestion, a second letter was written March 2 to the Fund for the Republic, outlining projects SRC would undertake if given a large sum of money.

Shuster, George N.

He is to be reached through Elmo Roper and also through a Washington friend of Paul Williams. Paul Williams talked with Shuster about late February.

Stevenson, Eleanor Bumstead

She was to be in India till March. A friend of John Griffin was to talk to her when she returned.

Zellerbach, James D.

Mrs. Louis Aaronstam of Atlanta wrote Zellerbach on behalf of SRC in January. Received reply January 26.

Mr. Samuel at Sidney Hillman Fund told GSM he would ask Mr. Potofsky to be in touch with Zellerbach.

Herbert Davidson, who has slight acquaintance with Zellerbach, wrote him January 2.

Other members of F. for the R. not contacted are William H. Joyce, Jr., of Pasadena, and Huntington Cairns, whom we concluded was on the board because of his expert tax knowledge.

Robert M. Hutchins has also been contacted. Larry Fly, at request of Herbert Davidson, wrote Hutchins February 3. Hutchins replied February 9.

Cairns, Huntington

We concluded that he is on the board for his expert tax knowledge.

Cole, Charles W.

Rufus Clement will see.

did not see in Calif (CC wasn't there) but will hope to see in March. Jan 23. 53.

Joyce, William H.

Stevenson, Eleanor Bumstead

John Griffin will try to reach.

In India till March. Jno G's friend will still talk to after their return.

Ffu.

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

Elmo Roper

May 28, 1953

Carolyn Crusius
Louis Harris
Burns W. Roper
Robert Williams
Julian L. Woodward

Mrs. Milton P. Adler
61 Versailles Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Tommie:

Thanks very much for your interesting letter of May 25th and its account of your meeting in Atlanta. I too was particularly impressed at the election of a Negro to the school board there, but we Yankees have come to expect the unexpected from certain southern communities.

You may be sure that I shall see that the Southern Regional Council gets a real hearing when the time arrives for that--which may be this fall, since we have now selected our new president, Congressman Clifford Case of New Jersey, who, like you, is a Republican but who is also like you in that he is a liberal.

Here's the list of the directors of The Fund for the Republic. There is as yet no executive committee, but there is a loosely formed, unofficial steering committee which consists of Paul Hoffman, George Shuster, Dean Erwin Griswold, and me.

James F. Brownlee, J. H. Whitney & Company
Huntington Cairns, National Gallery of Art
Charles W. Cole, Amherst College
Russell L. Dearmont, St. Louis, Missouri
Richard Finnegan, Chicago Sun-Times
Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard Law School
William H. Joyce, Jr., Pasadena
Meyer Kestnbaum, Chicago
M. Albert Linton, Philadelphia
Jubal R. Parten, Houston
Elmo Roper
George N. Shuster, Hunter College
Mrs. William E. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio
James D. Zellerbach, San Francisco

Cordially yours,

ER:bf

Elmo Roper

June 8, 1953

Mrs. Milton P. Adler
61 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mrs. Adler:

Your most welcome letter from Elmo Roper came just as Dr. Mitchell was leaving town. He read it and asked me to copy it and mail it back to you, with his many thanks. He will write you himself when he comes back next week.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Encls.

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

~~8116 FRERET STREET~~

NEW ORLEANS 18 LOUISIANA

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
CHAIRMAN

RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MR. LESTER KABACOFF
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
TREASURER

~~MRS. ANNA STANLEY~~
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STEERING COMMITTEE

MRS. MILTON P. ADLER
MISS IONA BERTEAU
MRS. L. T. BURBRIDGE
MISS SADIE BARROW
MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
MR. LAWRENCE CHENIER
MRS. CORNELIA CRAWFORD
DR. ALBERT W. DENT
MRS. C. C. DeJOIE, JR.
MRS. GEORGE A. DREYFOUS
RABBI JULIAN FEIBLEMAN
MRS. T. JEFF FEIBLEMAN
THE REV. JOSEPH FICHTER, S.S.J.
DR. RIVERS FREDERICK
MRS. JOSEPH E. FRIEND
MR. JAMES E. GAYLE
MRS. ISAAC HELLER
MRS. VERONICA B. HILL
MISS BEATRICE HODGE
THE REV. N. A. HOLMES
MISS CARMELITE JANVIER
MR. LESTER KABACOFF
MRS. HARRY KELLEHER
MRS. CHARLES KELLER, JR.
MR. FRED KULLMAN
MRS. LUCIUS M. LAMAR
MRS. EDITH D. LASHMAN
MRS. DAGMAR LeBRETON
DR. HAROLD N. LEE
RABBI EMIL LEIPZIGER
MRS. RALPH P. LEVEY
MRS. SIMON K. MARX
MR. JOHN McCANN
MR. J. WESTBROOK McPHERSON
THE REV. FATHER V. J. O'CONNELL, S.M.
MISS MARY RAYMOND
MRS. PHILIP RITTENBERG
MR. NUMA ROUSSEVE
MISS LUCILLE SAVOIE
MISS DOROTHEA SCHLESINGER
MRS. ROY M. SCHWARZ
MRS. ROGER P. SHARP
DR. RUTH SHUSHAN
MISS FLORENCE SYTZ
MR. A. P. TUREAUD
MR. ERNEST J. WRIGHT

61 Versailles Blvd.
June 4, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 8
Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

After my return from the SRC meetings, I sat down and wrote a long letter to Elmo Roper and told him how impressed I was with the outstanding work being done by SRC in the south.

I had recalled that someone mentioned they would like to know the members of the Executive Committee of the Fund for the Republic. The enclosed letter from Elmo gives you the inside information.

Would you be so kind as to copy any part or all of the enclosed letter and then return it to me? I would like to keep it in my file.

Please let me know if there is anything you want me to do at a later date on this matter. If there is any possible way for me to help get this money for SRC, you know I want to do it.

We are getting out our first Newsletter this month and I shall see that you get a copy of it. I think you will find it a small beginning, but we know it can grow into something worthwhile.

With all good wishes,

Cordially
Elizabeth T. Adler
Mrs. Milton P. Adler

June 17, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

I learn, in confidence, that the Executive Committee of the Fund for the Republic is properly to be described as a loosely formed, unofficial steering committee, and is composed of Elmo Roper, Paul Hoffman, George Shuster, and Erwin Griswold.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

f 12

June 23, 1953

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Nice to see you. And a thousand thanks for your usual many favors.

Thank Kitty for the beer.

Here are the people who are informally the executive committee of the Fund for the Republic: Paul Hoffman, George Shuster, Erwin Griswold, Elmo Roper.

Alice was delighted to have the picture and claimed it for hers and not for SRC.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

July 8, '53

Dear Marion,

Some small flurry that you should know about.

Two or three weeks ago at a meeting of Negro College Presidents, sitting I think as an advisory group to the F F's Fund for the Advancement of Education, four proposals were made as to things to do. One was to help bring Southern opinion around to complying with what the Court may order. The F for A of E people, when they got to themselves, liked that particular proposal, and began to turn their own wheels. They got hold of Harry Ashmore and then pulled him and Alex Heard (of UNC faculty) up to N. Y. last Monday, to talk about what to do. Meanwhile they had set up an appropriation from the F for A of E to do the job. Don'T know amount, but money seemsno special object. They all settled on two things to do.

1st. Get out, by Sept 30 (!) a report on what the law is, and might be, on costs, on attitudes of State officials, population distribution, present degree of equalization, etc., etc. Also have in it the experience of border-State areas where desegregation has been accomplished. Framework is an expectation of integration.

2. Draw together a group of very distinguished white Southerners, perhaps 50, who would at an appropr ate time make a joint statement, more or less related to the report, on calmness and compliance.

Ashmore can'T take on more than the light supervision of the job. Nei her can Heard do much, as at present otherwise committed. So they've asked Phil Hammer, now of Atlanta, and presently running the Committee of the South(in the Southern office if any) to push the report through. He is now deciding whether to accept. Probably will. Ashmore will be at Tryon this week end, and Hammer will confer with him there, and settle plans further.

Now all this had, so far as I could at first learn, proceeded in gay unconcern for SRC and its interest. I've dug in, and talked at length with Alex Heard, in Chapel Hil (by 'phone) this morning. He says the F for A of E people do know that SRC is before the F for R for a grant, and have had in contemplation, at any rate, the possibility that the F for R would come along and by sustaining us make possible the kind of detailed and long-run follow-up which the report and the statement would need. I insisted that all connected with this new project keep the coals under the F for R to that end, and Heard has promised me that he will so operate. And our friend Ralph Rose im in the

picture, too, and I am trying to reach him by phone, so that he will keep young David Freeman (who has been part of the central NY conferences) on the right track.

I've got Dr. Alexander concerned to do what's right, also.

Can't reach Adler to reach Roper, as she's a' sailing in the Caribbean, and doubtless Roper's off, somewhere, too.

What I foresee is that in these summer months decisions will be taken which will cast the die, and I want to do all I can to have our interests protected.

Note that as it is intended that the statement should be all white, and as the purpose is to influence white opinion, we are necessarily peripheral only. As is the NAACP, but (confidentially) the NAACP has been checked with by those porposing the new venture, and the plan is unobjectionable.

Letter this AM in Constitution as enclosed. Verner is a Unitarian layman, who was on the liberal side until a few years ago, when a hasty row in the local Unitarian church on interracial questions threw him the other way, and he's said to be afraid of his shadow. Practices law in Decatur. We think the Methodists should answer the letter, with a letter to the Constitution. But the right man is probably Dr. Mackey, who's fishing at Panama City for ten more days. So I'll let it simmer till Dr. Mackey's back, and try then to get him to write in that in pu ting down Craft they meant also to express their continued liking for us.

Here's copy of DA's letter, re Craft prosecution. I've written Leonard Haas, who comes back in a day or two, for advice. What do you say?

Sincerely,

GSM

Ralph Rose promised

(1) To see David Freeman when D.F. comes back from his vacation Aug. 2.

(2) To see very soon Rep. C. P. Case, of N. J., who is or will be Pres. of Fund for Republic, and to make clear to both SRC's role.

Aug. 24, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Executive Committee set for Friday, September 25.

It seems to me it is time to begin taking the Fund for the Republic request off the stove. Couldn't you go up there in mid-September and talk to all concerned? Mr. Clifford P. Case is the president of the Fund for the Republic, and his address is 655 Madison Avenue, New York 21. Bernard L. Gladieux is a secretary, perhaps executive secretary; same address. I should think you would need to write one or the other and make an appointment.

We would like to backstop you with Morris Abram, as being an Atlanta member of the Board and in the current of SRC affairs, as well as being expertly informed on the effort of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Also a fertile and resourceful wit, as you remember. Morris is willing to go in mid-September.

Of course, the trip for the two of you is at SRC expense.

If you are willing to take on the job, let me know, and we will hasten to reserve time with Morris. My guess is that the Ford Foundation people will, along about now, cheerfully save you time for September 14 or 15 or 16 or 17, as you choose. So I shouldn't so much fear it not being available up there. If the idea pleases you, say when you want to go, and I will try to line up Morris's schedule.

The two of you needn't move everywhere together. I should think there would be varying circles that each of you would be most influential in. But it seems to me you ought to operate together in the actual interview with the Ford people.

Thank Mrs. Wright for that rib-sticking corn bread and roast beef. Plus a Dairy Queen or two, it served me quite for supper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ff

September 2, 1953

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Healey Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Morris:

Marion Wright says it's all right for him to go to New York in mid-September, but asked me to make the date. I have wired the Fund for the Republic and asked for time for you and Marion Wright with an appropriate official on either September 14, 15, or 16. Will let you know as soon as reply received.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. S. Later in the day David Freeman of the Fund for the Republic called me. I made a date for you alone to see him 11:00 a. m., Tuesday, September 15, at the F for the R's offices, 655 Madison Avenue. I do hope you can go, because I think the two of you would understand each other and you could get him further along. He told me they are not yet ready to take their major race relations projects off the stove, so no need sending the two of you. But I had some notion you were heading North, anyway.

GSM

Fund for the Republic

AMHERST COLLEGE

Amherst, Massachusetts

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
OCT 5
Southern Regional Council

October 1, 1953

Dear George:

It was good to hear from you after all this time. You certainly do make a persuasive case for the Southern Regional Council. Some of it I have known about, but the picture you drew made it much clearer. I do not think that there is any doubt of the sympathy of the Fund for the kind of work you are doing, but there are some real doubts on what our policy is, particularly in regard to race relations. Our mandate has to do with civil liberties and while this is all implicated with race relations, both south and north, the lines we are going to have to draw are going to be very hard ones to establish. Our President, Clifford Case, has just been in office for six weeks and he is now all tied up with staffing problems. I will talk to him about the Southern Regional Council and I will hope that when we do formulate policy, it will be broad enough to include support for the Council. But, I wouldn't want to be too optimistic at this point.

If you ever get up this way, come and see us.

As ever,

Charles Cole

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 23, 1953

Mr David Freeman
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N Y

Dear Mr Freeman:

After Morris Abram's visit you very kindly wrote that I might send in word on further developments.

This year the job has been and is the schools. You remember our letter of last December (Item A), proposing a series of State School Committees, roughly paralleling official State School Boards, but honestly representing the whole community in each State. Each such Committee was to be served by the full-time personnel we want the Fund for the Republic to enable us to put into the various States. The Fund for the Republic was not then ready to act, and we have had to do what we could within our usual budget.

First thing was to get our people in each State to pick a volunteer who would bone up on the situation as to Negro and white schools, keep us informed, and work to build a helpful public opinion. Kentucky, Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee and New Orleans have done this, and we have a working relationship with our affiliated Committees in Georgia and Texas, and with North Carolina groups, to the same end. In the summer we convened the groups of volunteers or their alternates twice to discuss ways of proceeding. They asked for two pamphlets which they could use in getting local discussion groups going.

We put out the first in August and the second in September. Copies herewith as Item B. Questions and Answers develops the issue with accuracy and balance. The Check List enables a local group to get the facts on present differences between white and Negro schools locally so that assessment can be made of the impact in a given community of whatever changes may be indicated by the Supreme Court's pending decision. We've done a vigorous job of getting the two booklets into use out over the South. Description of the move-out in Item C.

In our own Council housekeeping, we've put ourselves organizationally in position to do the expanded program asked for in our original application of May, 1951. That involved adoption at our membership meeting last May of new by-laws, to come into effect at the discretion of the Executive Committee. They will make the Southern Regional Council itself into a Board of Directors. Each State organization is to have its own membership (starting with the present base of SRC members in the States, who would go into the reorganized State groups), its own Board and, with SRC's help and we hope that of the Fund for the Republic, paid staff. The Board of the Council itself would retain policy control over the State organizations as long as they depend upon SRC for help in paying their staffs, but each State organization would work toward full support from within its own State, and thereafter any link with the Southern Regional Council would be voluntary and merely federal. The change involved choice of a new Board of Directors for the Council, listed (with the new by-laws) in Item D.

On funds, the major contribution has been the twenty thousand from the Ford Foundation. We've more than matched that with support from a broad variety of people and organizations, but we have not yet found lump-sum support, as distinct from many small amounts, from within the South. A report on the year thus far is Item E.

The Council is ready and eager to undertake the action follow-up job that will need doing in the wake of the report from the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the school emergency in the South. We have the loyalty of the people who are the South's conscience in these matters, we have the organizational structure to work through, and, most important, exemplify the non-racial public-mindedness that is needed. For specifics, see Marion Wright's letter to the Fund for the Republic of March 2, 1953. (Item F).

Finally, we propose a self-liquidating program. What really occurred in race relations in the United States during and since World War II is of great interest. Essentially it was that a skill in solving matters of racial conflict, worked out by the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation (which preceded the Southern Regional Council) was consciously (and with Foundation aid) transferred to Northern states and cities. They have picked it up organizationally and now maintain, usually at public expense, the range of State and municipal commissions on human relations which are today an indispensable feature of the life of those Northern and Western communities which have substantial minority-group problems. The South has not yet been ready to support such services from public funds. One Southern city alone (Miami) has even a publicly authorized agency of this kind, and that lives without public money. Neither have our best efforts turned up the kind of support of corporations and of the well-to-do which would enable the work to be spread into localities profession-wise with integrity and faithfulness to the proper ambitions of the Negro community. But the pace of change is rapid. I am persuaded that if the needed service is built into each Southern state, with help mainly from the Fund for the Republic, within a five-year period grooves can be cut along which

these State and local agencies will move usefully and with local public or private support for as long as their services are needed. But the services must be put there, for the South to see and experience.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell

gsm: t

enclosures - 5

Southern Regional Council, Inc - Atlanta, Georgia - October 23, 1953

To: Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
New York, N Y

ITEM C.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - The Schools and the Courts was sent out promotionally to the following:

15 leading Southern editors, with personal letters;

Editors of all Southern church publications with any substantial readership - Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran and others;

The Catholic Committee of the South sent it out to editors of Diocesan papers and to leading members of the hierarchy;

Suitable principals in the Jewish organizations;

Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee;

St Petersburg (Florida) Council on Human Relations;

The Dade County (Florida) Commission on Human Relations;

The American Friends Service Committee;

The Secretaries of all Associations of white school teachers in the Southern states;

The Secretaries of all Associations of Negro school teachers in the Southern states;

Leading Board members of State Leagues of Women Voters in the South;

Members of the Board of Directors of the National Education Association;

Deans of Colleges of Education at various Southern universities;

Members of the Board of Directors of the Y M C A in its Southeastern and Southwestern area offices;

Leading personnel of the regional offices of the Y W C A;

National Citizens Committee for the Public Schools;

Members of the Southern Sociological Society;

Certain members of the United States Congress and the United States Senate believed to be interested in a friendly manner;

Selected trade union officials;

Bishops in the Methodist Church - Southeastern, South-central and Southwestern jurisdiction;

Bishops in the Protestant Episcopal Church in all Southern dioceses;

Leading figures in the Southern Baptist Convention;

Leading figures in the National Baptist Convention;

National Council of Negro Women;

Appropriate officials of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U S A;

The National Urban League;

and others.

* *

Here is a sample of the paid orders received and filled, covering both Questions and Answers and Check List

Girl Scouts of America, Region 5 - Atlanta	25
Butler Street Y M C A - Atlanta	100
Dr P W Hill - Clarksdale, Mississippi	20
Catholic Interracial Council of New York	40
Board of Home Missions - The Congregational Church	100
Morehouse College - Atlanta	200
Virginia Council of Churches	200
Father Marvin Bordelon - Simmesport, Louisiana	10
American Friends Service Committee - Greensboro, North Carolina	100
Mississippi State Department of Education	2000

ITEM C
Page three
October 23, 1953

American Friends Service Committee - Philadelphia -	100
American Friends Service Committee - Washington -	250
The American Jewish Committee	100
North Carolina Council of Christ	100
Anti-Defammation League - B'nai B'rith - New York	500
Jewish Community Relations Council - St Louis	25
Mississippi Division - Southern Regional Council	200
Georgia Teachers and Education Association - Atlanta	2500
Superintendent of Schools of Suffolk County, Va	7
Public Affairs Forum of Y W C A - Atlanta	16
Florida A & M College - Tallahassee, Florida	23
Arlington County (Va) Council of Church Women	10
Board of Education - Methodist Church - Nashville Tennessee	40
National Committee for Defense of Democracy Through Education - Washington, D C	25
National Student Council - Y W C A - Southern Region	25
National Board - Y W C A - Southern Region	40
Atlanta Urban League	12
Reverend Stephen Mackey - Charleston, S C	100
Carl B Hutcherson, Member, Board of Education Lynchburg, Virginia	10
Prof H H Barnett, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary - Louisville, Kentucky	36
Kentucky State Teachers Association	400
Department of Christian Social Relations (Protestant Episcopal) Diocese of Virginia	40

N A A C P - Winston-Salem, North Carolina	6
Wofford College - Spartanburg, South Carolina	20
North Carolina Conference of Negro Colleges	50
Race Relations Institute, Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee	150
University of Miami	25
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen - Durham-Raleigh (N C) area	20
North Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council - to members of local school boards	250
Students at Southern Labor School - A F L Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	50
Bishop S L Greene - A M E Church - Atlanta	50
Catholic Committee of the South	60
Anti-Defammation League - Richmond, Virginia	30
Mr Tom Foster - Norman, Oklahoma	50
Commission of Human Relations - Kansas City, Kansas	10

Similar orders continue to come in.

In addition to this circulation, each pamphlet was sent to the entire membership of the Southern Regional Council.

On October 20, 1953, the Fellowship of the Concern, a subsidiary of the Southern Regional Council, convened in Atlanta sixty-five leading church women from various denominations throughout the Southeast to discuss measures for bringing about a public opinion in the South favorable to whatever changes will come. They undertook to spread the use of the two pamphlets by local discussion groups.

Southern Regional Council, Inc - Atlanta, Georgia - October 23, 1953

To: Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
New York, N Y

ITEM D.

1. Mimeographed copy of new by-laws of the Southern Regional Council.

2. Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council as of October 23, 1953:

Abram, Morris B	Attorney	Healey Building Atlanta, Georgia
Atwood, Dr R B	Educator	Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky
Barbare, Dr Ralph	Educator	Winthrop Training School Rock Hill, S C
Bates, Mrs W F	Church Leader	125 Atkins Street Little Rock, Arkansas
Birnie, Mrs Cassandra M	Attorney	864 Hunter Street S W Atlanta, Georgia
Bond, Ulysses S	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Christopher, Paul R	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building Knoxville, Tennessee
Clement, A J	Insurance Executive	Charleston, S C
Clement, Dr R E	Educator	Atlanta University Atlanta, Georgia
Clingman, Rt Rev Charles	Bishop	421 South Second Street Louisville, Kentucky
Coker, James L	Manufacturer	Sonoco Products Hartsville, S C
Davidson, Herbert M	Editor	Daytona Beach News-Journal Daytona Beach, Florida
Duncan, O D	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College Stillwater, Oklahoma
Friedman, S Thomas	Social Worker	Southwestern Jewish Community Relief Council - Houston, Texas
Gomillion, Dr C G	Educator	Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Griffin, John A	Professor	Emory University, Georgia
Hamilton, Mrs Grace T	Executive	Atlanta Urban League Atlanta, Georgia
Johnson, Dr Charles S	Educator	Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee
Johnson, Dr Guy B	Professor	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, N C
Looby, Dr Z A	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee

Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	Rabbi	808 Mamie Street Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Mays, Dr B E	Educator	Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia
McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baroone Street New Orleans, Louisiana
McDowell, Dr E A	Professor	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary - Wake Forest, N C
Milner, Dr Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N C
Milton, L D	Banker	212 Auburn Avenue, N E Atlanta, Georgia
Moron, Dr A G	Educator	Hampton Institute, Virginia
Palmer, E W	Publisher	Kingsport Press Kingsport, Tennessee
Parrish, Dr C H	Professor	University of Louisville Louisville, Kentucky
Penick, Edwin A	Bishop	Diocese of North Carolina Raleigh, N C
Rayzor, Mrs J N	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane Houston, Texas
Reddix, Dr J L	Educator	Jackson College Jackson, Mississippi
Richards, Dr J M	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary Decatur, Georgia
Richardson, Dr H V	Educator	Gammon Theological Seminary Atlanta, Georgia
Robinson, Mrs E U	Church Leader	675 N Waters Street Gallatin, Tennessee
Shean, Rev M V, C O	Priest	Box 895 Rock Hill, S C
Smith, J Edwin	Attorney	Scanlan Building Houston, Texas
Spearman, Mrs E H	Church Leader	1511 Laurel Street Columbia, S C
Stroud, Mrs Tommie B	Civic Leader	3225 Maple Avenue Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work New Orleans, Louisiana
Thomas, Judge L E	Attorney	1035 Northwest Second Avenue Miami, Florida
Turnipseed, Reverend A S	Clergyman	301 Dexter Avenue Montgomery, Alabama
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta Street Atlanta, Georgia
Wheeler, John H	Banker	Mechanics & Farmers Bank Durham, North Carolina

Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	Athens, Georgia
Williams, Paul D	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Road Richmond, Virginia
Young, Thomas W	Publisher	Journal & Guide Norfolk, Virginia

The following have been invited to membership but as of this writing have not yet accepted completing the elective Board of fifty members:

Lanier, Dr R O'Hara	Educator	Texas Southern University Houston, Texas
Shaw, Charles A	Insurance Executive	2602 Dowling Street Houston, Texas
Tilman, Mrs J Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tennessee

In addition to fifty elected persons the Board presently contains the following officers of the Southern Regional Council:

Marion A Wright	President	"Top Knot" Linville Falls, N C
Dr Gordon B Hancock	Vice-President	Box 6056 Richmond, Virginia
Alfred Mynders	Vice-President	The Chattanooga Times Chattanooga, Tennessee
Dr A W Dent	Vice-President	Dillard University New Orleans, Louisiana
Carter Wesley	Vice-President	The Houston Informer Houston, Texas
Leonard Haas	Counsel	Haas-Howell Building Atlanta, Georgia
Dr George S Mitchell	Executive Director	63 Auburn Avenue, N E Atlanta, Georgia

In addition it will contain the Chairmen of each State Division or affiliated or closely related State Committee, plus other persons to be chosen by each such State organization. The present Chairmen who therefore are ex officio members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council are:

Reverend Dan Whitsett	Alabama	Sylacauga, Alabama
Vacancy (Lately Rev Lewis H Deer Little Rock)	Arkansas	
Davisson Dunlap	Florida	Barnett Building Jacksonville, Florida

Reverend George E Clary	Georgia	631 E Victory Drive Savannah, Georgia
J M Tydings	Kentucky	Starks Building Louisville, Kentucky
Reverend L J Twomey, S J Acting Chairman	Louisiana	Loyola University New Orleans, Louisiana
Reverend John Long	Mississippi	Edwards, Mississippi
Reverend Leon Russell	North Carolina	Greenville, N C
J M Dabbs	South Carolina	Mayesville, S C
Mrs J S Crate	Texas	2410 Inwood Drive Houston, Texas
Alfred Mynders	Tennessee (Inactive)	The Chattanooga Times Chattanooga, Tennessee
Reverend W Carroll Brook	Virginia	Staunton, Virginia

This Board, containing in toto eighty members, would, when the new by-laws become fully operative, be the Southern Regional Council. It would have the policy management of the re-organized Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, chosen from the Board, contains the following:

Marion Wright - President
Dr Gordon B Hancock - Vice President
Alfred Mynders - Vice President
Dr A W Dent - Vice President
Carter Wesley - Vice President
Leonard Haas - Counsel

Members are:

Dr Harry V Richardson
Mrs C M Birnie
John A Griffin
Reverend Andrew Turnipseed
Paul R Christopher
Reverend Maurice Shean
Rufus E Clement

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Report of Receipts and Disbursements for Period January 1 to September 30, 1953

RECEIPTS

Contributions from SRC Members and Friends			$ 2,086.00
Contributions from Churches			3,715.00
Methodist	$ 2,300.00		
Protestant Episcopal	1,115.00		
Presbyterian Church in USA	250.00		
Christian Church, Edwards, Miss.	25.00		
Fisk University Church, Nashville	25.00		
Contributions from Foundations			25,950.00
Ford Foundation	$ 20,000.		
Sidney Hillman Fund	1,500.		
Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund	250.		
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	300.		
Sigmund Silberman Fund	300.		
Christian Service Foundation	100.		
John Hay Whitney Foundation (For Fellowship of the Concerned)	1,500.		
Doris Duke Foundation*	1,000.		
John Rust Foundation* (*For Commission on Equal Penalties)	1,000.		
Contributions from Labor Organizations			2,700.00
United Steelworkers of America - CIO		$1,000.	
United Auto Workers of America - CIO		1,000.	
United Rubber Workers of America - CIO		200.	
International Ladies Garment Workers Union - AFL		500.	
Contributions from Other Organizations			162.53
Members Dues			3,111.00
New South Subscriptions			375.25
Sales of Miscellaneous Literature			624.57
Honoraria			781.50
	Total receipts		$ 39,505.85

Note: Receipts during October thus far have included

Miller & Rhoads Co., Richmond	$200.00
N. C. Teachers Assoc.	50.00
Mr. J. Stuart Dudley	100.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 23,024.74
O.A.B. Taxes	246.32
Rent	945.00
Printing	1,301.21
Office Supplies	650.70
Postage	387.89
Telephone & Telegraph	598.43
Travel	1,269.11
Repairs and purchase of office equipment	301.00
Audit of books for 1952	75.00
Books and subscriptions	162.04
Insurance	40.24
Interest expense	39.79
Special services (steno etc.)	122.59
Expenses for State School Volunteers	279.83
Bank exchange charges	4.35
Sales Tax for state of Georgia	10.26
Expenses for Annual Membership and Board meeting	1,553.75
Paid to State Divisions	1,047.50
1952 Accounts paid in full	2,436.09
Paid in full loan outstanding since 1949	1,500.00
Total disbursements	$ 35,995.84

February 25, '54

Dear the Friedmans,

Thank you for letter. I was sorry to send map by its lonesome, but busy, and friendly.

The tenancy-dependency thing is the way it is, or has been until very lately. The National Farm Labor Union would confirm it. So would Arthur Raper's books. The people thus hooked are non-vocal, and their situation is complicated, and the spokesmen for the landlord-group are abundant.

We desperately need more members, and more contributors, even of small amounts. I send a report, and an audit.

Straight members (must be Southern) (ie, residing in South) 3.00 ayear, get maggie, and can vote.

Associate members, reside North and West. All else, but no vote.

, Ten dollar members, etc.

Subscription to New South, 1.50 a year.

Contributions tax-exempt.

Do help us. We have a desperate amount to do, and next to nothing to do on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 25, 1954

Secretary to Mr. Fleming
Office of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Madam,

Could you please send us one copy of the December, 1953 issue of the New South containing the article entitled " The Last Round of Debate".

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Sheila Cohn

Sheila Cohn

Sent 3-29-54

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

COPY COPY

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

April 2, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic has authorized a grant of $240,000 for eighteen months beginning April 1, 1954, to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the central office in Atlanta. The grant is based upon the proposed budget for the first eighteen months of such an expanded program contained in Mr. Mitchell's letter of March 15, and is intended also to cover the costs of the "Williamsburg Conference." The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

While the grant for the first 18 months is not made on a matching funds basis, it is felt that the future financial health of the Council and the state organizations might be seriously impaired if they were not to find substantial southern financial support. The Fund's consideration of further grants to the Council will therefore be influenced not only by the effectiveness of the program developed in the first eighteen months, but also by the degree of success which the Council and its state organizations have achieved in raising funds from other sources. We believe that increased financial support from individuals, religious bodies, trade unions, businesses and industries in the South is of vital importance to assure the continued success of the Council and the continuation of its expanded program.

I would appreciate it if you would stress to all the members of the Board of the Council, and to those who will be serving on the state committees to be created, that our grant to the Council, representing as it does a four-fold increase over the present annual budget, it not based solely on our esteem for Mr. Mitchell and his staff and the enviable record of achievement which the Council has compiled over the years. As a result of several talks with Mr. Abram, we are also confident that the officers of the Council and the members of the various boards and committees will give generously of their time and energy in order to insure that the expanded program of the Council is established on a firm base.

COPY COPY

This latter consideration has been a major factor in our decision to provide the financing for a large expansion of your program for the next 18 months. The deep commitment of all the members of the Council is, we believe, essential in meeting the obvious difficulties involved in recruiting, training and administering a sizeable staff while at the same time broadening the base of financial support and conducting a vitally needed educational program.

We understand that Mr. Mitchell will furnish us with quarterly accountings which will indicate how this grant is being used and an annual program and financial report. We would also welcome informal progress reports at any time.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax exempt ruling under Internal Revenue Code 101(6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

Our check in the amount of $240,000 is enclosed herewith and we would appreciate acknowledgement of its receipt at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ David F. Freeman
David F. Freeman
Secretary

April 12, 1954

GSM--

Sinclair Jacobs called to report on the matter of the "celebration" luncheon about which he has talked with you.

He took the matter up with Morris Abram and Leonard Haas, and each of them expressed the opinion that the luncheon should not be simply a celebration but should concern itself with ways and means of raising the additional funds necessary. ($40,000 was the amount Jacobs mentioned.) Consequently the luncheon will be delayed for two or three weeks. Leonard Haas has assumed the responsibility of arranging it.

HCF

August 3, 1954

Mr. William L. Strauss, Consultant
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
2109 San Anseline
Long Beach 15, California

Dear Mr. Strauss:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to reply to your letter of July 22.

The Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates are, as you may know, active in the fields of intergroup relations and civil rights. Since these are sensitive and controversial areas in their own right, we have not felt that it would be particularly wise or effective to venture into the related field of civil liberties.

I enclose as of possible interest a statement of the Council's policy and aims, adopted in December of 1951. This statement was circulated among the Council's own membership and received general publicity in the press.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/a
Enclosure

Hot Issue

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
2109 San Anseline
Long Beach 15, California

July 22, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you may know, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., established by The Ford Foundation, has as one of its purposes the reinvigoration of the American tradition of freedom.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, has instructed me to collect declarations in the field of civil liberty made by religious, philanthropic, and civic organizations whose chief interest is not civil liberties. I am writing to request that you send me copies of such statements which may have been made by you, your organization, or its affiliates. We would like to know the names of the individuals in your organization responsible for the inspiration or composition of official declarations. We would appreciate your informing us to what extent these statements have been publicized within your membership and to what use the membership may put these statements.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Strauss

William L. Strauss, Consultant

WLS:f

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

August 27, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Although Mr. Freeman is due back on Monday, August 30 I am writing to acknowledge with thanks your letter of August 27 in regard to the pamphlet and its enclosure listing the principal orders for it.

The wide distribution is certainly encouraging to us.

Sincerely yours,

Montgomery S. Bradley

Montgomery S. Bradley

Jpe

August 31, 1954

To: GSM

From: GTH

Frank Loescher called this morning to ask your advice about his trip to the South which he is planning for next month. He wants to do whatever you think will be useful to the SRC - and to in no wise do anything which you would think undesirable.

He is thinking of leaving Philadelphia about Oct.4 - and driving down. He thought that he might go first to Richmond and talk to any of the SRC people that you might advise - then going on to Greensboro - thru South Carolina and to Atlanta. Would spend about three days here (Oct.11,12,13), then to Alabama and Mississippi, back to Nashville and then to New York. He could reverse the direction and get to Atlanta later in the month if it would suit Atlanta plans better.

I told him about the staff meeting on the 10th(to hear the impressions of the region from those who had traveled it this summer for the SRC and to discuss implications for program) Invited him to come if possible - and to come later also. He did not think he would plan to attend the meeting of the Cornell team on the 15th. I suggested that there might be a meeting of state staff members later in the fall - which might coincide with his visit in mid-October.

He will appreciate a letter giving him your ideas.... will be back in New York by Sept. 6.

File Copy

FILE COPY

October 6, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David Freeman:

A great deal of time has gone into getting the matter of the schools before Southern audiences.

The Executive Director, during the last three months, has talked to influential groups in widely scattered places.

Among church-related bodies was a week's conference of the Division of Christian Relations at the Church Extension Conference of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (which is the Southern Presbyterian Church), at Montreat, North Carolina; a forum on public school desegregation conducted by the School of Law at Loyola University in Chicago; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church at Junaluska, North Carolina; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference at Emory University; for an interdenominational leadership conference arranged at Atlanta by the Board of Social Relations of the Methodist Church; and with the first state-wide conference of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Alabama.

For labor groups, he spoke to or conducted lengthy teaching sessions at the AF of L's Kentucky Labor School at Lexington; for the CIO labor school for the upper South at Junaluska, North Carolina; and for the Southeastern AF of L Labor School at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Other appearances, mainly on the schools matter, were for the Savannah Branch of the NAACP; the Seminar on Inter-group Relations of the NCCJ at Lexington, Kentucky; the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University; the National Convention of the NAACP at Dallas; the Convention of the American Teachers Association (which is the Negro teachers of the states having segregated education), at Nashville; and a South-wide meeting of representatives of Leagues of Women Voters for seventeen Southern states, in Atlanta.

This travel schedule has been supplemented by innumerable office conferences or small Atlanta meetings where people were asking guidance on the matter of the schools.

Mrs. Tilly has appeared before the Executive Committee of the Women's Society of the Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina; the Rural Commission of the North Georgia Methodists; taught for a week at the Convocation of Methodist Youth (2,000), Lake Junaluska, and was a night speaker on the Supreme Court decision; taught a course in United Nations for a week at the School of Missions, Emory University; taught a course on "The City" at Clark College for a week; worked with the North Georgia Methodist women on a study course on "Christianity and Wealth" on two separate days; taught a community study class on "Jesus' Teachings Concerning Women"; worked with the Council of Church Women of Georgia, preparing the program for their state-wide meeting in October; worked with the Georgia Interracial Committee in setting up its new program; corresponded with all of the state presidents of United Church Women concerning the Supreme Court's decision; gathered together the pronouncements of all the denominations on the Supreme Court decision and the reactions of these denominations at state and local levels; wrote a program for the Methodist youth of the nation; and wrote the pamphlet, "Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court decision." A busy schedule, whose results will tell.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS:

Georgia. The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has had an uninterrupted existence for many years. For the last nine or ten years it has been an affiliate of SRC, but it goes back to the earlier period with the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Since about 1945, it has managed to raise, from its several hundred members and from its small individual contributors, funds enough to enable it to pay the half-time salary of a single staff person. Its executive committee, at the beginning of this past Summer, thought that there would be no difficulty in raising a sum over and above what must be raised by the state group before September 30, 1955, to enable the Georgia Interracial Committee to employ a person full-time at its own expense during June, July, and August, 1954. The Southern Regional Council has advanced, to the Georgia Interracial Committee, the expense of this staff member.

They employed Mr. Guy Wells, who has had a distinguished career in Georgia educational circles. He is a past president of the Georgia Education Association, which is the professional organization of the white teachers in the state; and until a year or so ago, he had been for a considerable period president of a Georgia state college at Milledgeville, one of the principal teacher-training institutions in the State. He left that position for a year's service with the Mutual Security Agency in Libya, and returned for reasons of his wife's health without entering on the second year of service there. He is deeply interested in the progress of the state in matters touching on race, and his wide acquaintance among political and business and educational figures is standing him in good stead. He has used the Summer to strengthen the organisational roots of the Georgia Interracial Committee, and has spoken to important audiences all over the state on the matter of the schools.

The executive committee of the Georgia Interracial Committee meets October 5th, for formal adoption of altered By-Laws and their official launching as the state program of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Wells has employed Mrs. Luesta Knox as his secretary. Negotiations have been opened with the Reverend L. H. Pitts, the head of a private church-related Negro school in Cordele, Georgia, looking toward his being employed as a consultant until December 31, 1954, with the possibility of full-time employment thereafter.

South Carolina. The Executive Committee of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, following various meetings during the Summer, selected as their principal staff person, Mrs. Eugene Spearman, and she will enter on duty October 1, 1954, with an office at Columbia. Mrs. Spearman is a white Baptist laywoman, active in various social service fields in her own Church, and widely known throughout South Carolina. She has had a long association with the interracial movement in the state and will be a vigorous staff member for the South Carolina group.

Alabama. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council has employed, effective October 1, the Reverend Robert Hughes, a Methodist minister. His office will be in Montgomery. He is twenty-six years old, a native of Gadsden where his father was a physician; a graduate of the University of Alabama in political science and history, and with a B.D. degree from Emory University's Candler School of Theology. In his Atlanta period, he took part in the interracial movement relating to the several white and Negro student bodies in the city. He took a rural church in Northeast Alabama in October, 1953. His Bishop has assigned him to the work with the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, which means that he remains in good standing as a minister in the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, though he will not have a church in his employment by this new body.

Louisiana. Louisiana has for some years had an anomalous arrangement. The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations has been autonomous within the Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council, and all members of either have been members of the Southern Regional Council. The New Orleans Committee had a thousand dollars in its treasury and in June employed a young man as its staff person at the expense of that fund. He will be picked up October 1 in the normal arrangement with the Southern Regional Council. He is Milton C. Vigo, who went to Tulane University, and for graduate work to Loyola University in New Orleans. Three years in the Army, which took him to North Africa and ETO. He has taught for the last four years at a private boys academy in New Orleans. Thirty. Carefully chosen by New Orleans people whom we trust. Enterprising and promising. We have an agreement with Mr. Vigo that when additional personnel is added to the staff in Louisiana, the expectation will be that the new staff member will be drawn from the Northern portion of the state. An office has been opened by the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, which is their new name, at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, telephone number, Main 4295. The Summer has been spent in that state in reaching the existing membership by travel and correspondence, and in planning for expansion and field reporting. By-Laws have been prepared and are being reviewed.

North Carolina. The North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council seems likely to employ as its executive October 1, Harry S. Jones, who has for the last five years served as Regional Director of the Carolina region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He has been widely popular in the state and has arranged unusually effective programs. Before that, he spent five years with the NCCJ in New Orleans, and a year in Military Government in Germany, and four years of military service in North Carolina. He has taught school in Honolulu, in Mississippi, and in New Jersey. Went to college at Westminster College in Missouri, at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and took a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary. The North Carolina Division, which has the previous year centered its activities in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill-areas, moves its office (a'purpose) to Charlotte in order to reach more vigorously into that part of the state.

Kentucky. The Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council converted itself, during the Summer, into the Kentucky Council of Human Relations. In numerous conferences with us here it has been agreed that they may try an experimental form of organization which has no precedent within the Southern Regional Council. They propose to have as their single full-time staff personnel, a high-type clerical person, and the professional salary funds will be used in temporary per-diem assignments by community leaders, white and Negro, appropriately spaced over the state. They propose to make no great effort to build up a membership body, but wish to serve as a coordinating Council of active organizations related, or potentially related, to the field of human relations. By-Laws to confirm this type of operation are in preparation, and have in outline been approved by us.

The above states we regard as launched as of October 1, 1954.

For the remainder, we contemplate getting going over the next couple of months.

Texas. Texas, through its Texas Commission on Race Relations (long affiliated with SRC), has had a number of meetings looking toward the employment of paid staff by October 1. They have about settled on a candidate, but wish to make some further inquiry about him before making the arrangement final.

Florida. The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council has had a couple of meetings during the Summer, and will be visited in early October by people from here, who believe that a program can be got going within a few weeks time.

Mississippi. Our membership there is small, and the situation is tense, and from our present weakened base, and in the absence for the Summer of our chairman there, no settled course has been agreed upon. It is being visited in early October.

Tennessee. In Tennessee a general meeting of the members of the Southern Regional Council will convene October 12 at Nashville, under the leadership of Mr. Dan May, a hosiery manufacturer of Nashville. The Southern Regional Council's membership in the state was for two or three years organized into a Tennessee Division, but we found that the makeup of Tennessee, in three or even four distinct parts, worked against sustained activity by a state organization, and the Tennessee Division was disbanded two years back. We have the active assistance of Mr. Alfred Nynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times in getting it going again. We, here, are attempting to encourage an arrangement in Tennessee for four local chapters with only a loose connection between them.

Virginia. In Virginia we have done no more than reach a verbal understanding with the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, that the Southern Regional Council will be assisted by them in forming a non-sectarian race relations organization in the state. I suppose it will be November or December before this is actually done.

Arkansas. In Arkansas, several meetings have been held with the assistance of Harry Ashmore, and it is intended at an appropriate time a little later to call together a group of people who will launch again the almost negligible organization of the Southern Regional Council in Arkansas — this time with paid staff.

So the arithmetic is that six of the states are going with paid staff October 1, and two or three more will probably be set up during October. We consider that satisfactory progress, and are indeed rather pleased that almost entirely by their own efforts, with little more than telephone calls and a good deal of correspondence, plus visits by Mr. Parrish, this much has been accomplished.

STAFF:

We employed, effective June 1, as Associate Executive Director, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, who is on leave to this job from the position of Secretary to the Urban League. She has been helpful in linking us to the Negro leadership of the South, and in shaping our policy thought.

We took on, September 1, Mr. Frederick B. Routh as an Assistant Director. He was brought up in Coral Gables, Florida; went to the University of Miami; took the Master's degree in human relations and history; did a little law; and has completed a good deal of his work toward a Doctorate degree in human relations from New York University. During the war he served as an officer in Naval Air Intelligence as Public Information Officer. He was one of the small group who were active in the establishment of the Dade County Council on Human Relations, the first municipally sponsored agency in this field in the South, and has done a lot of community development work in the Miami area. He ran for Congress in the Miami area in 1954, and captured about half as many votes as the man who got elected. Routh is 31. We have loaded on him much of the field travel involved in launching and relating this office to state programs; title — Assistant Director for Program Development.

Routh has an opposite number in C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, as a Consultant and Assistant Director in Charge of Program Development. Mr. Parrish is the one Negro professor taken over in the consolidation of the former Louisville Municipal College with the University of Louisville. He travelled extensively during February and March for the Southern Regional Council in Louisiana and Alabama, and again this Summer in five or six of the states, singling out leadership persons of both races. With them he explored the matter of a desired course of action for the proposed new state organizations, and much of the accomplishment thus far should be attributed to his wisdom and skill in the interviews he arranged. He went, particularly, to North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida. As his teaching duties will keep him most of the time in Kentucky, he will be active in the growth of the Kentucky program. Our arrangement with him is that he can give us several days a month outside Kentucky as a consultant at $35.00 a day plus travel.

Mrs. Hamilton we have altered in title from Associate Director to Assistant Director for Program Planning.

Associate Staff in State Groups. We have come, during the Summer months to the virtual surrender of a proposal we made earlier with the states that additional professional staff be employed jointly by two or more states. The states have not liked it and personnel has not seemed readily available for such split assignments. We have urged all the states to employ on their own a full-time Associate Executive, or, as most of them will more likely do, appoint one, two, or three persons as associates who will serve as consultants and will assist the growth of and service the organization in their own areas. It is expected that such consultants will attend all staff meetings and we propose for them a per diem of $20.00 a day plus travel. This seems a workable interim device, but we hope to push it on to the stage where most of the states do have co-equal white and Negro personnel full-time.

PUBLIC RELATIONS:

During the past three months, the Council has continued to service information requests, by mail, telephone, and in person, from newspapers and news agencies. Among those assisted: Associated Press, United Press, Time, Newsweek, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Washington Star.

Stories about the Council itself and/or its executive director have appeared in Southern and non-Southern publications -- even as distant as the Manchester Guardian. The most widespread publicity resulted from an Associated Press Newsfeatures series on segregation in the South, prepared by staffwriter Ben Price. One article was devoted wholly to the Council and its work.

Harold Fleming was one of the panelists on an ABC Network broadcast, Town Meeting of the Air, in August; subject: school integration.

CONSULTATIVE SERVICES:

Staff members have been in steady demand as advisors to organizations and individuals with some special concern for race relations. Examples: faculty advisor for a Colgate group planning field work in the Atlanta area; director of the Herald-Tribune Forum; field worker for the U. S. Public Health Service; editor of the alumni magazine of a private (segregated university,) and so forth at length. The Council in mid-September arranged a conference with appropriate people in Atlanta for the Cornell group carrying out an assignment for the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Division.

FOREIGN VISITORS:

Increasingly, the Council is called on to play host to foreign visitors brought to this country by U. S. Government programs or by private exchange organizations. Quite often, we are asked to assume full responsibility for scheduling the visitor's stay in Atlanta -- interesting and useful, though extremely time-consuming. In other instances, we are called on to spend an hour or two of staff time briefing the visitor on the South and, particularly, race relations. Some idea of the variety of this visiting stream is suggested by the following selected list out of the last three months:

Daniel Roth, Switzerland, journalist
Michael Stewart, England, Labor M.P.
John Hall, England, Conservative M.P.
Ernst S. Schlange-Schoeningen, Agricultural Secretary, German Embassy
Theodore Lefevre, Belgium, Chamber of Deputies
Djuka Julius, Jugoslavia, journalist
Madhav Kamath, India, journalist
International student group, representing eight countries
Hendrik Vos, Netherlands, vice-president Dutch Labor Party

FINANCE:

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will report in a few days when she has had opportunity to obtain the auditor's review of the figures for the past quarter.

FIELD RELEASES:

Copies are attached of Memoranda #4, 5, and 6.

CENTRAL OFFICE POLICY BOARDS:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met July 30th and reviewed and approved arrangements as made thus far. The entire Board of the Council will meet November 10, at Atlanta.

PROGRAM ITEMS:

The Council had the benefit of travel in the Eastern Carolinas during July and August by a Disciples of Christ minister, Sam Freeman, from a church in East Orange, New Jersey. His is a native of the area in which he travelled and stimulated bi-racial meetings for discussion on school problems -- and that is a difficult area. His travel and salary were without expense to the Council, though we contributed the pamphlet, Answers for Action: Schools in the South, which he got out to those with whom he discussed the proposal in local communities. He has made a report of his trip which now joins similar reports made by other assigned church connected persons. It will be recalled that we have argued strongly that segregation in the schools can best be got to crumble from the mountain counties toward the older parts of the South more heavily affected by the plantation system. In development of this idea, the Council put some money this Summer into an unbudgeted item. We arranged for travel by Robert Nemefee, a young economist from Berea College in Kentucky, to a series of mountain places in North Carolina, Southwest Virginia, and Eastern Tennessee. His method was to introduce himself to editors, ministers, school officials, and other community leaders and discuss with them the practicability of local steps toward early integration. His reception varied considerably, but by and large it was seen that he carried a workable and, in some places, quite tempting idea. He is now preparing a full report based upon his weekly letters to us, and we hope in an early issue of New South to summarize his experiences. His full report will be sent to a selected number of people with whom he talked during the Summer months. This travel and salary has cost us about $1,700.52. But we thought its promise of early and peaceful action so fine that we went ahead with it. And we are satisfied that the investment was a wise one.

Answers for Action: Schools in the South has now sold 18,000 copies, of which the first 4,000 went out to our own members and mailing list. The following are among the major and more significant orders received for it:

Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.	1000
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, N. Y.	1600
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, N. Y.	250
Methodist Pastors' School, Sullins College, Virginia	200
Division of Church Relations, Presbyterian Church of U. S.	99
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Savannah, Ga.	100
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, N. Y.	75
Georgia Teachers Education Association, Atlanta	1000
St. Peter's Catholic Church, Jackson, Miss.	100
General Board of Education, the Methodist Church	410
Mississippi Economic Council, Jackson, Miss.	120
Unitarian Blue Ridge Conference, Knoxville, Tenn.	50
American Jewish Committee, Miami, Fla.	200
Friendship House, Shreveport, La.	50
National Conference of Christians and Jews, N. Y.	100
Phelps-Stokes Fund, N. Y.	50
Catholic Committee of the South, Rock Hill, S. C.	2500
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta	40

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.	50
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York	100
American Labor Education Service, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Miami, Fla.	50
Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention	100
Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	50
League of Women Voters of Texas	20
Progressive Farmer, Birmingham, Alabama	20
Judge J. Waties Waring, New York	15
League of Women Voters of the U. S., Washington, D. C.	20
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (which includes coverage of each member of the Governor's Special Legislative Committee on the Schools).	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (to be distributed to every elder in the Southern Presbyterian Church in Virginia)	1000
Catholic Interracial Council of New York	100
Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Cleveland, Ohio	300
The Armed Services Department, YMCA, New York	100
Kentucky Teachers Association, Louisville	100
United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	100
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Louisville, Ky.	100
Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, New York	500
American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D. C. (Community Relations Program)	50
American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, Race Relations Department, New York	100
Maryland Council of United Church Women, Baltimore, Maryland	50
Mrs. C. E. Tatum, Birmingham, Alabama	50
The American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office, Miami, Florida	50

The pamphlet has been widely praised in private letters and in notices in the general press, and in the religious and other special-interest publications. We hardly feel like boasting of the temperateness of the South in meeting the Supreme Court's decision, but we do think that the many thousands of readers of the pamphlet are serving as enlighteners in corners otherwise obscure.

GENERAL PICTURE:

I hesitate at this time to summarize the situation in the South as to the school matter. There seems to have been earlier in the Summer a general feeling on the part of officialdom in four or five, at least, of the Southern states, that compliance could be worked out without a great deal of difficulty. During the Summer, the attitude of public

officials has hardened a good deal. In most of the states now, many responsible persons have persuaded themselves that evasions can be successfully practiced for a long time to come, and the hard work is being done on how to get around the decision, and not on how to enforce it. Possibly the final decrees of the court when they come out will clarify this situation. But in any case it becomes clearer and clearer that the great lack in the South is supporting public opinion for unsegregated schools.

We have put our main effort on finding out how to build such opinion and increasing it. We have found some quite useful channels, and are using them as best we can from the central office. As the state programs get going we should be able to magnify and localize that work with opinion-forming groups. I have put it graphically by saying that the democratic institutions of the Western World are put here to a severe strain -- a strain which comes on a spot noticeably weak in the democratic tradition anyway! Here's a two-strand cotton rope, one strand white and the other strand black. Because the two have never been twined together the rope is weak, and it has now upon it a frightening stretch. Signs are a'plenty that the rope is popping. It looks as though the only available substitute cord is what the churches may be about to spin across the breach. Maybe there are other cords too, and we will try to find them. But the best hope is for getting the whole of the doctrine of the churches to bear for peaceful local performance toward compliance with the decision.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Emory University, Georgia
October 25, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, for the period July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954.

The following Exhibits and Schedules are attached hereto:

Exhibit A	-	Balance Sheet, September 30, 1954
Exhibit B	-	Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Central Office
Exhibit C	-	Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Exhibit D	-	Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Schedule 1	-	Bank Reconciliation Statements - First National Bank and Citizens Trust Co.
Schedule 2	-	Analysis of Contributions
Schedule 3	-	Analysis of Receipts and Disbursements - State Divisions

COMMENTS

Cash in Bank - Central Office - $9931.58

Cash in Bank - State Organizations - $16,370.92

All recorded receipts were traced to bank deposits and disbursements were compared with cancelled checks. Bank balances were confirmed by the depositories.

Savings Accounts - $190,000.

These accounts were not verified with their several depositories but were found to be in agreement with pass books on file.

Accrued Payroll Taxes - $879.52

These represent withholding taxes and social security taxes for the month of September.

Due to Special Projects - $980.51

This represents amounts appearing on the books as belonging to the Fellowship of the Concerned and the Commission on Equal Penalties.

Advance Appropriation - $181,100.

This amount, given by the Fund for the Republic, is for the remaining twelve months covered by this grant.

During the quarter, two state organizations' offices, Louisiana and Georgia, were opened and it is expected that three more will be in operation as of October 1. It is expected that close financial supervision of the state organizations will be maintained by the Central Office. All records are being maintained in excellent condition.

Respectfully,

L E Campbell

L. E. Campbell,
Certified Public Accountant

lec:s

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Atlanta, Georgia

Balance Sheet
September 30, 1954

ASSETS

Cash in Bank, Regular (Sch. 1)		$ 9931.58	
Cash in Bank, State Organizations		16370.92	
Savings Accounts		190000.00	
Total Assets			$ 216302.50

LIABILITIES

Accrued Payroll Taxes		$ 879.52	
Held for Tennessee Division		192.65	
Due to Special Projects			
Commission on Equal Penalties	$ 517.02		
Fellowship of the Concerned	377.99		
State Divisions	85.50	980.51	
Advance Appropriation - Fund for the Republic		181100.00	
Total Liabilities			$ 183152.68

NET WORTH

Surplus	$ 33149.82

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - CENTRAL OFFICE

July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954

RECEIPTS

Balance, July 1, 1954		$ 74400.25
Contributions:		
From Individuals	$ 148.00	
From Organization	50.00	
From Churches	1475.00	
Members Dues	225.00	
State Divisions	79.00	
New South Subscriptions	131.00	
Sale of literature	1483.69	
Honoraria	398.71	
Sale of equipment	28.50	
Transfer of New South Appropriation from Special Fund	958.30	
Total Receipts		4977.20
		$ 79377.45

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries Paid	$ 12937.98	
Rent	365.00	
Travel	2040.11	
Printing	159.91	
Telephone & Telegraph	290.01	
Postage	301.81	
Office Supplies	336.34	
O.A.B. Taxes	119.65	
Georgia Sales Tax	3.54	
Bank Charges	.70	
Honorarium for Human Relations Committees Study	600.00	
Miscellaneous Expense	67.80	
Office Alterations	1132.00	
Insurance (Bond for 3 yrs.)	749.58	
Accounting Fees	60.00	
Books & Magazines	41.94	
State Divisions	239.50	
Total Disbursements		19445.87
Balance, September 30, 1954		$ 59931.58
Represented by:		
First National Bank, checking account	9931.58	
C & S Bank, savings account	40000.00	
First National Bank, savings account	10000.00	
		$ 59931.58

EXHIBIT B

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954

RECEIPTS

Balance, July 1, 1954		$ 69.06
Contributions:	1.00	
Members Dues	87.00	
Honorarium	50.00	
Allotment from Central Office	1356.23	
Total Receipts		1494.23
		1563.29

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 1354.15	
Social Security Payments	2.08	
Rent	35.00	
Postage	20.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	18.28	
Office Supplies	77.62	
Total Disbursements		1507.13
Balance, September 30, 1954		$ 56.16

EXHIBIT C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954

RECEIPTS

Balance, July 1, 1954		$ 1000.00
Contributions	$ 25.00	
Members Dues	38.00	
Allotment from Central Office	1700.00	
Total Receipts		1763.00
		2763.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 1666.65	
Rent	25.00	
Postage	20.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	50.00	
Office Supplies	37.07	
Printing	2.48	
Office Equipment	416.69	
Social Security	33.35	
Miscellaneous	5.00	
Travel	191.82	
Total Disbursements		2448.06
Balance, September 30, 1954		$ 314.94

EXHIBIT D

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bank Reconciliation - First National Bank, Atlanta, Ga.

Checking Account
September 30, 1954

Balance per bank		$ 11908.93
Checks outstanding:		
Number	Amount	
5992	$ 6.00	
6120	16.00	
6207	2.12	
6256	137.99	
6257	1.45	
6258	362.87	
6259	236.33	
6260	138.43	
6261	138.43	
6262	167.26	
6263	99.80	
6264	104.80	
6265	220.92	
6266	278.93	
6267	23.52	
6268	42.50	
		1977.35
Balance, per books, September 30, 1954		$ 9931.58

Bank Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.

Checking Account
September 30, 1954

Balance, per bank		$ 16825.30
Checks outstanding:		
Number	Amount	
1564	$ 7.50	
1565	181.43	
1566	172.26	
1567	93.19	454.38
Balance, per books, September 30, 1954		$ 16370.92

SCHEDULE 1

MADE IN U.S.A.
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Contributions
July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954

Church Sources		
The Methodist Church:		
Woman's Division of Christian Service	$ 1200.00	
Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction	50.00	
Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Carolina Conference	25.00	
		$ 1275.00
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. Board of Church Extension		200.00
Total Church Contributions		$ 1475.00
Organization Source		
North Carolina Teachers Association		$ 50.00
Total Contributions		$ 1525.00

SCHEDULE 2

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - STATE DIVISIONS

July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954

	Balance 7/1/54	Receipts	Disbursements	Balance 9/30/54
Alabama	$ 53.00	$ 4.50	$ 53.00	$ 4.50
Arkansas	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
Florida	38.50	13.50	38.50	13.50
Kentucky	16.00	1.50	16.00	1.50
Louisiana	4.50	3.50		8.00
Mississippi	52.00	3.00	52.00	3.00
North Carolina	42.50	25.00	42.00	25.50
South Carolina	32.50	21.00	31.00	22.50
	$ 246.00	$ 79.00	$ 239.50	$ 85.50

SCHEDULE 3

October 28, 1954

Mr. Melvin J. Fox
Executive Associate
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Fox:

For some years, the Southern Regional Council has served informally as an advisory and information center for foreign visitors travelling in the South. Many of them have been referred by such private and governmental agencies as the State Department, the Department of Labor, the Governmental Affairs Institute, the Association for World Travel Exchange, the Institute of International Education, and the Public Administration Clearing House. Others are referred by individuals and organizations, within and without the South, who have occasion to advise the foreign visitors.

This function has heretofore been regarded by the Council as a useful but incidental part of its routine operation. However, accelerated changes in race relations -- and, most particularly, the recent Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- have greatly increased the demands on the Council, including the number of foreign visitors to be served. As the load grows heavier, the staff time spent in briefing -- and in some cases sponsoring -- these visitors diverts energy from other essential work. Yet, the obvious importance of providing hospitality and accurate, balanced information about the South to representatives of other nations can hardly be minimized.

For these reasons, the Southern Regional Council requests a grant for one year of $10,000 to enable it to serve the cause of international understanding without crippling its urgently needed work within the South itself.

See budget p 4

TYPES OF SERVICES

Generally, foreign visitors are served in one of two ways:

(1) Interviews. Visitor talks, at greater or lesser length, with one or more staff members. Subject matter covered depends on his particular field of occupation and interest. Appropriate SRC materials are made available. Further contacts, if called for, are suggested or arranged.

(2)

(2) Sponsorship. On request, the Council frequently acts as a visitor's principal sponsor while he is in the Atlanta area. This involves advance correspondence with respect to arrival, departure, accomodations, schedule, and the like. Appropriate appointments are made for the visitor in advance. While here, he is accorded as many of the normal "guest" courtesies as the staff can manage: hospitality of the home, meals, evening gatherings, and so on. (On occasion, such visitors are house guests of the executive director.)

NATURE OF INFORMATION SERVICES

(3)

Regardless of their main occupational or civic specialty, virtually all of the foreign visitors who come South are avidly interested in the race relations of the region. Again and again, they tell us that this is of urgent importance to international understanding: that accurate understanding of Southern racial matters is urgently needed to offset Communist propaganda in their particular part of the world. Thus the Council is able to contribute to an informed insight into our racial problems and progress by leaders of opinion in critical nations of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Council's unique fitness for this task lies in the fact that it is, in its own structure and operations, evidence of the South's progress toward a society without racial distinctions. Foreign leaders who are skeptical of what they regard as merely American "propaganda" on this subject, are impressed by the example of an indigenously Southern organization which draws no racial lines on its own functioning, from its lowest staff level to its highest policy level. Perhaps for this reason, the Council's facts and interpretations of Southern developments are, to the best of our knowledge, respected and later used by foreign visitors in their own countries. Since many of the visitors are journalists, the effects of this information service is presumably widespread. In some cases, the information requests continue to come long after a visitor has returned to his homeland.

(4)

In addition to race relations, foreign visitors to the South are likely to be interested in such fields as state government, politics, economics, trade unionism, to name only the most common. The Council's staff can supply much of this information. When specialized information outside the Council's purview is required, of course the visitor is referred to an appropriate local source. This is facilitated by Atlanta's importance as a regional center.

SELECTED LIST

Only within recent months has the Council undertaken to keep a complete record of foreign visitors served. Therefore, no attempt is made here to present a comprehensive list. Following is a partial and selected list which will give some idea of the variety, geographical and occupational, of persons from other countries visiting the Council in 1954. Those marked with an asterisk were, partly or wholly, sponsored by the Council during their Atlanta visit:

*N.J.J. Olivier, South Africa, social anthropologist, University of Stellenbosch, staff member of the governmental Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas.

*Yehuda Shaari, Israel, member of Executive Bureau of Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labor).

Daniel Roth, Switzerland, Journalist.

*Michael Stewart, England, Labor Member of Parliament.

Ray Jenkins, England, Labor Member of Parliament.

*John Hall, England, Conservative Member of Parliament.

Ernst S. Schlange-Schoeningen, Agricultural Secretary, German Embassy.

Theodore Lefevre, Belgium, Chamber of Deputies.

Djuka Julius, Jugoslavia, newspaper correspondent

Madhav Kamath, India, newspaper editor.

*Hendrik Vos, Netherlands, vice-president, Dutch Labor Party.

Alan Paton, South Africa, author and penologist.

Otto Leichter, Germany, correspondent for Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung.

International Student group; representatives from Italy, Austria, Germany, Wales, France, Kenya, Sweden.

REQUESTED BUDGET

A properly conducted foreign visitor program requires a considerable amount of correspondence, the arranging of appointments, professional staff interviews, information materials, local transportation, and hospitality. While it is anticipated that all members of the professional staff would, necessarily, continue to be available for interview by foreign visitors, the employment of an assistant information person would permit a redistribution of functions that would greatly reduce the diversion from other program activities. The proposed information assistant would bear the primary responsibility for the detailed work of scheduling and otherwise assisting foreign guests.

The following annual budget is proposed:

Salaries

Information Assistant	$5,000
Clerical	3,000
Materials, local transportation, hospitality, etc.	2,000
TOTAL	$10,000

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dear Mrs. Rayzor,

How kind that was of you to send in so generous a contribution. And kind of you, also, to talk with Mr. Parten.

What we want to do is get going, inevitably with the help of some temporary help from the Fund for the Republic, an effective service to the people of each Southern state in the field of race relations. The Council is interested in every reasonable form of progress, and believes that on matters of race we all get furthest when we concentrate on bringing up the economic status of everybody in the South. Health, housing, education, agricultural independence, and employment are the bases. But it isn't enough to sit and wait for the push-up of these things, improving rapidly as they are, to bring about the more democratic South we all hope for. Persistent, organized effort, with responsible paid personnel is needed. And we think that if each state can operate such a service for three or four years the grooves will have been cut for honesty and representativeness in the process, and that after a period of assistance in most of the states the organizations will be picked up by private, or even by public, resources, and kept going in the good grooves that have been cut.

Whatever the Court finally gives as its opinion, obviously we are in for great changes in the school systems of the South. Community by community, understanding must be built, in order that the transition to new arrangements shall be as workmanlike a job as can be managed. It will take much interracial conferring to do this, and such conferring will occur best and most widely if there is organization to bring it about. We have faith that Southern people, in their various towns and counties, can work it out if they know each other, and know the facts and the law.

There's the whole field of police administration, and of getting equal penalties for equal crimes, before the courts. Newspapers in the South have made great progress in their coverage of news arising from the Negro community, but there are still many papers in which the old prejudiced customs linger on. Careful, polite work by local citizens, armed with better standards and with some facts on the methods of their own paper, can get this done.

We've had remarkable success in several states by getting local citizens, white and Negro, to work together toward a survey of needs. In finding the facts people make friends, and cut channels on communication that are invaluable. And if the survey committee is rightly chosen, its own efforts, spearding in widening circles, cause things to be accomplished. Jacksonville and Greenville and Shreveport have done this. Dall did some of it through the Chamber of Commerce. And in each case an entirely new quality of citizenship has appeared in both groups. Also the Negro community comes out with the schools and the homes and the busses and the street-cleaning and the representation it desires, all won by agreement. We would expect our state organizations to do one or two towns in each state, each year, with this arrangement.

For another aim: much could be done to speed the growth of such a public opinion as would gladly see Negroes go on local school board, or on boards of health, and so on. Politically it's none of our business, but we can help with getting acceptance of the idea.

It is this sort of patient, active, step by step service that we want to see put under way. Clearly it is called for, but also clearly there is not yet, in the average Southern State, the disposition and the money to get it started. If the Fund for the Republic will help for a while we are confident that local organization can be built, that the usefulness of the work will be seen, and that this spreading base of friendly cooperation will be enough on which to build independent and continuing local action.

The Southern Regional Council itself, as you know, would become a Board of Trust, coordinating the work and policy of the State organizations, publishing a magazinelet that would tie them together, and generally watching over the work in the States. Texas would have its full share of the effort. We have done what we could from here, and you and Mrs. Crate and the others have worked hard in your own State, but in this new period of change it will need more organization, and more follow-up, than either of us have been able to contrive. But in Texas, we ought certainly to build on the work done all these years by the Commission.

I hope Mr. Parten will agree that these are good ends, and that this sober, local way is the way to bring the ends more clearly into view.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

Houston 19, Texas
Mar 18, 1954

Dear Dr Mitchell,

It is indeed distressing that such a fine and vitally needed organization as the S.R.C. is so low in funds. How I wish I could contribute more liberally!

2500 K.S.

I finally contacted Major J. R. Parten (member of board of the Fund for the Republic) He stays in Houston very sporadically and is difficult to reach. He told me he was familiar with the organ-

ignition and thought that a donation has been made already. He instructed me to write a letter (not over two pages, detailing the needs, etc) and send it to him and says further "I will send it to New York for processing."

I feel that you are far more capable of writing the letter than I am. So if you will send me such a statement, I will pass it on to him.

With Kindest regards,

Eugene Rogers.

To Staff

For your Info —

FILE COPY

From: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1 EAST 54th STREET
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Remarks of Robert M. Hutchins,
President of the Fund for the Republic,

before the

National Press Club, Washington, D. C.,
January 26, 1955.

I speak only for myself, not for the Fund for the Republic, the Directors of which I have not consulted; not for the Ford Foundation, of which the Fund for the Republic is completely independent; not for other foundations. They have been doing a good deal of talking lately. In fact they have been uncommonly vocal.

They have been uncommonly unanimous. I have been dealing with the foundations in one way or another for more than thirty years. They have always been distinguished by their lack of fellow feeling. They have scorned a project if it required the cooperation of another foundation. One of the more absurd charges made by the Reece Committee was that the foundations were an intellectual cartel. The Reece Committee forced them to huddle together in self-defense. One more investigation and they might become a cartel.

The conduct of the majority, if it was the majority, of the Reece Committee was so scandalous that it outraged almost all the press and apparently even one of its own members. At any rate, Angier L. Goodwin of Massachusetts wrote a new kind of concurring opinion, one that disagreed with all the conclusions of the opinion with which it purported to concur. In the conduct of the hearings Mr. Reece added some new wrinkles to the distortions that we have become accustomed to in congressional investigations.

The foundations were elaborately attacked by the staff and by some witnesses of dubious standing. Then, pleading that Mr. Hays of Ohio would not let him conduct the hearings as they should be conducted, Mr. Reece adjourned them and

informed the foundations that they could file written statements. Perhaps the most depressing fact about the report of the so-called majority of the Reece Committee is that Mr. Reece takes credit for relieving the foundations of what he calls the "embarrassment" of cross-examination. You might as well execute an innocent man without the embarrassment of a hearing--but if you did nobody would claim that you had conformed to the principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The most entertaining of the new wrinkles was that the majority took a philosophical position. The Cambridge ladies, e. e. cummings said, lived in furnished souls; so Mr. Reece and Mr. Wolcott came bustling out in second-hand suits of anti-empiricism, supplied them by the sages of the staff. Mr. Reece and Mr. Wolcott were much against empiricism, which they associated with moral relativism, irreligion, the cultural lag and ultimately with subversion.

The Congressmen could not be bothered with history. They overlooked the fact that some of the most empirical empiricists in history, like Hume and Montaigne, were thoroughgoing tories. The Congressmen could not be bothered with consistency: for example, they went after the teachers' colleges for sponsoring empiricism and then after the Fund for the Advancement of Education for not sponsoring the teachers' colleges.

If a committee may charge a foundation with empiricism, why not charge a college with it, and if with empiricism why not with Presbyterianism or Catholicism or any other philosophy, religion, or dogma that the committee does not care for? The grant of tax exemption may carry with it certain obligations, and those who accept it may by implication agree that they must perform certain services. But it has never been supposed that by taking tax exemption a college, university, church, or foundation, otherwise within the law, was liable to condemnation because of the philosophy that it held. If there is such liability, the way is open to the most flagrant violation of religious freedom and of freedom of speech and teaching.

The lesson the majority, if it is a majority, of the Reece Committee wants to teach the foundations is stated in words of crystalline clarity: "They should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material which run counter to what the public currently wishes, approves and likes."

Here the Committee throws overboard the principle accepted by the Cox Committee that the justification of the foundations is that they supply risk or venture capital in the field of philanthropy. That is what they are for, to take chances, the Cox Committee said. The Reece Committee would confine them to what a public relations man, presumably by a series of careful polls, found that the public currently wished, approved, and liked. The way to be safe would be to attract no attention, arouse no discussion, create no controversy.

Even this would not be enough. All the things of which the Committee now complains were currently wished, approved, and liked at the time the foundations did them. To meet the test laid down by the Committee, therefore, a foundation would have to be able to foresee what would become unpopular by the time of an investigation.

But even this is not enough. The issue is not what the public will wish, approve, and like. There is no evidence, for example, that the American public dislikes empiricism. Quite the contrary. The public does not dislike empiricism: the Reece Committee does, or rather two members of it do, or perhaps just the staff of the Reece Committee does. Running a foundation on these terms becomes an extra-hazardous occupation fraught with dangers that test pilots and submarine explorers and others who are up against nothing worse than the laws of Nature do not encounter.

The Reece Committee achieves some of its gaudiest effects by the simple process of giving old words new definitions and then pinning the old words on the foundations. This is the way that empiricism becomes subversive. Subversion now

means, the Committee says, a promotion of tendencies that may lead to results that the Committee will not like. Hence support of the New Deal could be subversion. Social engineering, planning, world government, the United Nations, William James, John Dewey, the American Friends Service Committee, Dr. Kinsey and reform are all subversive in the bright new lexicon of the Reece Committee. And of course all these things are socialistic, if not communistic, too.

At times one feels when reading the report that old scurrilous words will be redefined and applied to any expression of decent human feeling. So it was that a staff member found himself identifying the Papal Encyclicals as communistic.

But the Reece report is said to be a majority report, and it will be referred to in the future as a majority report. Its appendix will be quoted as an authoritative collection of dangerous names. The only reason for the appendix is to enable some committee in the future to say of somebody that he was listed by the Reece Committee. This fact will then be greeted with hushed and incredulous awe by those to whom it is communicated.

All you have to do to qualify for the appendix is to favor world government or get mentioned by the Daily Worker. The principal charge against one distinguished professor is that he is quoted, apparently with approval, in a dissenting opinion in the Circuit Court of Appeals. A low of some sort is reached with the mention in the appendix of the name of George F. Kennan. He is accused of the following -- and this is the total record --: a book of his was reviewed (we are not told whether favorably or unfavorably) in the Daily People's World and the New World Review; on May 9, 1950, the New York Times reported that he spoke on Communist China (what he said does not appear); and on May 28, 1950, the New York Times reported that he "attacked witchhunting of communists." On the basis of such information Mr. Kennan will in the future be referred to as "cited by the Reece Committee."

The appendix of the Reece Committee's so-called majority report is an endless carnival of good clean fun -- it is almost 200 pages long; but I must pass on.

I cannot regard the Reece Committee as having more than symbolic or symptomatic importance. Its wild and squalid presentation affords a picture of the state of our culture that is most depressing. Its aims and methods are another example of the exploitation of public concern about communism and subversion to further political ambition and to work off political grudges.

We may as well state it plainly: the Reece investigation in its inception and execution was a fraud. Nobody in his right mind could suppose that the great accumulations of wealth left by our richest men were being intentionally used by their trustees to overthrow the institutions of this country. Hence the Reece Committee had to take another tack: the trustees were said to be so busy that they had to leave the foundations to officers who were often quite disreputable. Though this relieved the men of wealth and standing of the charge of being knaves, it did so only at the expense of charging them with being fools. Only fools could be so careless as to allow enormous sums entrusted to them for charitable purpose to be stolen away and lavished on the subversion of their country.

Congress may properly investigate the foundations and seek to arrive at general legislative policy concerning them. But the most important question to ask about any given foundation is whether it is one. Is it actually using its money for religious, charitable, educational, or scientific purposes? The First Amendment suggests that tax exemption should not be denied or revoked because the particular views of religion, education, or science held or promoted by the foundation are unpopular.

On the other hand, nothing in the Constitution requires that tax exemption must be accorded an organization, which though in outward form a foundation, is actually a tax dodge, or a public relations device, or a scheme to promote the personal interests of the donor. The test is public versus private purposes. The Government may properly inquire into this question, since the exemption is granted

with a promise of performance. The appropriate forum for the determination of the question of performance would seem to be a court.

As Dr. Johnson used to say, we must clear our minds of cant. When we do, we see that in general the foundations have for many years been following the prescription laid down for them by the majority of the Reece Committee. This prescription is to try to avoid doing what is or may become unpopular. The failure of the foundations to be universally popular at all times is seldom caused by a spirit of reckless abandon or eager pioneering on their part. It is caused rather by the difficulties of predicting what will be popular or unpopular.

Who could have imagined that helping prospective teachers in Arkansas to get an education would have ever been regarded by anybody as exhibiting dangerous tendencies of mind? But when a foundation did this, it was criticized by teachers, businessmen, and newspapers in that State and was of course complained of by the Reece Committee. What would the Foundation have done in Arkansas if it had been possible to foresee the reactions that in fact occurred? I do not say that the grant would not have been made, but I would not bet on it; for the foundations have in varying degrees suppressed their ambition to provide risk capital in favor of a desire to have what are called good public relations, that is, to avoid unpopularity.

We know that the Attorney-General's list is an ex parte finding of guilt with no probative standing in law. But how many foundations would give money to an organization or even to an individual in an organization on the Attorney-General's list, no matter how meritorious the project? Would we support organizations that allowed groups listed by the Attorney-General to meet in halls owned by them? If not, for an irrelevant reason, one that has nothing to do with the quality of the proposal, but that has a great deal to do with our popularity, we have made our peace with Reece.

We know that the most dreadful aspect of the current situation is the atmosphere of suspicion and of guilt-by-association in which we live. We ought to

say that until a man or an organization has been condemned by due process of law he or it must be presumed innocent, and therefore individuals and organizations are not to be automatically denied support solely on the ground that they are associated with unpopular people. Yet how many foundations would give money for a good purpose to be well carried out by an organization which, though not on the Attorney-General's list, was supposed to have some Communist members or was vaguely reported to be dominated by Communists?

We have come a long way since Lord Macaulay, who said, "To punish a man because we infer from some doctrine he holds or from the conduct of others who hold the same doctrine with him that he will commit a crime is persecution and is in any case foolish and wicked."

Congressman Reece was scoffed at. It was agreed that his investigation was a farce. I think he had good reason to be satisfied with himself. I think he won. Without firing a single serious shot, without saying a single intelligent word, he accomplished his purpose, which was to harass the foundations and to subdue such stirrings of courage, or even of imagination, as could be found in them. As I have said, there were not many there when he came on the scene. Congressman Cox had been there before him. And even before Congressman Cox, the foundations were coming to limit their venturesome risk capital supplying to the natural sciences, medicine, technology, and long-term research. These fields are of great public benefit. They are also not controversial. If there ever was a foundation that was willing to be controversial, that was willing to take risks and to venture capital in areas about which people have strong prejudices, it learned its lesson by the time Cox and Reece got through. Who will venture now?

The pressures of our time produce strange contradictions, as in the case of the man who said that there two things he hated, intolerance and Jews. Even those who understand what they are talking about are sometimes afflicted with a

disease that often attacks intelligent people, a disease that gives them such satisfaction in what they say that they are blinded to the fact that it makes no difference.

The Houston Post did a wonderful job on the situation in the schools of that city, but the deputy superintendent, who was fired, has not been reinstated. We all smiled at the decision of the commandants not to permit West Point and Annapolis to debate the entry of Communist China into the UN and applauded Mr. Eisenhower's sensible observations. We went away feeling very good, forgetting that West Point and Annapolis are not to be permitted to debate the entry of Communist China into the UN. The Illinois Department of the American Legion has repented, I hear, of its brutality to the Girl Scouts; but the Girl Scouts revised their Manual as the Legion demanded. We were pleased to notice that Bishop Oxnam was "cleared" by the House Un-American Activities Committee; but he is not allowed to speak at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. We assert that the Fifth Amendment is one of the brightest stars in the crown of our liberties and proclaim the inalienable freedom of every man not to testify against himself, conveniently overlooking the fact that almost everybody who has declined to do so is now unemployed. We say that a security system that deprives us of the services of some of our ablest people is scarcely helping us to be secure; we regard this as a pungent remark. But Davies and Oppenheimer are not working for the Government; Ladejinsky is not working for the Department of Agriculture. And what about Edward U. Condon, retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who has been repeatedly cleared, but who, at the prospect of his tenth or eleventh investigation, pronounced himself investigated out of public service? And now, after Reece, how many foundations do you suppose would be prepared to assist such a man?

The temper of the times appears to be such that the real victories go to those who are nominally defeated. The rather messy anti-communist legislation adopted at the close of the last session of Congress and the pious resolution passed by the Senate at the opening of this one must be regarded as real victories for a

senator who was formally condemned by his colleagues two months ago. So must the requirement imposed on every public speaker these days that he must disavow any connection with communism and attack the vicious conspirators in the Kremlin.

The newer orthodoxy is an odd thing. For example, it requires us to be against McCarthy, but not too soon or too much, not in such a way as to arouse too much animosity in too many of those who might have a different opinion. If, for example, we say that rumor and gossip are an inadequate basis on which to condemn a man or a group, we are told that of course we are right, but that in this case the rumor and gossip are so widely believed that people would think bad thoughts of us if we insisted on proof. So it comes to this: we must ourselves adopt an un-American attitude because if we don't we may be regarded as un-American by those who have an admittedly un-American attitude. We are all dedicated to the great American tradition, but the battlecry of the Republic is, what will people say?

The motto of the Fund for the Republic is, feel free. At least that is what the officers tell one another it ought to be. This is, I believe, the essence of Americanism. Our ancestors came to this country because they wanted to feel free. They developed laws and institutions under which they and we could feel free. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the amendments extending the suffrage, -- these are expressions of the American conviction that everybody should feel free. The limits of this feeling or this freedom are not to be found in a formless fear of public opinion. On the contrary, public opinion is to grow and change through the free discussion of all points of view.

These ideas seemed so important to a new and inexperienced foundation, the Ford Foundation, that something more than two years ago it established the Fund for the Republic. The Foundation gave the Fund $15 million and turned it loose as an independent corporation, a wholly disowned subsidiary, with a self-perpetuating board of directors of its own. Its mandate from the Foundation was to try to

strengthen the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and to "support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect those rights in the face of persistent international tension." Those were the happy, carefree, pre- Reece days.

Somewhat later, after the organization of the Fund, its chairman, Paul G. Hoffman, said: "We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom... Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the Fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority: 1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; 2. Due process and equal protection of the laws; 3. The protection of the rights of minorities; 4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups; 5. Guilt by association."

By restoring respectability to individual freedom the Board means that it hopes to help Americans feel comfortable about feeling free. A board better calculated to bring about this result would be difficult to find; for the members are all comparatively respectable, comparatively free, and comparatively interested in helping other people to feel so. The mere existence of this board should take the Fund some distance on the way toward the restoration of respectability to individual freedom. You cannot belong to this board without believing in conscientious nonconformity as necessary to the growth and progress of individuals and states. The mere existence of this board serves as a reminder that intelligent, even important, people can and do believe this even yet.

The Fund has no other axe to grind than support of the traditional liberties of the American people. It does not seek to support them by trying to influence legislation. It attempts instead to disentangle the issues, and to promote rational discussion of them. It helped the American Bar Association to make up its

mind on congressional investigations by financing the Association's committee on national security and individual rights. It assisted the League of Women Voters to stir up discussion of civil liberties among its members and among the members of other organizations. It aided Columbia University in the presentation of the theme of its bi-centennial and supported the efforts of the National Citizens' Commission on the Public Schools to promote debate about the condition of public education, with special reference to academic freedom and racial discrimination.

If you are going to disentangle the issues that affect the traditional liberties of Americans, one of the first big ones that you have to try to get clear is communism in the United States. Not a day passes without the most positive statements being made on this subject. Many of them disclose a total lack of authentic information, but they are nonetheless positive for all that. The Fund for the Republic has made the Communist record in this country available through the work done by Professor Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Professor Stouffer of Harvard will shortly publish a book called Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, representing the results of a study financed by the Fund of the attitudes of Americans on these subjects. Professor Rossiter of Cornell, with a considerable staff, is now embarking on a comprehensive investigation of what the Communist party has amounted to in the United States and what it amounts to now. These three jobs together should help the American people to decide on the relative importance of Communism in this country and on the successes and failures of the methods that have been employed to deal with it.

One of the methods that has been employed to deal with it that has been severely criticized is the security-loyalty program of the Government. Many suggestions have been put forward calling for a study by distinguished and disinterested persons. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has undertaken to organize such a study, which will be financed by the Fund.

Since we do not want subversive influences to reach our children, we have instituted methods of assaying the patriotism of teachers. It is widely believed that they are ineffective and that they interfere with education by frightening the teachers off the discussion of some subjects. Professor Lazarsfeld of Columbia has undertaken to find out for the Fund whether or not these conditions do actually exist in the high schools, colleges, and universities of the country.

It is charged that in the effort to eliminate subversive influences in motion pictures, radio, and television we have allowed irrelevant and unsupported attacks, or attacks of little value, to deprive men and women of their livelihood. Unauthorized private persons are alleged to determine by obscure means the fate of those on whom these attacks are made. John Cogley, a former editor of The Commonweal, is conducting an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry for the Fund for the Republic.

Through the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Inter-racial Council of Chicago, the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council the Fund has been trying to do something about the rights of minorities. The Fund regards negro housing as the next big issue in race relations and will shortly announce its plans with regard to it.

Well! HBR

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of anti-absurdity fund, a fund for the law of contradiction, a fund to remind us that we can't have things both ways. We can't brag about the Bill of Rights and talk about Fifth Amendment Communists. We can't say that every man has the right to face his accusers and go on using what the Denver Post has called "faceless informers". We can't proclaim our devotion to due process of law and then deny it to people we don't like.

The Fund for the Republic is a sort of Fund for the American Dream. I do not think the Fund can make the American dream come true; but perhaps it can help keep it alive and clear. Perhaps it can show where we are forgetting the dream

as it once was dreamt and can point out those places, and they are numerous, where the progress toward the realization of the dream has surpassed our most expansive expectations. Who knows? Perhaps some day "what will people say?" will be replaced as the Battlecry of the Republic by "feel free".

-- ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

1-20-55

March 24, 1955

Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

We will be grateful if it is possible for us to have ten copies of Mr. Hutchins' speech before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., on January 26, 1955.

At a recent meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, mimeographed copies were available for distribution.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:rnf

MAR 31 1955

file

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
1 East 54th Street,
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 1-3170

INFORMATION RELEASE
March 30, 1955

At 3:00 p.m., Central Standard Time, on Wednesday, March 30th, The Fund for the Republic, Inc. will present an award of $10,000 to the citizens of Waverly, Iowa, for their action in supporting equality of opportunity for all Americans.

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund, and Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Chairman of the Special Awards Committee of the Board, will make the presentation to the Civic Area Committee of the Waverly Chamber of Commerce.

The citation reads:

"To the Citizens of Waverly, Iowa:

"Your prompt action in extending the hand of neighborly friendship to Captain Virgil A. Daniels and his family brings honor to Waverly and makes it an example for the country.

"Efforts such as yours give life and meaning to our Constitution and Bill of Rights. The Fund for the Republic is devoted to the theory and practice of these great documents. The Fund is happy to signify its appreciation of Waverly's action by enclosing a check for $10,000."

* * * * * * * * * *

Within a few hours after newspapers brought the matter to their attention, the people of Waverly, an all-white, predominantly Lutheran community of 5,000, righted a situation which involved Capt. Virgil A. Daniels, a U. S. Air Force officer stationed in the nearby radar station, and Capt. Daniels' family.

Captain Daniels, a brother of Bill Daniels, the singer, had withdrawn his deposit on an apartment in Waverly after a few families in the building had protested because he was a Negro. Another resident heard of it and wrote a letter to the Waverly paper saying that he believed the protest did not represent the true sentiments of the community. The Waverly Chamber of Commerce took up the matter immediately, the Des Moines Register and Tribune and several radio and TV stations publicized it, and within eighteen hours Captain and Mrs. Daniels and their three children were comfortably housed in Waverly.

* * * * * * * * * *

Here is a detailed account of "the Daniels story."

On Saturday, February 12, Sherman W. Spear, an executive of the Luthern Mutual Life Insurance Company in Waverly, heard from the maintenance superintendent of his building, the Miller Apartments, that Capt. Daniels had had to withdraw his application for an apartment. Mr. Spear wrote to Fred Graewe, editor of the Weekly Brewer County Independent and Waverly Republican, as follows:

"To the Editor:

"A Captain in the United States Air Force tried to rent an apartment in Waverly, Iowa, just a day or so ago, and enough pressure was put on him to force him to withdraw his application.

"This man was patriotic enough to wear the uniform of his country. Right now he is working at the task of guarding his country's frontiers against surprise attack by enemy planes. But he was made unwelcome in Waverly.

"You see, the Captain is a Negro.

"I happen to live with my family in the Miller Apartments where this Air Force officer wished to find a home while stationed at the local air base. When word got around that he was to move into a vacant apartment, no less than seven residents now dwelling there telephoned the person in charge of rentals and said they would move out if he moved in.

"While I and my family may be a minority in the Miller Apartments, we wish to protest as vigorously as we can this prejudiced action that shut the door in the face of a serviceman and his family. Yet I am not sure that we are in a minority. I believe there must be other families in our housing project who would welcome any good man and his family regardless of their color, race, or creed.

"I am certain I speak for many when I say, 'Captain, we are sorry. We would have been proud to have counted you as a neighbor.'

Sincerely yours,

SHERMAN W. SPEAR"

On Tuesday night, February 15, the paper came out with Spear's letter. The following morning the Des Moines Register published a story on it. The manager of the Waverly Chamber of Commerce, M. R. Lackore, called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chamber at 9 a.m. and

invited the rental agent for the Miller Apartments and another real estate man to attend. At 9:30 Sherman Spear and some of his fellow-tenants came to the meeting with a petition reading as follows:

> "We would like to extend our apologies to Captain and Mrs. Daniels and their family for the injustice committed against them.
>
> "We, the undersigned, residents of the Miller Apartments, assure them that we welcome them as our neighbors and sincerely hope they will reconsider their decision and will make Waverly their home."

Mr. Spear then went around to get the signatures of Miller Apartment residents. Sixteen of the twenty-four families signed; three refused; one said it was neutral; the others could not be reached.

By 11:30 the signed petition was presented to the rental agent, along with a deposit for the apartment that the tenants had collected among themselves. By 1:30, at a ceremony in the lounge of the Lutheran Mutual Life Insurance Company, Captain Daniels received a key to an apartment in the Miller building.

In the meantime, the second real estate man had attended the Chamber of Commerce meeting and had learned that Captain Daniels preferred a three-bedroom house because of the size of his family. Housing in Waverly is short but the realtor found that a new house in Home Addition, a development of $12,000 to $25,000 houses in the best part of town, had just been rented by Richard V. Leslie, a lawyer who lived in the Miller Apartments. Mr. Leslie had not moved in and he offered it to Captain Daniels.

Today Captain and Mrs. Daniels and their three children are living in Home Addition. On the day they moved in Mrs. Osincup, the wife of the Mayor of Waverly, called on them with home-baked bread. Many of the other residents of Home Addition have since visited the Daniels family to welcome them in their community.

* * * * * * * * * *

The Fund for the Republic, which is making the $10,000 award to Waverly today, is an independent non-profit corporation established to promote the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Robert M. Hutchins is President of the Fund.

cc: MAW
KS
Daily file

FILE COPY

April 4, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This Quarterly Report is the fourth since the grant from the Fund for the Republic.

TRAVEL AND SPEECHMAKING

Mrs. Tilly has worked with Church women groups in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. And she plans in the coming months to follow up the meeting the Church women had by further work with her friends in their own areas.

Mrs. Hamilton represented the Council at a meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington on March 17th and 18th.

Harold Fleming, among other trips, represented SRC at a planning meeting for the Aaronsburg Assembly in Pennsylvania.

Fred Routh in his rounds as organizational director, has been much called upon for policy advice, public and private.

C. H. Parrish helped with meetings in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, and Arkansas.

George Mitchell travelled too much: Two or three times to Richmond in getting the Virginia Council on Human Relations started, and once each to Alabama and Florida for meetings of their Councils; to Detroit to preach at a Congregational Church; to Washington for an NAACP Youth Legislative Conference; to Cincinnati for an annual banquet of its Urban League, to Chicago for meetings of school teachers and of the Council Against Discrimination, and for sessions with the chapters there and at Milwaukee of the American Jewish Committee; to Terre Haute to talk at St. Mary-of-the-Woods College; to Norfolk for an annual meeting of the Women's Interracial Committee; to Petersburg for a session with the local chapter of the Virginia Teachers Association; a fund-raising stop at a central Indiana city with speechmaking and incidentals; a talk at Miami to the King of Clubs; another at Louisville before a session of the Southern Police Institute; others before church

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groups in Sylacauga and Alexander City, Alabama. In Atlanta a classroom talk or two at a local college and an appearance before a Georgia Tech faculty group would complete the list.

CHURCH WOMEN TO ATLANTA

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, in charge of women's work for SRC, invited into Atlanta for a two-day gathering February 24th and 25th, a conference of Church women from the Southeast, meeting as the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The meeting was made possible by a grant of $1,000 to the Council from the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

The women who came in included 14 Southern Presbyterians, 19 Methodists, 7 Baptists, 4 Episcopalians, and scattered numbers of various other religious bodies. In all, every denomination in the South was represented, and also Catholic and Jewish faiths. Some came as from the state councils of church women, or as from the National Council of Churches, or from the YWCA. Eight or ten Negro church women were included among the group. A good proportion of the ladies were oppressed by the reluctance of ordinary middle class townspeople in their areas to discuss reasonably compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. But quite a number had arranged local church-sponsored discussion meetings at which the subject had been opened and plans had been made for ultimate compliance. Much of the meeting went into formulating clear, truthful, and reasonable answers to the twisted and fear-laden arguments which the women found current in their communities.

It was a good example of the way in which Southern people, religiously motivated, can plan together to get religion more deeply into the life of the South. Some few of the women will have got less than they hoped for from the meeting; but the great majority were pleased with the opportunity to exchange facts, ideas, and encouragement. By and large the note of the meeting was that quiet effort to bring the truth to the fore would succeed.

ATLANTA OFFICE - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

We have added to our information staff Mr. John Constable, Jr., who will assist Harold Fleming. Otherwise the central office remains as in our last account.

The Program Planning Committee from the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has met periodically during the last several months with various staff members, and most phases of the Council's program have been reviewed and subject to comment and criticism. The Program Planning Committee reported to a meeting of the Executive Committee February 17th. Both the staff and the Executive Committee have found the reviews helpful, and they will continue.

Gilbreath

The meeting of the Executive Committee authorized consideration of New Orleans as the place for the next November's annual meeting of the Board of SRC.

Incidentally, the Board has been strengthened in recent months by acceptances of membership on it received from Mr. Hollis Rinehart, an attorney in Miami, Florida; and Mr. Philip Hammer, a planning consultant, Atlanta, Georgia.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

The February meeting of the Executive Committee bestirred itself about the election of a Finance Committee. In subsequent events, Mr. Morton Weiss of Atlanta agreed to serve as Treasurer of the Council, and a number of people in this and other cities are being officially asked to serve on a Finance Committee. And a couple of leading editors in Southern cities have agreed to get in touch with suitable local citizens and ask them for contributions to the Council. In addition, the members of the Executive Committee undertook contributions of $100 apiece, and the recommendation is being made on behalf of the Executive Committee to all the Board members of the Council to contribute similarly. These are not great moves in themselves, but they indicate a firmer purpose to proceed with the task before us.

LAPSES

We can see coming up a policy matter which will need discussion between the Southern Regional Council and the Fund for the Republic. Because various of the states have been slow in picking up their employed staff, and because some of them have used less than their full allotments for staff, we are accumulating unspent a sum from the allocation originally agreed upon in March, 1954, as for the state programs; in distinction from the allocation for the central office. We cannot yet tell how much this unspent state allocation will be by September 30, 1955, but it will probably be on the order of $40,000 or $50,000.

We can see various courses of action:(1) return the money to the Fund for the Republic as not having been used; (2) add it to SRC's prospective 1955-56 allocation from the Fund for the Republic and parcel it out to all of the state programs for their use in stepping up their activities in 1955-56; (3) add it to SRC's prospective allocation from the Fund for the Republic for 1955-56 and make it available only to those states which did not use it in 1954-55; or (4) retain it intact and separately accounted-for here in Atlanta and add it to the allotments to be made from the Southern Regional Council for the particular states which did not spend it in 1954-55, such allotments to be made in 1957 in order to enable the states which were laggard in 1954-55 to have a full three year period of assistance from the Southern Regional Council.

It is too soon for us to settle on our recommendation to the Fund for the Republic in this matter, but I raise it now in the expectation that early notice will expedite understanding and agreement later on.

COMPANY

Visitors from abroad again. Listed because we are hoping to get some help in the matter of getting them informed.

Akira Iwai, Director, Planning Department, Japan National Railway Workers Union, Yokohama, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Yojiro Kurokawa, President, Central Executive Committee, Japan National Railway, Locomotive Engineers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Manjiro Nokumoto, President, Central Executive Committee, All Japan Express Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Chumi Koreeda, Chief, Organization Department, Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemical Workers Union, Hokkaido, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S.Department of Labor.

Jinsuke Mitsumura, Vice President, All Japan (Postal) Communication Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor

Gensaku Sugiyama, Chief, Planning Division, Central Executive Committee All Telephone and Telegraph Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Michael Adams, England. Journalist, British Broadcasting Corporation.

Clyde Sanger, Guildford, England. Journalist.

Andrew Bonar-Law, Fowey, Cornwall, England. British Army

S. Tas, Paris, France, Journalist.

Nicolas Chatelain, Paris France. Correspondent for "Le Figaro."

Olaf Radkie, Attorney, Metalworkers Union, Frankfurt, Germany. Sponsored by State Department, Labor Exchange Program.

Werner Meyer, Editor, Fraenkische Presse, Baureuth, Germany. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

Wilhelm Riepekohl, Neurnberg, Germany. Chief Editor of Fraenkische Tagespost. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute.

N. H. Hafferkorn, 9 Eichendorffstrausse, Speyer 1 RH W. Germany, German Foreign Service Officer. Referred by the British Consulate in Atlanta.

Mrs. Hedwig Meermann, Moehringerstrasse 88, Tuttlingen, Germany. Member of State Committee of Social Democratic Women, a free lance journalist, and lecturer at the Tuttlingen Adult Education Center. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

Additionally, five French persons, some from industry, a trade-unionist or two, and a merchant, accompanied by an officer of the U. S. Department of Labor.

STATES

Here is a rundown on the twelve.

Alabama

Had a good big once-a-year meeting February 6th at Montgomery. Total of 240 people there, and far more white people than Mitchell had ever seen before at similar Alabama meetings. Elected new officers. Chairman now Reverend Duncan Hunter, First Methodist Church, Alexander City. The Executive Secretary has been keeping a close watch on the Alabama upshoots of the white "Citizens' Councils." Dr. James Pierce, Professor of Sociology at Alabama State College, Montgomery, has come on to the staff as chief consultant.

Arkansas

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, after a careful screening of nine candidates, has employed as its Executive Director, effective April 15th, Mr. Nat Griswold, formerly field representative of the American Friends Service Committee, and as its half-time Associate Executive Director, Mr. Christopher Mercer, an attorney. They will open an office at Little Rock.

Florida

The Florida Council for Human Relations in the course of recent meetings has chosen a new set of volunteer officers. The new president is Dr. Paul F. Finner, 930 West Park Street, Tallahassee. He is a retired professor of psychology from Florida State University and has considerable standing in the state. Florida is actively seeking staff and should employ it within a short while.

Georgia

Mr. Wells, the Director, has been out making still more speeches to local interracial committees, civic groups and school and college assemblies.

As a former college president and District Governor of the Rotary, he has access to many audiences not hitherto reached on our behalf. The Georgia Committee has been receiving contributions toward its budget from the local Rotary clubs.

Kentucky

The business about using consultants scattered over the state instead of loading their expenditures on to a single central office staff seems to work. The consultants have been doing things in more than twenty counties. The appropriate committee of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations has been working with school officials in the Louisville area and elsewhere on problems of desegregation.

Louisiana

The New Orleans group from the Louisiana Council met March 13th, with convincing evidence of purpose and skill. The problem is to extend the organization over the rest of the state. Apparently the next few months will go mainly into that effort.

Mississippi

Met some weeks ago in Jackson for their annual gathering. Reelected Rabbi Mantinband of Hattiesburg as chairman. An office has been opened in Jackson. Papers are moving along toward incorporation of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations under the Mississippi Statutes. Not yet a strong organization, but has some strong people.

North Carolina

North Carolina is getting ready for its annual meeting April 26th at Raleigh. Have added Dr. W. H. Brown of North Carolina College (Durham) as chief consultant. Trying to get local committees going over the state.

South Carolina

Most of the time has gone into knitting up friendships and understandings with state and local organizations such as AAUW, leagues of women voters, PTAs, councils of church women, education associations, and school people.

Tennessee

The Council group in this state some weeks ago chose someone to be the principal staff person, but this office did not approve the selection. Partly in consequence, our Tennessee friends are shifting to the Kentucky plan, proposing to use a high-type clerical person in their central office, and the services of consultants widely spaced over the state. That probably fits the Tennessee situation better than the previous plan. It has the additional

4

merit of requiring a sounder degree of preliminary organization before the Tennessee Council on Human Relations launches itself.

Texas

Met at Austin in late February with goodish attendance, drawn from widely scattered parts of the state, and representing religious, labor, education, and community groups. They have asked the Hogg Foundation, which specializes in matters of mental health, to inquire into the relationship of segregation and discrimination to problems of mental well being.

Virginia

The Virginia Council on Human Relations was launched as an organization at a meeting in Richmond February 22nd. Thirty-some people of considerable distinction and representative of a wide variety of interest in the state had by that date agreed to be members of the small body which the Virginia Council will be. A clergyman at Staunton, Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, was chosen as temporary chairman, and committees were appointed to prepare by-laws, to nominate officers, and to select employed staff. This responsible and respected group of Virginia citizens can be expected to proceed quite usefully in the state.

All of which is to say that in each of twelve states in which we undertook to get going a statewide race relations agency, such an agency has been launched. The dates of their taking on paid staff will be of interest:

Arkansas - April 15, 1955
Alabama - October 1, 1954
Georgia - June 1, 1954
Kentucky - December 1, 1954*
Louisiana - June 1, 1954
Mississippi - January 1, 1955
North Carolina - October 1, 1954
South Carolina - October 1, 1954
Texas - November 1, 1954

*Arbitrary date!

That leaves Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia still unstaffed. Florida has picked its Executive. The others will come along in the next few weeks, and are better left to proceed soundly at their own pace.

Money-raising by the States

The Secretary-Treasurer will send you accurate figures but, meanwhile, I send figures taken from the reports made to us by the states. The state receipts are made up of membership dues paid to the state groups, subscriptions to New South paid through the state groups, contributions, and sale of literature.

As of March 31st, the following were the totals of receipts: North Carolina, $315; Mississippi, $243; Louisiana, $970; Kentucky, $182; Georgia, $2,513. As of February 28th, South Carolina, $563; Alabama, $637.

Previous reports from Texas are for internal reasons unrevealing, but we hope to know their figures fairly soon.

The remaining four states had no employed staff as of March 31st.

Some of these figures are low, but some of them are gratifyingly good. The March 31st date is of interest because it marks six months before the fund-raising fiscal year deadline of September 30, 1955 for the state organizations.

Notice that the months which have passed were the months in which the state groups were just getting on their feet, and they ought to do better in the months ahead. Here's Louisiana with more than half of its money raised. South Carolina by March 31st will probably be just at the half-way mark. Alabama by March 31st ought to be at $900 anyway. Georgia has already done its minimum duty.

Mississippi and North Carolina lag woefully, but neither is old and North Carolina has a special problem of unraveling the red tape of state machinery on fund-raising permission.

Kentucky seems to count on heavy contributions a little later on.

We are saying to the states which got going with paid staff at dates later than October 1st, that we are expecting of them in fund-raising pro rata amounts for the months of operation, of the whole $1,800. Eighteen hundred dollars divided by twelve is $150. Thus a state having employed staff for six months would be required to raise $900.

CENTRAL OFFICE FINANCES

Miss Stoney will report, as Secretary-Treasurer, in a few days time.

Meanwhile I can say that we are within $2,500 of having raised from various sources other than the Fund for the Republic the $40,000 which we must have raised by or before September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 17, 1955

Dictated May 16

Miss Maureen Black
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Two West Forty-Sixth Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Miss Black:

We will be very grateful for the one thousand copies of the minority housing article from House and Home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
2 WEST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
CIRCLE 5-9300

May 13, 1955.

MAY 16 1955

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the request of Frank Loescher, I am writing to tell you that 1,000 copies of minority housing articles which appeared in House and Home will be sent to you within 10 days.

Sincerely yours,

Maureen Black

Maureen Black

May 26, 1955

TO: HCF

Could you try to have a look at this film and advise me about it?

/eab

June 1, 1955

HCF:

I recall that there was some idea that one of the studies being made by the Fund for the Republic might review the matter of Roy Harris' criticisms of SRC. I am more and more impressed with the wisdom of hoping that that will happen.

eab/

June 22, 1955.

Mrs. Sheila C. Kislik
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Kislik:

Many thanks for sending us the six copies of the list of "key people" and the six copies of the supplementary list.

I have already put them to good use, cut them up and sent them to the executives directors of our state affiliated organizations in the respective states.

Frank Loescher has been with us the past few days and we have been enjoying his comments on his travels across the South.

Sincerely,

Frederick S. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FSR/vc

JUL 8 1955

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Haf

MEMORANDUM

TO: DATE: July 6, 1955

FROM: Adam Yarmolinsky, W. H. Ferry, D. F. Freeman

SUBJECT Frank Loescher FL

Letter from R. L. Hunt of the National Council of Churches

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to David Freeman from R. L. Hunt, Executive Director, Religion & Public Education, National Council of Churches.

The question he raises is, "Can churches within their own buildings operate schools integrating the races?"

George Mitchell has no doubt in his mind. He says that all you have to do is think of the Southern Baptists and their traditional stand.

I think it would be helpful to have a lawyer write an article on the subject in language for the layman that could be published in New South and in denominational papers in the South.

What do you think?

FSL:ep

cc: George Mitchell

COPY

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
in the United States of America
Division of Christian Education
Commission on General Christian Education
79 East Adams Street Chicago 3, Illinois

June 20, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Your concern for civil liberties seems to me to warrant sending to you this copy of the April, 1955 issue of the Phi Delta Kappan. I have marked in this special issue on "Religion in Education" three articles for your attention. Particularly I should like you to examine the article by Thomas J. Van Loon, "Breaking Down a Big Question." The question referred to is the relationship of the agencies of the state to schools operated by churches in their own buildings.

This is going to be a critical question, I think, in the next few years in the South. Can churches within their own buildings operate schools integrating the races? If they have to secure the approval of an agency of the state, it will be difficult in some places. I have been told by some church people that they would like to have some integrated schools operated by the churches in those states, but were told that they would not be permitted to operate such schools under penalty of loss of accreditation or loss of tax exemption status. Since the religious freedom of the citizen is very close kin to other freedoms, it seems to me possible that some consideration ofsuch questions might come within the scope of your interest?

With much appreciation for your work, and all best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

R. L. Hunt
Executive Director
Religion & Public Education

FILE COPY

for quarterly report
folder

July 18, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

This quarter is April, May and June of 1955. It has been a busy period with the Supreme Court's final decrees in it and with our state groups going from the organizational stage into program.

STATE MEETINGS OF CHURCH WOMEN

During the quarter Mrs. Tilly carried through with state-wide meetings of church women, white and Negro, in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. These were meetings of forty to sixty people in each state. The Alabama one was said to have been the first occasion when church women of both races had been together. That meeting had present significant leadership from the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Louisiana meeting brought over from Fayetteville, Arkansas, someone particularly well informed about the integrated high school in that town. These church women in all the meetings were courageous and of the best purposes, and were eager to be informed as to ways in which to achieve peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

Other such state meetings of church women are planned by Mrs. Tilly for the coming Fall and Winter months.

CENTRAL OFFICE PERSONNEL INTO THE FIELD

C. H. Parrish and Frederick B. Routh were in nearly all of the states in the course of the quarter, and Harold Fleming and Mrs. Hamilton reached several.

Mr. Parrish, on special invitation, attended the Atlantic City convention of the NAACP to advise on problems of implementation.

George Mitchell talked around at more occasions than was wise, but the opportunities to get the Council's point of view before the groups involved were tempting. Among them were a meeting of two Southern regions of the National Council of Negro Women, a meeting of the Associated Church Press, a public forum in Virginia, the National Association of Jeanes Teachers, the Executive Board meeting of the American Jewish Committee, a community-wide workshop on the Court's decision in Nashville, Tennessee, the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco, and leadership training schools for the CIO in the Southeast and for the A. F. of L. in Kentucky.

INFORMATION SERVICES

New South, during the quarter, has interpreted the far-reaching legal developments affecting school and recreational segregation, and has published a comprehensive treatment of racial integration in professional baseball within the South. Each issue has contained one or more articles aimed specifically to stimulate and guide community action. Southern precedents for constructive local action have been promptly picked up and described in the pages of New South. Copies of each issue are mailed to those private and public leaders in the region who should have a particular concern with the subject matter. For example, the baseball issue was mailed to appropriate league and team officials and elicited interested reactions from several of them.

Within a few hours of the Supreme Court's ruling of May 31st, a statement went out to the press from the Council's president. Excerpts were widely used by the wire services and radio and television newscasters. A copy is attached.

Following the implementation ruling, the central office was called upon by newspapermen for its usual function of interpreting and backgrounding the new development. The opportunity to reach public opinion through this means is considerable, since those consulting us include correspondents of the wire services, the major news magazines, and such national bellwethers as the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor.

ORGANIZATION IN THE STATES

Eleven of the twelve states we now consider organized and going. Tennessee began with staff and program in June. Virginia began to pay its staff July 1. The one remaining state not yet staffed is Florida.

We append to this report lists of the Board members of the various state organizations as currently as they are available at the moment. Appended, also, is an accurate list of the employed state professional staff and their office addresses. A third document is a current list of the membership of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. A fourth is a list of the SRC Executive Committee members.

State by-laws have been approved by this office for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee. They are known to have been drafted for the other states, (Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia), and we are asking these states to get in their final by-laws for approval.

TOWARD MORE ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS

In agreement with officers of the Fund for the Republic, we have forecast a situation for the coming fiscal year in which it will be possible for each of the states to employ a full-time Associate Director, and this plan was got out to all the states. Arkansas has already made an arrangement for its former half-time Associate Director to become full-time July 1st.

Tennessee and Kentucky will be little affected because of their even-steven arrangement about consultants. Virginia is already using a half-time associate director who, presumably, would not be available on a full-time basis. The other states are actively singling out appropriate persons to be associate directors. We expect that this plan will greatly strengthen the usefulness of the state organizations.

TWO TRAINING OCCASIONS

The state professional staffs have been brought together twice during the quarter. First at a two-day meeting at Camp New Hope in central North Carolina June 1, 2, and 3, and again at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University June 27-July 9.

The North Carolina gathering gave an opportunity for each state to describe its intended program and the relationships in effect in the states between staff and boards of directors. These reports were critically examined by members of the central office staff, and in general sessions and in private conferences many agreements were made as to changes to be brought into being. An additional feature of the North Carolina meeting was the opportunity for the group to sit for a couple of hours with W. W. Alexander, who headed the former Commission on Interracial Cooperation from 1919 through 1943, and who talked most helpfully. The staff persons present were greatly strengthened by the understanding he gave them of the long roots a movement of this kind has in the South.

The Race Relations Institute at Fisk is now in its tenth year, and is a smoothly running conference, bringing in a rich succession of leadership people in intergroup relations. Some twenty of the members of the state staffs of SRC, including three or four board members from the states, were present, nearly all of them for the whole two weeks. Residing on the Fisk campus and taking their meals in the University commons, a great deal of opportunity was afforded for the staff people to broaden their understanding of the problems before them, and to exchange experiences and proposals in organization and program. Various members of the central office staff were present at times during the Fisk gathering, and the meeting was a substantial contribution to the training of state staff people.

INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT ON THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MATTER

Within the last two or three weeks a pattern has emerged which promises to spread rapidly in Southern communities. Local school boards are calling upon nominated citizens committees for advice as to means of complying with the Supreme Court's decision. These committees are by design drawn from persons of both races. Doubtless they will prove useful in bringing the school boards and public opinion in general around to action. Most important, they afford an opportunity for white and Negro persons in a spirit of equality to agree upon the policy and details involved.

It is just this ingredient of free consultation which has been lacking in nearly all Southern communities. The governor of North Carolina has recommended that all local communities in the state impanel local committees of this kind. Officially and unofficially local school boards have already been in conference of this kind in Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. One of the things urged on our state staff people at the Fisk gathering was that they further this movement in all communities in their various states.

PLEASING SMALL EVENT

Came into the office four Negro Congregational ministers and a white associate. Trouble at Wadley, Alabama. The college had announced months ago that it would be open to Negro students. None have as yet come. But there had been a ripple of excitement locally at that time.

June 20th. Some thirty-five Negro persons, many of them officials of the Congregational Church nationally, in the course of a tour of church installations had reached Southern Union College and had been quartered variously about for a night's stay and conference. One part of the quartering had offended local sympathies, and a smallish crowd of white toughs had gathered in the evening and demanded that the Negro group leave town within half an hour. The college attempted to reach the governor and the sheriff without success. Talked to the mayor and were rebuffed. As no protection was available, and as the college is well outside of a minute hamlet in notably difficult country, decision was taken that the delegation would leave, though at an hour markedly later than the appointed deadline. The group had come on to a stated meeting in Atlanta and were concerned here to devise suitable corrective action. One among their number brought them to SRC's office.

We suggested a plan under which Bob Hughes, SRC's state man at Montgomery, Alabama, would go to the town, collect the story in detail, and arrange for a conference in the Governor's office, of those concerned, with a view to getting the governor to make it plain to Wadley officialdom that Negro rights would be protected in the area.

It was left that if the delegation desired service of this kind, they would request it on return of one of their number to Birmingham tomorrow.

Precautionarily, we called Hughes in Montgomery to apprise him of the matter. When we got his office, the young lady in the office said, "I am sorry, Mr. Hughes is not here; he has gone to Wadley; there is some trouble up there at a college."

Subsequent news is that Hughes got in the mayor and other leading citizens of Wadley and set up a Wadley Council on Human Relations. The mayor has said that people's rights would be respected, and the governor has undertaken protection of people's rights. It seems assured that on the next visit of the delegation matters will go smoothly.

FRANK LOESCHER'S VISIT

In accordance with our invitation when we arranged the North Carolina gathering, Frank Loescher came down from the Fund for the Republic and was present for the whole meeting. Subsequently he visited the Atlanta office, and in his travels talked with staff and some board people variously in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and North Carolina. So Frank Loescher will have a fresh appraisal of the program matters in the central office and in the representative groups in the states.

MORE TRAINING NEEDED

We can see coming up as a major need for the coming fiscal year more teaching of state staff and board people on ways of getting their programs accomplished. The press of change in the last year has coincided with our problem of getting the state movements organized, and immature state groups are having to wrestle with situations which would try to the utmost the skill of quite experienced bodies. We think the matter can be amended by rapid training of state people in the specialty skills involved, and we shall be in correspondence with you about that proposal.

STATE NOTES

Alabama has permanent officers for four of its district organizations. Membership is now in excess of 300. A state newsletter now goes out to all members. Special work has been done with ministerial associations in towns where relationships have been particularly strained.

The staff in Arkansas is scattering usefully over the state reaching a considerable variety of local bodies and, in a number of instances, is directly advising local and state school officials.

Georgia continues, as heretofore, with a program of enlightening citizens groups.

Kentucky has entered a year-end spurt in organization, and with a new temporary executive director is working hard at organization and fund-raising. The consultants are being actively used by local school officials and citizens groups. In the county surrounding Louisville, the Kentucky body has official encouragement toward getting a single suburban community to desegregate the schools voluntarily in September, 1955.

In Louisiana the director has carried through a series of radio programs on good human relations, and is building their locality organizations.

The staff in Mississippi has put in some helpful appearances with Negro PTA's and teacher's groups, and is seeking out those people in the state who are willing to assist in upholding the Supreme Court's decision.

In North Carolina the state Council, in a public statement, asked for the wisdom of leadership in the state in countering Mr. Bryant Bowles, of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, who had held a meeting in Charlotte. Work is being considered on a pilot project for desegregation in the mountain counties. The state organization has received clearance from the North Carolina Department of Welfare for a fund-raising effort, and is bringing in new members and new resources with gratifying speed.

South Carolina has increased and strengthened its board, has chosen a new chairman, and is working actively with a policy committee of the board.

Tennessee has employed an office manager, stationed at Chattanooga, and has selected ten consultants -- five white and five Negro. They have been active already in seven counties, working with school superintendents. The State Board of Education has given a green light to local communities toward desegregation. A workshop has been held and sound procedures are felt to be underway.

In re Texas, a principal event was a conference at Fisk between two of the members of the Board of the Texas Commission on Race Relations and the Executive Director of the Texas group with the Executive Director of SRC. Such weaknesses as had appeared, both in the Board and in the staff, in the Texas body were explored and careful plans were made for amendment.

Virginia is just getting started staff-wise, but has good staff and good prospects.

Florida is still seeking suitable professional staff, but members of the board are being called in for aid on particular situations.

FINANCES

Miss Stoney's report, as Secretary-Treasurer, is attached.

The Atlanta office has moderately surpassed its fund-raising requirement for the first eighteen months ($40,000). We will be pressed to meet our commitments in the final months of the year, but expect to get through.

On the fund-raising activities of the states, we see every reason to expect success in all cases, with the possible exception of Mississippi.

Miss Stoney has made time in recent weeks to travel out to the Alabama and South Carolina offices for careful instruction of the clerical staff in reporting and other procedures. She has similarly worked with the Georgia and Tennessee offices.

STAFF CHANGES

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Assistant Director for Program, is returning shortly to her former position as Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League.

Katherine Stoney, our Secretary-Treasurer, will leave us July 15th. Her successor has not yet been formally selected, but arrangements are being made for the interim staffing of the position of Secretary-Treasurer. We have been assisted clerically in the summer months by members of the Internes in Industry Project of the American Friends Service Committee, now at Morehouse College in Atlanta.

The information staff has added Mr. John Constable as Editorial Assistant.

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Assistant Director for State Organizations, ordinarily stationed at Louisville, Kentucky, and serving on a per diem basis, is in the central office for the months of June and July full-time.

FOREIGN VISITORS

For the record:

Felix V. Makasiar, Judge, District Court, Professor of Law and Director of the Foreign Affairs Association of the Philippines

Stig Lundgren, Organizational Secretary, Social Democratic Labor Party, Sweden. Sponsored by the International Exchange Project, N. Y.

Jaipaul, Public Relations Officer for the Congress Party, Indian Parliament India. Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm Kaeber, Mr. Kaeber is Floor Leader of the Social Democratic Party in the State Legislature of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

John Kernan, Missionary, South Africa.

Kenneth Lamb, Lecturer, London, England.

O. F. Raum, Professor, Native College, Capehart, South Africa

K. B. Anderson, Principal of a Folk School, Denmark.

John S. Grant, Forest Ranger, Scotland

Rolf Gutbrod, Professor of Architecture, Germany.

D'Arco Silvio Avalle, Professor, Milano, Italy. Sponsored by the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Clark, Montreal Star, Canada.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD

The Executive Committee met helpfully on May 26th, reviewing with unusual care the policies and program of the agency. A special meeting of the Executive Committee will be held in August at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, where it is expected that the meeting can continue for two or three days and go still further in linking the Committee to policy. Tentative agreement has been reached that the Board will convene next Autumn, for the first time not in Atlanta, but in Tuskegee, Alabama.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encls: Promotion leaflets from Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina & Louisiana
List of Employed state professional staff
List of Board members of SRC
List of Executive Committee of SRC
SRC News Release dtd 3/31/55
Lists of Board members of state organizations**
SRC Finance Report (April 1 - June 30, 1955)

** Lists are presently being brought up to date, and will be forwarded to you as soon as they are complete.

EMPLOYED STATE PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Christopher Mercer
Associate Executive Director, ACHR,
P. O. Box 426
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Executive Director
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Associate Executive Director (half-time)
GCIC
Holsey-Cobb Institute
Cordele, Georgia

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
Acting Executive Director
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
1319 Heyburn Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Mrs. M. J. Lyells
Executive Director, Mississippi Council on Human Relations
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Clarence L. Hughes
Office Manager
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
Room 420, Jackson Building
Cherry and 7th Sts.
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland
Executive Director
Texas Commission on Race Relations
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Texas

Mr. John H. Marion
Executive Director
Bon Air Presbyterian Church
Buford Road
(Virginia Council on Human Relations)
Bon Air, Virginia

Mr. William Cooper
Associate Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

August 1, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Here is a recent quarterly report from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

August 22

Hi George Mitchell!

I cant resist this opportunity to say Hello. I have a temporary job with the Fund since July -- it's supposed to end on September 15. But then, of course, anything can turn up by then. Like it here, very much, of course.

You may have heard that the PP closed its doors on June 1 -- which broke Beanie's and my long relationship. Beanie is taking the summer off, helping to build an addition to his house, and just taking it easy. He plans to start looking for something the middle of September.

Haven't been to Washington for about 10 months, which is the last time I saw Joyce Kelly and Adele Ford. I imagine you get to see them more often than I do. Would be nice to see you if you come in to New York. I'd like to hear about your girls -- they must be quite the young ladies now!!

Best,

Vi Lonski

Cordd Sept 9.

8/20/55

FILE COPY

Dr. Allen Easley
Wake Forrest, N.C.

Dear Allen,

You may know a good guy with the National Council of Churches named Lanier Hunt. Methodist minister, from Mississippi. He has for some years been specializing in the vexed field of relationships between churches and schools. Months ago he got an idea that a good stout article should be written by somelegal person on what power church bodies or individual churches may have to operate and generally set the racial pattern in their own facilities unsegregated schools. People in the Fund for the Republic, which helps us, liked the notion, and seem inclined to favor it. I suppose what would happen would be that a legal mind would apply for a Fellowship, to be financed by the Fund for the Republic, and while enjoying the Fellowship would do the legal looking-up and write an article, publishable, on the subject. Well if the article were originally published in a law review, or something of the kind, and it could be reprinted, perhaps by SRC, among others. As to amount of Fellowship, I suppose the legal mind would calculate the time and expense involved, and ask for an appropriate covering amount.

All thesethings are chancy, and many of them, as you too well know, never go through. But this sounds promising, and I would judge has a good chance.

Is there somebody hooked to the law school at Wake Forrest who would perhaps be interested? Could be a well-along graduae student, or perhaps a coming law instructor.

I would be grateful for a lead to a suitable person, and I should think your College and your State are about right for maximum impact.

All well here, though much scattered for the tag end of the summer. The girls at their make-money camp, and Alice nearby for a couple of wekks, but some reunioning come Labor Day.

Best,

Copy

SEP 8 1955

September 2, 1955.

Fund for the Republic,
1East 54th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I wish to thank you for mailing me recent reports and publications,and especially the very excellent "Case Studies " Collected by Mr.Yarmolinsky and published through The Bureau of National Affairs. Please keep my name on your mailing list as I am greatly interested in your activitites particulary in the realm of Civil Liberties and more particularly in Civil Rights and the problems of Desegregation in the schools of the Southern States. As you know because of my background in ~~in~~ adjudicating segregation cases in South Carolina before retirement,I have a deep concern in the implementation of the great segregation decision of the United States Supreme Court May 17,1954. In a recent discussion of some of the problems faced in the Deep South with my friend Marion A. Wright,President of the Southern Regional Council, I learned that the Fund was contemplating assistance for a legal reporting service and that the Southern Regional Council might be called upon to handle or advise in the matter. This would seem to me to be an excellent arrangement. The Council is in a position to enlist the services of a number of law school teachers in the Southern colleges including a few from Negro institutions. This would give more prestige to the biracial approach. Moreover it would have the advantage of distributing the burden and the importance of the advice given; eliminating the possible jealousy in one State being told how

another should act. Moreover the Council has done a very fine job so far (thanks to your grants)and this will add to its prestige and cause the right thinking people in the South to go to it for advice whether legal or otherwise. I have seen a number of articles from time to time in Southern Law Journals pointing out the futility of the attempts to evade the impact of the Court's decision. The authors of these could be enlisted. The project is of vital importance since the segregationists have the State legal departments acting through their several Attorney Generals,trying to devise legal blocks to carrying out the law. I hope you will give these suggestions consideration.

If at any time I may be of service in any advisory or committee work (non professional of course since I am a retired U.S.District Judge and wish no employment) do not hesitate to call upon me. I wish to congratulate the Fund upon the many projects which it has fostered and especially upon its efforts to bring our people to a realization of the tradition of American Liberty and Freedom.

Sincerely,

J. Waties Waring.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

September 15, 1955

SEP 29 1955

FILE COPY

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask you to give your personal attention to the enclosed release issued by the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic. It has already been distributed through regular news channels.

You will recognize my associate directors as a group of outstanding Americans. I do not know of any group more aware of the necessity for combatting the menace of totalitarianism, whether from the left or right. They are convinced that the best way to combat that menace is to keep America strong. They believe the only way to keep it strong is to keep it free, and that the function of the Fund is to help every American understand the Bill of Rights, so it will live for him as it did for the founders of the Republic.

The Board has created a program for the Fund which reflects its convictions. We intend to pursue our program with as much energy and vision as we can summon.

I hope you will call on me if you wish any information about the Fund. In addition, we would be glad to send you our annual report if you have not already received a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Paul G. Hoffman

Paul G. Hoffman

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, N.Y., September 15.--The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic at its meeting today considered a statement issued by Seaborn P. Collins, National Commander of the American Legion, in which he criticized the aims and work of the Fund. The Board is concerned that the Commander of the Legion should be misinformed, and should misinform others, about the purposes and program of the Fund.

Since its inception the Board has regarded the sphere of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights and has taken as its basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. From the beginning the Board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of communism and communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. The Fund has financed research on a large scale into the extent and nature of the internal communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to make a contribution to the better understanding of effective procedures for dealing with the communist menace while at the same time strengthening the American traditions of liberty and freedom.

The areas on which the Board has long since decided to concentrate its attention are:

1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom.

2. Due process and equal protection of the laws.

3. The protection of the rights of minorities.

4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups.

5. The principle of guilt by association and its application in the United States today.

(MORE)

The Board has steadily pursued the objects that it announced at the time of its organization. The Report of the Fund, which has been widely circulated since its publication last month, sets forth in detail the measures that have been taken by the Board to effect its stated purposes.

This Board reaffirms its faith in those purposes. It will continue to conduct the educational work in which it is engaged, on the lines that it has laid down.

The policies and program of the Fund for the Republic were adopted by this Board. The Officers of the Fund are executing those policies and that program under the direction of the Board.

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Los Angeles, Calif.

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(MORE)

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New York, N. Y.

JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
President, Crown Zellerbach
Corp., San Francisco, Calif.

* * * * *

7 for R - quarterly reports

FILE COPY

QUARTERLY REPORT
July, August, September, 1955

Enlisting Other Support

At this turn in events, some speechmaking by SRC staff is unavoidable. One or the other of us has serviced quite a number of church gatherings; human relations institutes; and labor leadership training meetings.

The church groups were meetings of Methodist women at Kansas City; of the Northern Presbyterians in New York; and the various Southern church groups with which Mrs. Tilly has worked closely. The institutes included that at Fisk University, one at Ann Arbor, Michigan, one at New York University, and one at Toledo. For the labor movement, a week was spent with a select group from the A. F. of L. in the Southwestern states (Fayetteville, Arkansas), and a week at Charlottesville, Virginia for the Southeastern group. Mitchell used an A. F. of L. School in Arizona as his vacation. The last of all the labor groups was in mid-September for the CIO leadership of the upper South, meeting at Junaluska.

Fred Routh, who is the regional chairman for the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and therefore is a member of its Board, attended NAIRO's Board meeting while on his vacation. He also participated at a meeting of the Executive Secretaries of the Southern states' Negro Teacher Associations held in Nashville.

Just plain speeches would include one for the Atlanta University Summer School, and another for the alumni of Tuskegee Institute.

Sale of Literature

In this quarterly period, we took a considerable plunge and reprinted 5,000 copies of Changing Patterns in the New South. We had already sold out a first printing of 5,000. We are making strong efforts to get the new availability of Changing Patterns known, and at the time of writing it is moving out at its standard 50¢ in good volume.

Answers for Action, of which we have printed altogether 31,000 is now down to 600 on our shelves and is still moving.

These have been our two current items, and except for much older things we have little in stock, except for the currently appearing issues of New South.

As we have paid entirely in this fiscal year for the second printing of Changing Patterns, whatever comes in next year on selling the remaining 4,000 or so will be net gain to our budget.

Changes in the Information Program

Staff. During recent weeks, we have completed the information staff contemplated within the terms of a special grant from the Doris Duke Foundation. Miss Florence Irving of Raleigh, North Carolina, has been employed as Research

Assistant and is currently perfecting our collection of information and reference materials. Improvement in the sorting and analysis of this running record of Southern developments will assist us internally as well as in our dealings with the press and other persons and groups needing the facts.

Distribution of Materials. During the last quarter we have given selective distribution to several useful books and pamphlets. Fifty copies of The Strange Career of Jim Crow, furnished by the Fund for the Republic, were distributed to key persons in our state organizations. A comparable number of copies of Morroe Berger's Equality by Statute, made available by the American Jewish Committee, were sent to state attorneys general and other appropriate individuals. Additional copies of The Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition were supplied to the state affiliates for program use. Three thousand copies of the summary report "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools" are in the process of distribution through the same channels, as are several hundred copies of the Report of the Fund for the Republic. In addition to its routine circulation, each issue of New South is circulated to a selected list of public officials and private individuals who should be especially interested in the particular subject treated.

Work with the Press. In the last three months, the information staff has given special assistance to various newspaper and magazine writers. We were able in this way to get our point of view incorporated into feature stories and articles reaching a mass audience within the South and beyond. Most notable were two lengthy articles circulated by Associated Press Newsfeatures and printed by newspapers throughout the country. Incidentally, the text of an excellent statement by William Faulkner, supplied to the writer by us, was thus given wide and helpful publicity.

Mrs. Tilly's work with Church Women

Led a week's workshop on Human Relations at a School of Missions at Emory University. Taught a course on Human Relations at two Youth Camps. Spoke to the Missionary Union at the Morningside Baptist Church, and another group (same church) at a Wednesday evening prayer meeting. Also spoke to a Sunday school class at Decatur Baptist Church.

Prepared the material and directed a two-day's Retreat for United Church Women of Georgia on "Spiritual Foundations for Social Action." Participated in two seminars for Methodist women, leading discussion on "The Things That Belong to Peace" -- one of these in Atlanta and the other in North Georgia. At the latter 41 towns and communities were represented.

Prepared the material and guided a two-day's workshop on human relations for Church Women of Florida -- 65 state leaders present from 21 towns -- representing twelve branches of the Church.

Spent a day in Alabama, planning follow-up meetings of the Spring meeting of the "Fellowship of the Concerned."

Executive Committee

The one meeting of the Executive Committee in this quarter departed widely from all previous ones. The Committee drew off to Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, where they hoped for full attendance and a meeting stretching over parts of three days, allowing time for the unheard-of luxury of full discussion. For mechanical reasons, related to our budget, the meeting had to be at an awkward time in late August, and in the end only a bare quorum got there. But, having more time paid off handsomely. The Committee had available the careful planning report which Mrs. Hamilton had made in her period of service as Assistant Director for Program. Full analysis and discussion of her report opened many administrative and program issues. From one point of view, the main achievement of the meeting was putting into shape our screed to the Fund for the Republic for continuance of aid in the fiscal year, beginning October 1, 1955. But many possible avenues of aid in the general situation in the South were soundly discussed. In the end, the Committee resolved to continue giving more time to discharge of its responsibilities. They liked the arrangement for meeting away from the central office, and called for a schedule of such meetings at a variety of points over the South.

New Administrative Assistant

A persistent recommendation on the staffing of the central office has been the employment of an administrative assistant to have charge of budgets and fiscal analysis for the central office, and for the reports coming in from the states. He will be expected to provide answers, in the absence of the Executive Director, to a variety of administrative questions. The Executive Committee, at the Mammoth Cave meeting, was at pains to prepare for the filling of this position by October 1, 1955. The man selected is Mr. G. S. Alexander, of Columbus, Georgia. He was a former Bursar at Morehouse College, and has had interesting and not dissimilar administrative experience. In the loss of Miss Katherine Stoney, it is expected that Mr. Alexander can pick up some portion of the administrative load which Miss Stoney so ably carried.

Other Personnel Changes

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander has succeeded Miss Katherine Stoney as acting Secretary-Treasurer.

Miss Florence Irving has come on to the staff as Research Assistant. She is a Raleigh lady, with degrees from Spelman and the University of Chicago, and a variety of interesting jobs to her credit.

Two new secretaries are Miss Yvonne Southall and Mrs. Ruby Hamilton.

State Notes

Florida employed staff August 15th. The Executive Director is Mr. William K. Williams. A graduate of the Human Relations Department at the University of Miami, and a Methodist minister. The Associate Director is Mr. Howard D. Roberts of Jacksonville, who has had good training in the field of social work (M.A. - Atlanta University). They have opened an office at Daytona Beach.

Alabama has built up a membership in excess of 300 and continues to strengthen its district organizations. It now circulates a newsletter to its members.

Arkansas now uses the services of a full-time Executive Director and a full-time Associate Director. They helped in the Hoxie situation.

Georgia has just employed as half-time Associate Director, Dr. Mozell Hill of the Sociology Department at Atlanta University. In addition, they will use the services of three part-time consultants at scattered places in the state.

Kentucky's temporary use of a full-time Executive Director worked out well. They built up membership, brought in funds, and continue to work serviceably to the state through their consultants.

The Executive Director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations has been ill, but, notwithstanding his illness, organization and program have proceeded, particularly in the New Orleans area.

Mississippi has 175 members -- raised their funds -- integrated staff -- added Mrs. James Burt as Associate Director.

North Carolina is working on forming new local councils -- consulting with local ministerial associations.

South Carolina has a new state chairman, Mr. Claude Evans of Columbia, the editor of a church paper, The Methodist Advocate. They have also taken on an Associate Director, Mr. J. T. McCain, at Columbia. Have 275 members.

Tennessee continues with remarkable success its program of county visits by consultants.

Texas now has integrated staff -- added Mr. Kenneth Holbert, Negro attorney as Associate Director. Working to expose White Citizens Councils.

Virginia has an appealing plan for sending local school board members on tours of areas where integration has succeeded, and they are seeking independent funds for that purpose. Good staff, pleasant office in Richmond, good Board, a promising effort.

A Push Toward Implementation

The staff and various members of the Executive Committee have done a lot of thinking during the Summer months on ways to speed acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision. We concluded broadly that our application to the Ford Foundation for assistance in setting up twelve state organizations (an application originally made in 1951) had been made in time for the state organizations to get soundly going before the period of implementation would be upon them. Though we were in the end helped by the Fund for the Republic (and quite generously), the aid did not become available to us in the central office until April, 1954, and in most of the states was not effectively available until October, 1954. Some few of the states got going in October, and others trailed along in picking up paid staff until dates well along in 1955. So that

the local machinery available to the Southern Regional Council is in most places new and quite naturally is much concerned with its own problems of organization and finances. Thus events have telescoped into a single period of time the double task in the states of organizing to get the work done, and of doing the work.

Most of the states have shown magnificent effort and ingenuity in accomplishing portions of each task. Our own effort has been to find ways to help them do even more of the implementation job. We concluded that about the best contribution we could make would be to bring to bear on the state staffs and on the state boards the careful and informed thinking of a handful of trained persons in social science, who might serve as consultants to the central office of the Southern Regional Council, assignable out to make arranged-for contacts in the various states. Toward shaping up a program of this kind, Mr. Parrish, as Assistant Director for State Organizations, convened at Atlanta University early in August, a notable dozen of such possible consultants in a two day meeting where program and possibilities of the Southern Regional Council were laid before the group, and suggestions and criticisms were invited as to the best use to make of the machinery available. Incisive criticism was laid on the Board. Constructive proposals came forward in appreciated measure. Those of us on the staff who sat through the meetings were greatly cheered at their end to understand the rich resources in knowledge and experience and judgement that could be brought to bear on this major Southern matter.

And we went out from the meeting resolved to try to find a way to bring that competence to bear.

The result was that we added to our normal application to the Fund for the Republic for the second installment of covenanted grant, a request for an additional $30,000 to enable us to carry through with this program. Unfortunately the request for the additional sum has not succeeded, and the staff is searching currently for other possibilities for financing what seems a most promising contribution toward knowledgeably done public school integration.

The Close of a Fiscal Year

September 30 marks the end of the first eighteen months grant period of assistance from the Fund for the Republic. Mrs. Alexander's report, as Secretary-Treasurer, comes forward in detail. Meanwhile, it can be pointed out that the Southern Regional Council was required to raise independently of the Fund for the Republic in this first grant period $40,000, and has actually raised $47, 000.

In the coming grant period of twelve months, we must put together $55,000 on our own. It will need the earnest support of our Board members to enable this to succeed.

Encl. - Texas Commission Newsletter (9/27/55)

GSM/eab
10/7/55

OCT 7 1955

FILE COPY - request for grant 55-56

October 5, 1955

Mr. David F. Freeman, Sec.
The Fund For The Republic
60 East 42nd Str.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Your letter of September 29th, addressed to me at the Atlanta office, was forwarded to me here, which fact accounts for the delay in acknowledgment.

We are very grateful to you for the check which you enclosed.

We are equally grateful for your expression of confidence and the evidence of your appreciation of the difficulties which have confronted us since the date of your first grant. These were, in part, inherent in the effort to create state organizations with capable staffs. They have, in part, also arisen from the rigid attitude of several of the Southern states, an attitude largely and artificially generated by political leaders. A large part of our effort must now be directed to convincing Southern people that the questions which confront them are as much economic and moral as they are political and that the judgment of the people on such questions is fully as good as the judgment of those in positions of authority.

The attitude of the politicians and of a large segment of the Southern press has greatly added to our difficulties. But I have strong hope

that within the next 12 month period the results of our efforts will begin to emerge.

We hope that you and the other members of your staff will feel the liberty at all times to give us the benefit of any ideas you may have which you think we may profitably adopt.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

c c to George Mitchell

The Fund for the Republic

Remarks of Robert M. Hutchins

President,

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

on receiving

The Bill of Rights Award

American Veterans Committee

Washington, D. C.

October 7, 1955

I THINK I SHOULD TELL YOU at the outset that the only other award I ever received was from the American Legion. It was from Chicago Post 170. Perhaps that post is a bunch of mavericks, but I prefer to regard it as more representative of the rank and file of the Legion than the kingmakers in Indianapolis are. I joined the Legion, after 35 years as an unattached and skeptical veteran, because of my admiration for the program of the Illinois Department under the leadership of Irving Breakstone. I was happy to learn that the National Commander endorsed this program in February last. I was sorry to see him cross himself up six months later by condemning the Fund for the Republic, which had financed the program he had endorsed. It is embarrassing to have one's commander make slips of this kind.

I am surprised that there should be any differences of opinion about the Fund for the Republic. They must result from misinformation. Or perhaps they arise out of

that confusion which overtakes statesmen, columnists, and commentators in the hustle and bustle in which they perform their task of cleansing the Commonwealth of influences that threaten the positions on which they have built their reputations.

Congressman B. Carroll Reece, for example, who made his reputation as chairman of a congressional investigation into foundations, announced, almost before the Fund was organized, that its object was to investigate congressional investigations. As a matter of fact, less than one percent of the Fund's expenditures have been devoted to this subject; and this money was spent through a committee of the American Bar Association, the report of which was adopted by a large majority of the House of Delegates at the meeting of the Association fourteen months ago.

In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation made a considerable grant to the Fund for the Republic, and the umbilical cord between them was severed. At that time the Board of Directors of the Fund made a public statement that said, "The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled

with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. We propose to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to arrive at a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it.

"We regard the sphere of operation of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights in the United States and take as our basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution...

"Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the Fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas . . .

1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom;
2. Due process and equal protection of the laws;
3. The protection of the rights of minorities;
4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting by private groups;
5. The principle of guilt by association and its application in the U. S. today."

I call your attention to the fact that this statement was issued at a time at which I had no connection with the Fund.

Of the original directors those who are still serving are Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board; George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College, Vice-chairman of the Board; Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College; Russell L. Dearmont, attorney of St. Louis; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School; William H. Joyce, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.; Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart Schaffner & Marx; M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.; John Lord O'Brian; J. R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Co.; Elmo Roper; Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson; and James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation. They were later joined by Harry Ashmore, Executive Editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*; Chester Bowles; and Robert E. Sherwood. This group, which I have seen described as "left-wing," supervises the execution of the program announced by the Board two and a half years ago.

THIS PROGRAM is just what it started out to be, no more, no less. But you would never guess it from some of the things you hear and read these days. For example, the Annual Report, which, by the way, is given

away free to anybody who asks for it, shows that almost a third of the money appropriated up to the date of the Report had gone into race relations. The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, the Methodist Church, the National Council of Churches of Christ, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Southern Regional Council have received grants to assist them in the protection of the rights of minorities. One of the most serious problems those minorities face is that of housing. The Fund has established a commission on this subject headed by Earl B. Schwulst, President of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York, and including such men as Father John Cavanaugh, of Notre Dame; Elliott Bell, of *Business Week*; Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley; Stanley Marcus, of Neiman-Marcus; and Henry R. Luce of Time, Inc. Not even in the South has any responsible criticism of these activities appeared. In the criticisms of the Fund no mention of these activities appears.

For such conspiratorial agencies as the Congregational Christian Church, the Universalist Church, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the American Friends Service Committee, the League of Women Voters, the American Heritage Council, and Columbia University the Fund has appropriated approximately a

quarter of a million dollars to help promote the discussion of the basic ideas and documents in American history and political theory; $50,000 of this is being used to bring the good news of these ideas and documents to my embattled comrades in the Illinois Department of the American Legion. Although these expenditures are set forth in detail in the Annual Report, which has been circulating for almost two months, I do not often hear or see them mentioned by those who think less well of the Fund than I do.

IT MAY SURPRISE THOSE OF YOU who derive your information from such sources to learn that the Fund has made grants to the Common Council for American Unity to expand its work in protecting the legal rights of aliens, to the University of Pennsylvania to study the interference of the Post Office Department with the flow of information and opinion, to the National Book Committee for a study of the right to publish and to read, and that it has assisted various bar associations and legal organizations that are trying to see to it that indigent and unpopular defendants are adequately represented by counsel.

Pursuant to its original resolution the Board of the Fund had devoted almost a

third of its expenditures up to the date of the Annual Report to the study of various aspects of Communism in the United States. Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School directed the compilation of the first complete digest of the principal legal proceedings in which the Communist Party has been involved. Professor Samuel A. Stouffer of Harvard conducted a national opinion survey in order to discover what the attitudes of the American people toward Communists and radicals were. Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell, with the assistance of twelve experts and a large staff, is making the definitive study of what the Communist Party has amounted to in this country and what it amounts to now. The Stanford University Law School has received a grant to make an objective analysis and critical summary of the testimony of the principal witnesses in the most important Communist trials.

The professors who direct these studies have complete freedom. They are given the money and asked to recruit their own staffs and work out their projects in their own way. If you want to complain of what they do, you have to argue that they are incompetent or that they are crooked. Nobody has suggested that they are incompetent. But it has been insinuated that in return for

money from the Fund they will oblige by digging up facts to support any prejudice that any officer or director of the Fund may have. This insinuation is so outrageous that it must arise out of acute alarm on the part of those who make it. What are they afraid of? I can only conclude that they are afraid of the truth.

CONSIDER THE EXCITEMENT displayed in some quarters about the work the Fund has financed on the loyalty-security programs. In the first place, it was natural that this apparatus, which is estimated to affect 10 to 12 million people, should attract the attention of an organization concerned with freedom and civil rights. Everybody knows that freedom and civil rights are restricted by the loyalty-security system. *The American Legion Magazine* bitterly attacked the injustices in the system in January 1955. For many months appeals have gone up for some kind of public or private investigation that might discover the precise facts and lead to recommendations for action. As a result the Humphrey-Stennis Resolution, calling for a bi-partisan commission on the subject, passed both houses of Congress by almost unanimous votes and was signed by the President.

In the second place, the organization that has received money from the Fund to study the loyalty-security system is one of unimpeachable competence and integrity, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. On the committee that it has chosen are leading lawyers of New York, Chicago, Washington, New Orleans, and Los Angeles. The staff director is a distinguished professor of law at Columbia University. The Association, like all the other grantees of the Fund, has absolute independence in conducting its study.

This brings me, in the third place, to the collection of cases made at the expense of the Fund under the direction of Adam Yarmolinsky of the District of Columbia Bar. Fifty of these episodes in the operation of the loyalty-security program have been published and have attracted a good deal of attention. Mr. Yarmolinsky has been careful to state that he has obtained the official records and all the other information he has published from counsel for the defense. He has also made it clear that what he has published is a random sample of the cases that counsel were willing to have published. Since Mr. Yarmolinsky dealt with fewer than four hundred cases, and since there are thousands of them, it was evident that Mr. Yarmolinsky's collec-

tion was not, could not be, and did not purport to be a comprehensive study of the operations of the loyalty-security program. It purported to be just what it was: a presentation of fifty cases on the basis of material supplied by one side. But what this material adds up to is the entire public record of each case. It is presented factually, without comments or recommendations.

One object of Mr. Yarmolinsky's work was to obtain data that might expedite the study of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York or any other that might be made of the loyalty-security system. Another object was to shed light on the importance or lack of it, as the case might be, of a comprehensive investigation such as that to be undertaken by the bi-partisan commission under the Humphrey-Stennis resolution and that now being conducted by the Association of the Bar. The Yarmolinsky cases raise a presumption that gross injustice has at least occasionally been done in the execution of the presidential orders in this field. Since this is so, a comprehensive investigation is urgent. It ought not to be necessary for me to add that if the Yarmolinsky cases had raised the presumption that the system was operating perfectly, the Fund would have published them just

the same, and would have done so with great relief.

I can only conclude that those who fear impartial investigation of the loyalty-security programs do so because they are afraid of the truth. The positions they have taken and the reputations they have built are interwoven with those programs. As John Lord O'Brian says in his book, *National Security and Individual Freedom,* "The great misfortune is that issues of loyalty and security have been seized upon by unscrupulous politicians and used as political weapons by selfish partisans." Such people do not want the system looked into, because they fear that it may be found defective, and their attitudes and reputations may appear defective, too.

IT MAY BE SAID that the Fund has a point of view. Of course it has. It believes that the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are important. It believes that Communism and the methods of dealing with it are important. It believes that academic freedom, the protection of the rights of minorities, censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting by private groups, guilt by association, and due process and the equal protection of

the laws are important. The Fund believes that the facts about these issues should be brought to light and that the facts and the issues should be discussed.

I will go further. The Fund is for the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is against Communism. It is for methods of dealing with Communism that safeguard the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is against censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting by private groups, and against guilt by association. It is for academic freedom, the protection of the rights of minorities, and due process and the equal protection of the laws. The Fund is perfectly aware that a tax-exempt organization must not seek to influence legislation, and it does not attempt to do so. The Fund has confidence that if the American people know the facts and understand the issues they will reach conclusions compatible with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. To quote the final words of Mr. O'Brian's book, "The public, with the issues clarified, will . . . respond to the sense of moral responsibility, and out of the present confusion will come a rededication to the cause of freedom in our time. In this confident belief must be our hope."

THE POINT OF VIEW of the Fund for the Republic is conservative. It wants to conserve the Republic by conserving its essential attributes, which are freedom and justice. These ideas and the constant struggle to realize them in daily life have made our country strong and great. These ideas rest on a conception of man. According to that conception the ideal man is one who is willing to learn, but who thinks for himself; who respects the convictions of others, but who will stand up for his own against any power whatever.

In this country we do not have to take anybody's word for anything. The citizen does not have to take the word of diplomats about foreign policy, of military men about military power, of policemen about security, of informers about the disloyalty of persons, or of the Attorney General about that of organizations. He does not have to take the word of legislative committees about the prevalence of witches. Though he is supposed to take the word of the Supreme Court about what the law is, he does not have to stop trying to get it to change its mind; and in America we recognize the claims of a higher law. We have only to recall Thoreau to be reminded that civil disobedience has a long and honorable history in this country.

Our reliance is upon the intelligence and character of the independent individual. The greatest dangers to the ideals that we cherish are fear and conformity. Courage and independence are the best guarantees of freedom and justice. We cannot feel free and feel frightened. The motto of the Fund for the Republic is: Feel free.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 7, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are sending you under separate cover 300 copies of our annual report. You should receive them within a day or two.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard L. Peterson

Bernard L. Peterson

November 10, 1955

Mr. Ralph Lord Roy
255 West 108th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Roy:

I don't keep any files that would be helpful, and my memory is as fallible as the next man's, and my sources of information no better and often worse. For ten years and more I have thought Claude Williams' show was hooked on to the Communists, but I don't know, and I may just be going by concensus.

Don West, it is agreed all around, was a member of the Communist Party years back (I don't know in what years). It is also generally agreed that he left them, and has not been part of them since. I have read the first several issues of the paper he and his friends now get out, and have not thought it reflected Communism; seems to me just good warm Southern trade unionism. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution does inform himself with some system about those who have been in or near the Communists, and he wrote some stories and perhaps some editorials about eight years ago, with Don West as the central newsfigure. I would suppose McGill the best informed private citizen on Don West's aberrations.

Pratt, I know nothing about.

It would be worth your while, at some stage, to have a lengthy interview with Paul Christopher, presently Regional Director for the CIO in the Upper South, offices at the Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tennessee. Paul has had professional reasons to know what the Communists were up to; has fought them straight through, and has a good memory.

I will be glad to help in any way I can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Please reply to
255 WEST 108th STREET
New York 25, N. Y.
Tel. RIverside 9-6734

NOV 10 1955

November 8, 1955

Mr. George A. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you may know, the Fund for the Republic, established in December, 1952, by the Ford Foundation, is sponsoring a series of studies on Communism and American society. The enclosed clipping from The New York Times describes this project. The Fund has asked me to do the study on Communism and religion.

Not enclosed here

Jack Sessions, here in New York, has suggested your name as a likely source of information on the situation in the South as it relates to my particular study. At the present time, I am concentrating on Claude Williams and the People's Institute of Applied Religion in Helena, Alabama.

I am also attempting to get factual data refuting or confirming the charges of Communism levelled against the Rev. Donald West and the Rev. C. T. Pratt of the Church of God of the Union Assembly, centered in Dalton, Georgia.

Whatever information or personal reflections you may be able to send me will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph L. Roy

Ralph Lord Roy

RLR:cst
enc

November 18, 1955

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Fund for the Republic
60 E. 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Joe:

If you have reproduced the Marquis Childs column in large quanities we could use as many as 500. If you have not, whatever similar number you can spare will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

-1-

File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A. M. Newspapers
Monday, December 12, 1955

RELEASE DATE CHANGED
TO
WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 14, 1955

New York, N. Y., December 12. -- The Fund for the Republic announced today that it has named its 1955-56 television prizes "The Robert E. Sherwood Awards" in memory of the late Pulitzer Prize playwright who was a member of the Fund's Board of Directors.

The Fund announced also that it has increased the total amount of the awards from $40,000 to $55,000.

Awards of $20,000 each will go to the commercial network drama and the commercial network documentary which treat subjects in the field of civil liberties "with the greatest distinction, taste and effectiveness."

(MORE)

A prize of $15,000 will go to the best program concerning liberty and freedom produced by an independent commercial television station. Nominations of candidates for the awards may be made by anyone.

Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, declared that "naming these awards in honor and memory of Robert E. Sherwood seems peculiarly appropriate to us who knew him. He represented the finest in the entertainment arts. He was also a valiant fighter in the cause of American liberties. We are honored to be permitted to offer these awards in his memory."

The Fund also announced that two members have been added to the jury. They are Robert Taft, Jr., attorney of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Philip H. Willkie, attorney of Rushville, Indiana. Alf M. Landon, of Topeka, Kansas, has resigned as a juror because of the pressure of recent business commitments.

Mr. Taft, son of the late U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft, is a member of the Cincinnati law firm of Taft, Stettinius and Hollister. A graduate of Yale University and Harvard Law School, he is a member of the Ohio State legislature.

Mr. Willkie, son of the late Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential candidate in 1940, is vice-president and attorney of the Rushville National Bank. He served three terms in the Indiana legislature. He holds degrees from Princeton, Harvard and Columbia and spent four and a half years in the Navy.

(MORE)

In addition to these new members, the jury includes Kermit Bloomgarden, Broadway theatre producer; Gardner Cowles, president of the Des Moines Register Co. and Cowles Magazines; Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of the College of the City of New York; Robert M. Purcell, managing director of KEYD-TV, Minneapolis; Gilbert Seldes, author and critic; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; and Harrison Tweed, member of the law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hope and Hadley.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

FR- gc - 1955

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1444 WENTWORTH AVENUE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA MAIL ADDRESS: BIN H, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA
SYCAMORE 3-6121

December 20, 1955

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Paul Hoffman has shown me your generous telegram about the Fund for the Republic. I want you to know how grateful I am for it.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins

Robert M. Hutchins
President

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

FR - gc - 1955

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

4530 Loma Vista Avenue
Los Angeles 58, California
December 20, 1955

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks very much for your friendly telegram expressing confidence in The Fund for the Republic. It is much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Paul G. Hoffman

Paul G. Hoffman
Chairman, Board of Directors

PGH. vkp

Funds for the Republic

December 21, 1955

Rev. Ralph Lord Roy
255 W. 108th Street
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Roy:

You gave me a rather difficult assignment but I'll take it up one by one.

I have known Don West since he was in school at Martha Berry at Rome, Georgia. He left there because the school was in competition with the farmers around the school in marketing produce and under selling them. I knew him at Vanderbilt when the Congregational Church gave him a scholarship. Don, coming out of a poverty situation, and concerned about others more than he was the studies at Vanderbilt, spent much of his time exposing the evils he found in Nashville. Vanderbilt recognized him, however, as a person with a brilliant mind and decided it was best to give him a diploma. You may know that he was sent by the United States government to Norway and Sweden in the interests of agrarian affairs. Then I lost sight of Don for a while and was told by leaders in the Congregational Church that Don was hiding out because he was an organizer for the Communist Party. I am enclosing an editorial of the Atlanta Constitution which substantiates his past affiliation with the Communists. The next I knew of Don he was a teacher in the public schools of Lula, Georgia. He made such a splendid record there that he was recommended to become a preacher in the Methodist Church in the North Georgia Conference. I do not believe that Don is now connected in any way with the Communist Party. I think Don has been sincere in everything that he has done. He has been seeking a way to aid under privileged people.

Concerning Mr. C. T. Pratt:-- I have been in Dalton many times and have listened to the mill officials condemn him for taking so much money out of the pockets of the mill workers. The Church of God of the Union Assembly is the largest auditorium in that section of Georgia and mill people flock to it. The collections are taken in Kegs and the money pours in so that Mr. Pratt owns his own air field and air plane and property all about Dalton.

Some months ago I sat in on one of Mr. Pratt's services. I certainly found nothing in it that would elevate any one. He led the singing and was more vigorous than musical, but the people seemed wrapped in enjoyment. Sometimes I have felt that he's a real fraud and then again I've realized that He's a friend to labor and the workers in that area need friends. Although the conditions are better at Dalton then they are perhaps anywhere else in our state. When Don West came with Mr. Pratt, there was a great cry from the section of the state that the Communists had moved in and the Solictor charged the grand jury to make a study of the Communist influence. If the grand jury presented any findings, I have not had a copy. It might be possible to secure one if they have returned their report. We must remember though that the Southern mills directors and owners are very much against organized labor and apt to call any one a Communist who is friendly to unions. The Church of God and the Union Assembly under the direction of Mr. C. T. Pratt sponsored a Henry Wallace meeting. That, too, is in the background. Summing this up, personally, I feel that it is rather wrong to think that either Mr. Pratt or Don West are working in the interests of Communism as such.

Now about Claude Williams. He was called before the un-American Activities Committee at New Orleans and I think came out very well. He, too, is spending his life in the interests of the "under dog". Maybe not very wisely sometimes but I don't think any one who knows him would accuse him of being a Communist. I don't know where you could find copies of the materials you wish from the People's Institue except by writing to Claude Williams and I think he would gladly furnish you whatever you want.

I don't know anything about Owen Whitfield or Malcolm Dobbs. I'm afraid I haven't been very helpful to you but if you desire it, I think I could get more information about Mr. Pratt's activities for you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
In Charge of Women's Work.

MET:mf

Enclosure

FILE COPY

January 4, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is a Quarterly Report for October, November, and December, 1955.

The money end of it comes along asp.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMtmaf

Encl. (2)

FILE
COPY

53 QUARTERLY REPORT
45 October, November, December, 1955

52 Hither and Thither

The quarter had a bit less than the usual amount of outside speechmaking and visiting. For labor groups George Mitchell talked to an A.F. of L. school on a Saturday in Miami, and to a CIO-organized Nashville conference on labor and segregation. For Church bodies, he met with the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church (meeting nationally) at New York, and later on at the Southwest sub-meeting, at Fort Worth; for the Presbyterian Women from the South; attended a National Conference at Cleveland on the Churches and Social Welfare; and talked to the men's club at an Atlanta suburban Church. In the College line, he spent some hours with a touring group of Colgate students, at Georgia Tech; met with a religious interest Club at the University of Georgia; talked at Agnes Scott College; and appeared for a Human Relations Institute at Spring Hill College, in Mobile.

Fred Routh made trips out to Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, and North Carolina. His travels these days involve unravelling complicated matters; it seems much more difficult to keep an organization going in a balanced way than to set one up again.

He went to Milwaukee to the meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and came back a full member of its Board, as well as a be-praised speech-maker.

52 Attacks Redoubled

October was a month in which our cordial disliker, Mr. Roy Harris, of Augusta, warmed up his anger, and poured out abuse of SRC again, as he had done a year before. Mr. Harris has permitted himself to be convinced by so-called "researchers" that SRC is the descendant of the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare (which lived noisily 1938-49); whereas SRC was set up in 1944 in obvious difference from the SCHW approach. Mr. Harris began beating this and related abusive drums, and on one occasion did a typical Georgia trick: published in his paper our SRC office 'phone number. Promptly we had a rash of Kluxy calls, wishing to know if we had a "mixed" staff (which we owned); and loudly denouncing us for a bunch of reds. I recorded three such calls, and others in the office had more. 'Twas not long after that the Honorable Attorney General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, in a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers' Association, denounced the NAACP in convolute terms, and included SRC and the Georgia Interracial Committee in his abuse, as being fronts, though it was never clear whether we were said to be fronting for the NAACP or for the Communist Party. We in the office took a good deal of time to circularize our friends with answers to this rigamarole, and various of us have systematically arranged interviews with people of importance in the public opinion of the State; editors, bishops, legislators, and so on. Silly, but it shows that we draw some blood. More ominously

it foreshadows, we suppose, a time-consuming attack on us in the session of the Georgia legislature which comes in January, 1956. It is illegal under Georgia law to agitate subversively, and we suppose that the Legislature, while plotting subversion of the Constitution and the Courts of the land will give a while to witch-hunting SRC for subversion- though the worst that can be truthfully said against us is that we oppose certain cherished parts of Georgia "tradition."

Mr. Harris' efforts include this complimentary paragraph:

> "The Council's research staff and those who prepare the propaganda are highly skilled, well educated people who are armed with huge sums of money to effectuate the programs in Georgia and other Southern states. Their work is well under way and excellently coordinated."
>
> Augusta Courier, August 31, 1955.

01/49

49 INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Busy time. Fleming & Co. had Mr. Eugene Cook to answer, some public relations strategy to plan out anent the attacks, new staff to bring in on the intake-of-information end (Doris Duke Foundation grant), and an unusual burst of requests for round-ups of practices over the South. On this latter, there was a matter of the interracial citizen's committees advising local school boards; what other cities had done about opening golf courses and other recreational facilities to Negroes, what the churches have been saying, and listing of the various people (hereabouts called "displaced persons") who have been done out of teaching or preaching or other jobs because of standing up for law and order and the Courts of the land. The informational staff also organized small housing conference for the Committee on Race and Housing; helped with advice of a film-script dealing with school desegregation in St. Louis; did an article for the ANNALS on resistance movements in the South; and talked endlessly with indropping newspaper and magazine writers, exploring this or that aspect of the South.

The new young lady collecting information went to Durham to see the Librarian of Duke University and meet various of his technicians, in order to make certain that SRC's overflowing collection of Southern pamphlet and clipping material, when, as, and if it ultimately gets stowed away, shall fit into the filing system of a going Library. She is a Negro young lady, and we shyly suspect that the Librarian was not displeased to have this opportunity to introduce to his staff the thin edge of the wedge of desegregation!

New South grows pleasantly in circulation and impact. It is close to 4000 by now, and we begin to think in terms of ten thousand within a year.

The Board and the Committee

The Executive Committee met in October, and the Board in November. Superficially, perhaps, they were unexciting meetings, but the Committee followed its new pattern of meeting during two days, and going into policy with far greater care than heretofore. And the Board, while hurried a bit, met in pleasant circumstances at Tuskegee (first time ever away from Atlanta), looked carefully at State organizations and at central policy, heard the complaints of our detractors, elected able new people to join them, and at long last, moved ahead positively with a Finance Committee of the Board. This is to be named up from the twelve States, so that there will be maximum coordination in raising money for this central office with the simultaneous effort in and for each of the State groups.

NAIRO to Our Help

The November annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, in a resolution, said:

> "Particularly reprehensible are attempts by certain state government leaders, organizations like the 'white' citizens councils, and the recent efforts of a national newspaper chain to smear responsible, widely respected organizations like the Southern Regional Council, NAACP, and the Fund for the Republic which have supported lawful and orderly methods to bring about the desegregation of the public schools."

Foreign Visitors

We use this spot to keep the record:

P. Gurnam Singh Gill, Chief Clerk, Malayan Road Transport Co., Seremban, N.S., Malaya. Sponsored by the International Labor Affairs, Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Douglas Jay, M.P., Journalist, London, England. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

P.C.W. Gutkind, Sociologist-Anthropologist, Uganda, East Africa. Sponsored by United Nations, New York, New York.

Sven Öste, Newspaper man, Stockholm, Sweden.

Jai Deva Prasad, M.L.C., Member Bihar Legislative Council, Patna-4, Bihar, India. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

QUARTERLY REPORT - 4

61/15

46 KIND OF THING THIS OFFICE DOES

Rev. Alvin

YMCA man from N.Y. office called. The dickens is loose because the University of Mississippi months ago invited one Kershaw to come and speak during Religious Emphasis week, and Kershaw subsequently turns up as the $32,000 jazz king parson, who said he was going to give some of his winnings to the NAACP. And the Mississippi legislature is up on its ear and says January 3 it will pass a resolution forbidding so reprehensible a man any entry into the ~~great~~ Commonwealth of Mississippi, and the University is making brave noises but is scared, and ~~the poor YM, that had to do with the matter, is maybe~~ others are dithery. Please come to Cincinnati for a day's meeting and advise what to do. Went, and said when Br'er Tarrypin for good cause had Br'er Fox by the toe, Br'er Tarrypin helt on, and so should Kershaw. ~~YM will pay the bill for the trip.~~

In late October, a national agency, in convention, had instructed its Atlanta office to query SRC on resolutions appropriate to certain Mississippi violence. We advised.

A South Carolina minister, caught in the toils of opposition to his stand on the matters of race, came over for conferences on procedure and his future. Conferred, and advised, and helped him plan.

A PTA Vice-chairman from a Virginia city writes in. Could get his people to move, a little, if had suitable speaker from a PTA where integration has proceeded. How could he get. We communicated with our Virginia affiliate, which advised him.

Advised at length representatives of a major religious denomination, planning a conference at Norfolk, Va., on the stand they should take on desegregation.

The Program Chairman of the National Student Association, who was planning a Southwide student conference for Easter, 1956, on desegregation, needed help. Gave same.

The President's Committee on Government Contracts put out a good summary Newsletter (No. 4). Arranged to have copies reach each SRC affiliate, for that issue and for future issues.

54 STATES AT WORK

ALABAMA	Advising with Governor's staff re: appointment of an interracial study committee. Publishing good news letter monthly. District meetingsbeing held regularly. Employed 1/2 time Associate Director Mr. Fred Grey, Attorney. Approved increased budget will raise $5,375
ARKANSAS	Work with Hoxie continues. Contacts made with school people in several areas of state. Irene Osborne did excellent job with Little Rock group and representatives from across the state.
FLORIDA	Staff traveled over the state making contacts with key people, both old and new. Cooperating with state United Church Women. Held meetings at Rollins College, Orlando, Hollywood, and West Palm Beach. Conferred with leaders of Dade County Council on Human Relations.
GEORGIA	Helped lead fight to prevent teachers who belong to NAACP from losing their teaching licenses. Added Dr. Mozell Hill as Associate Director on half-time basis. Working with "locals" workshop planned in Macon. Called on Governor to appoint State Interracial Committee.
KENTUCKY	Consultant program proceeding. Irene Osborne did great job in Louisville: public meeting, conference with superintendent and key school people, conference with key community people. Seeking new Executive Director to replace Dr. Brimm who returns to graduate studies.
LOUISIANA	New officers elected. New Chairwoman from Lake Charles; reaching out into state for new strength. Creating new advisory group in New Orleans should greatly strengthen state organization.
MISSISSIPPI	New officers elected. New Chairwoman strong Methodist leader, prestige person, worker. Added half-time Associate Director (making two thus employed). Board seeking to strengthen itself.
NORTH CAROLINA	Wrote all superintendents for information on study committees. Sent all Superintendents and study committee chairmen integration materials on D.C., Baltimore, St. Louis, and Answers for Action. Added Associate Director - well known Negro educator.
SOUTH CAROLINA	Keeping close watch on Citizens' Councils and economic pressures. Contacts made with several school superintendents. Seeking to set up a "local" in Columbia; good outlook. Rev. Pritchett of our group publicly charged "Forces are at work to shackle the pulpits of S.C." ~~Cooperating quietly with NAACP.~~

QUARTERLY REPORT - 6

TENNESSEE Seeking to reorganize and strengthen Board. Irene Osborne participated in well-attended workshop in Chattanooga. Work with local school people proceeding.

The Chairman elicited this letter from the State School Authorities:

52 State of Tennessee
Department of Education
Office of Commissioner
Nashville 3

Mr. F. Woods Beckman, Chairman,
Tennessee Council on Human Relations,
420 Jackson Building,
Chattanooga 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Beckman:

I have your letter of October 18, 1955, in regard to the position of the State Department of Education in distributing school funds to local school systems which should make plans or take action to carry out the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to segregation.

As you state in your letter, the Supreme Court of the United States and the State government have said it is the responsibility of local school boards to carry out the Supreme Court decision. The Federal District Court, with Judge Marion Boyd presiding, ruled last Monday that the constitution and statutes of the State of Tennessee prohibiting desegregation were no longer in effect. In view of this decision, I know of no reason why the State Department of Education would not distribute state funds to such school systems on the same basis as at the present time.

I should point out that there is no assurance that litigation might not result. I think you realize that there is a strong possibility there would be litigation to prevent the payment of such funds.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)
Quill E. Cope
Commissioner

QEC:br

TEXAS — Appointed new advisory committee, greatly strengthening Board with new blood. Employed Associate Director, young, well-known Negro attorney. Out to raise large budget. Work in Dallas-Fort Worth on increase.

VIRGINIA — Doing splendid job of offering alternative plan to the people. Calling for step-by-step integration. Attending public hearings re: the future of the schools. Giving information and counsel to those opposing giving away the schools.

53 THE CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly ran a workshop for the United Church Women of Georgia; went up to the Cleveland meeting of the Church Women (using the occasion to line up meetings of her ladies for Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida). She led four seminars for four different Church groups in Georgia; taught a course for ministers' wives at the Methodist (and Negro) Seminary in Atlanta; ~~was peripatetic for~~ toured four days in Mississippi, and ~~for~~ two in Alabama; worked with others for a regional meeting of Methodist women coming up next month; and variously spoke to Baptists, to grammar schools, community groups, and Councils of Jewish Women, mostly on the Supreme Court decision.

61
22 44 TOWARD MORE PROGRAM FOR THE STATES

In the formal request to the Fund for the Republic last August a tentative plan for program development in the various states was presented. The plan called for the use of highly trained social scientists as SRC consultants who would hold program evaluation workshops for board members, conduct training institutes for state staff, and initiate a series of regional and subregional conferences to deal more specifically with the problems of school desegregation. On a modified basis, this important professional service is being organized under the direction of Mr. John Hope II, who is on loan to SRC from the Race Relations division of the American Missionary Association. Final details of operation will be worked out at a meeting of the consultants early in January.

~~THE MONEY~~

~~Mrs. Ruth Alexander was confirmed by the Board, November 9, as Secretary-Treasurer, succeeding Miss Katherine Stoney. Mrs. Alexander's report will come along, as an annex, as soon as the auditor can be fetched in.~~

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 17, 1956

Mr. Gladwin Hill
Sheraton Astor Hotel
New York City

Dear Mr. Hill:

Mr. Joyce told me of his conversation with you last night and suggested that I send along any material we had which might be of use to you.

You may wish to get in touch during your trip with Harold Fleming, Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, and George Mitchell, Executive Director of the SRC, at 63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia. As you undoubtedly know, the SRC, financed by grants totalling $395,000 from the Fund for the Republic, is doing work in improving race relations in the South. I know that both of these gentlemen will be glad to do anything they can to provide you with information. Enclosed is a release giving a general description of the SRC.

You may also find useful the names of SRC leaders in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. I am enclosing a list of their names and addresses.

Mr. Frank Loescher, the Fund's consultant on race relations, is leaving Philadelphia shortly for a several days' swing through Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. You may wish to call him at his home tonight or tomorrow -- Philadelphia, SHERWOOD 2-0277. He has had extensive first hand contact with many of the individual teachers, ministers and other civic minded people in the South who are facing displacement because of their liberal views on integration.

You probably have already done so, but I would suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP here in New York at 20 West 40th Street; he would be very useful. He has a great deal of case history material on inflamed areas in the South.

Another valuable information source is the Southern School Reporting Service, with headquarters in

Nashville, Tennessee. I understand that Pete McKnight, who was formerly head of this operation, is going to be in New York shortly for a meeting with Phillip Coombs of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I am sure both Mr. McKnight and Mr. Coombs would be glad to cooperate with you.

Please call me at the Fund office if I can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Lyford

cc: Mr. Joyce
Mr. Mitchell
Mr. Loescher

F. for R.

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Irma B. Thompson, President Lavinia J. Banks, Treasurer
J. Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary

Headquarters Office: Clay Street at Fourth

Richmond 19, Virginia

February 1, 1956

Mr. W. H. Ferry, Vice President
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ferry:

Dr. Faust of the Fund for the Advancement of Education has indicated that he talked briefly with you about this matter.

The National Council of Officers of State Teachers Associations is composed of the presidents, secretaries and other leaders of statewide professional teachers organizations in fourteen southern and southeastern states including Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas. Approximately sixty thousand persons who teach in the schools attended by colored children in the region are members of state teachers associations represented in this capacity by our National Council. Our National Council is an affiliate of the American Teachers Association. Through our various state associations members, we share in the activities of the National Education Association of the United States.

Our National Council holds several meetings each year. At the summer conference at Texas Southern University in Houston in July, 1955 and at our two-day workshop in Nashville, Tennessee in October, 1955, it was voted unanimously that contact should be made with the Fund for the Republic. Naturally, we feel a tremendous responsibility and obligation to our teachers in this period of school desegregation and integration. The widely publicized actions of the General Assemblies of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi and the avowed and announced intentions of governmental leaders of the other states of this area to defy enforcement of the May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court "outlawing segregation in the public schools" have greatly intensified the problems of human

relations in education with which we are concerned. We know now that there is certainly a need for the establishment of a central teacher placement agency that might serve teachers in the south who may be displaced because of the desegregation process in the schools. Positions that may be open in the north and west could be made known to these qualified teachers.

Our hope is that a central teacher employment agency may be established and that the Fund for the Republic may provide sufficient financial support for operation and maintenance. As we envision it, this office should be located in one of our border states or in the south itself. Continuous contact should be maintained with school divisions in all parts of the United States. It would be necessary that the office be staffed with a director, at least three or four associates and proper secretarial and clerical assistance. Our figuring leads us to believe that approximately $142,000 yearly should be sufficient to operate the agency, providing for salaries, rent, travel, postage, and other expenses.

It is fair to say, we think, that this need is realized by many thousands of our teacher-members. The writer discussed the matter last week in a speech to several hundred teachers in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Similar discussions have been held in the last three months with teachers in a half dozen of our cities in the south. Other National Council members report identical experiences. Mr. Walter E. Solomon, Executive Secretary, Palmetto Education Association of South Carolina and I have been delegated to present our plea officially. We ask the privilege of coming to New York at your very earliest convenience.

Cordially,

/s/

J. Rupert Picott, Chairman
National Council of Officers
of State Teachers Associations

JRP:maj
cc: Dr. Clarence H. Faust
Mr. Walter E. Solomon

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

March 12, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In recent months we have been trying to get the story of the Fund and its grantees to the public and to clear up misunderstanding where it exists or to refute deliberate distortions that come to our attention. We are therefore preparing a series of fact sheets for use in general correspondence, dealings with the press and contacts with other grantees and organizations. I am enclosing a draft fact sheet on the Southern Regional Council and would appreciate your making any corrections, additions or deletions that you deem appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

Maureen Black

Maureen Black

MB:mk
Enclosure

3/14/56
Copy returned as attached
HF

Southern Regional Council

One of the stated areas of interest of the Fund for the Republic is the "protection of the rights of minorities". To improve interracial ~~tensions~~ relations in the South the Fund has given grants totaling $445,000 to the Southern Regional Council in the past two years.

The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 to further the attainment of equal opportunity for all people in the South. It has received a heritage of goodwill from its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had devoted itself to the betterment of intergroup relations since 1919. The Council has sought to coordinate Southern thought and leadership to work for democratic solutions to their racial problems through conferences, fact-finding, reason and persuasion.

In addition to its central office in Atlanta, Georgia, the Council has affiliated with it twelve state organizations with professional staff ~~personnel~~ who provide full-time human relations service available to both public officials and private citizens. The state groups are maintained and directed by local leadership. The program places the major reliance on local responsibility and initiative and gives opportunity for the constructive forces in each Southern state to relieve or do away with interracial tensions. The state affiliates are in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

A description of the Council's more than 3000 members was set forth in a 1951 statement of policy:

> "The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn."

Over the years the Council's Board of Directors ~~has~~ or founders have included such well-known southerners as: Virginius Dabney, Editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch; Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Hodding Carter, Publisher of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times; Alfred Mynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University; Dr. A. W. Dent, President of Dillard University; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University; Rt. Rev. Charles C. Clingman, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Louisville; and Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. Marion A. Wright, a retired lawyer who has been active in civic and educational affairs in South Carolina, is the President of the Council. George S. Mitchell is its Executive Director.

In April, 1954 the Fund's Directors approved a grant of $240,000 to the Southern Regional Council to enable the Council to expand its work in community education over an eighteen month period. The Fund gave the Council an additional $150,000 in September, 1955 to provide continuing support for the Council's educational activities through its central office and state affiliates.

Two other grants to the Council have been smaller and for specific projects rather than general support. The most recent grant to the Council (February, 1956) of $50,000 was made to finance a fact-finding program to obtain authentic information and analyses of developments in southern race relations. The first grant that the Fund made to the Council in January, 1954 was for the preparation, publication and distribution of a popular summary of the "Ashmore Report". The "Ashmore Report" is a summary and interpretation of the findings of scholars who made a study of the structure of bi-racial education in the United States.

GSM ✓
HCF ✓
MET ✓
JC —
I.O. ✓
RHA ✓
JSA ✓
M.P. ✓

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 20, 1956

Mr. J. Rupert Picott, Chairman
National Council of Officers
of State Teachers Associations
c/o Virginia Teachers Association
Clay Street at Fourth
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Picott:

Please accept my apologies for the very long delay in replying to your February letter, asking whether Fund support could be provided for a central teacher employment agency to serve teachers in the South who might be displaced as a result of the desegregation process. This delay may be explained, if not excused, by the fact that we have been discussing your proposal at some length both within the Fund and with others outside our organization.

We have reluctantly concluded that support for your proposed placement agency does not fit into the present program of the Fund. I am sure that you will understand that our decision is not in any way a reflection on the usefulness of your proposal.

Very truly yours,

/s/
W. H. Ferry
Vice-President

WHF:hw
cc: Dr. Clarence H. Faust
Mr. Walter E. Solomon

CONFIDENTIAL

C
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P
Y

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Times Square New York 36 N Y

LAckawanna 4-1000

March 25, 1956

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Thanks very much for your nice letter on the Southern talk, and it was a pleasure to meet with you and your folks.

I didn't want to take time to rehash some of the basic points I wrote out to expedite things earlier, but maybe it might be of some help if I re-typed the outline. This is obviously not any idea of The Times, and maybe it's too superficial. But at least it went like this:

1. The first consideration is that any solutions have got to come from a community itself.

11. The communities in Alabama and Florida have had lots of propaganda for segregation, little if any for desegregation. They might use some basic compilation on that side, perhaps including:

A. Moral base for integration--as in sermon by Bishop Louttit of South Florida Protestant Episcopal Church.

B. Legal base--Supreme Court texts.

C. Practical base:

1. Labor--Keeping one element down tends to keep all parts of population down, cheap Negro labor is threat to wage standards, boycott law in Alabama was aimed at unions and used on Negroes.

2. Economic--extra costs of building separate schools or long-distance transportation, high cost of out-of-state tuition for Negroes in higher institutions, potential effect of turmoil on South's uplift industrialization efforts and tourism.

3. Peace--Negro rise has been a revolution, and revolutions in past have tended to be violent and hurt the innocent; problem to preserve peace for all.

4. Educational--arguments over benefits from wider contacts.

5. Warnings from history of anti-Negro movements turning into anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish movements.

6. Examples of integration and effects, such as "Schools in Transition" showing different settings and efforts.

7. Historic--U. S. tradition has been to promote opportunity, effect overseas.

--more

111. The need is for some positive efforts at understanding and mediation - - understanding of the Negro desire to attain both equality and dignity, understanding of the real recent Southern educational efforts, moves that will try to save face for both sides as is a necessity in something like the Montgomery bus boycott now.

A. The Alabama and Florida Councils on Human Relations, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, and other community groups, including the National Urban League branches, offer a starting point.

B. Such groups might be equipped with handbooks of data as above.

C. The most effective tactic might be some community education effort such as in the Puerto Rico Department of Education, where individual workers go out into the countryside and towns to spend weeks and months just chatting until they get people themselves to start self-help efforts. In New York, a similar tactic is tried in street-gang work by the Youth Board. This is very long-term.

I was glad to come over to talk about something constructive, instead of the recent critical encounters. I was glad also today to run into your newly-announced financing of the local bar groups' panel of counsel for security cases.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Peter Kihss

Copy: HCF

March 26, 1956

Miss Winifred G. Meskus, Assistant Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Meskus:

We are most grateful for the check for two hundred dollars which accompanied your letter of March 21 and was in connection with Mr. Davis McEntire's earlier letter to Mr. Gardner.

The check is in ample time and we are most appreciative to you for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

RECEIVED MAR 23 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 21, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I came across the attached letter in our files the other day, and I couldn't see that the $200 had ever been sent to you. Here is our check, with our apologies.

Sincerely,

Winifred G. Meskus

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Treasurer

WGM:ff
cc: Davis McEntire
Encl.

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OPERATING UNDER A GRANT FROM
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

EARL B. SCHWULST, CHAIRMAN
NEW YORK

GORDON W. ALLPORT
CAMBRIDGE

ELLIOTT V. BELL
NEW YORK

LAIRD BELL
CHICAGO

JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, C.S.C.
NOTRE DAME

PETER GRIMM
NEW YORK

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
NASHVILLE

CHARLES KELLER, JR.
NEW ORLEANS

CLARK KERR
BERKELEY

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
CHICAGO

HENRY R. LUCE
NEW YORK

STANLEY MARCUS
DALLAS

H. C. McCLELLAN
LOS ANGELES

WARD MELVILLE
NEW YORK

FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON
NEW YORK

R. STEWART RAUCH, JR.
PHILADELPHIA

ROBERT R. TAYLOR
CHICAGO

RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

December 8, 1955

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Mr. Thomas J. Gardner
Assistant Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Gardner:

Will you kindly send a check for $200 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

This payment is for expenses of the Southern Regional Council in connection with their sponsorship of a minority housing conference in Atlanta, November 21, requested by me. Please charge to the account of the Commission on Race and Housing.

Sincerely,

Davis McEntire

DMcE:ba

AGREED WITH PURCHASE ORDER
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GOODS OR SERVICES RECEIVED
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RECORD
NUMBER

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 3, 1956

Mr. Harold S. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At Dave Freeman's suggestion, I am sending you the enclosed copy with a request for your comments on it.

Let me explain: The Fund is planning to issue a periodical bulletin, each issue to lay primary emphasis on one of the major areas in which the Fund operates. We propose to center our first issue around the interracial problem, following a general plan in which we will first present a discussion of the problem from a broad point of view and then indicate the major activities of the Fund in this particular area. The enclosed copy includes the announcement of the bulletin, the general discussion and the more specific account of the Southern Regional Council's work.

We would be happy if you would look them over and give us whatever comments, favorable or unfavorable, occur to you. Since we are working on a short time schedule, I would appreciate it if you could telephone me here to give me the benefit of your advice.

Sincerely,

Walter Millis

Walter Millis

Enclosures
WM:jrf

Called 4-4-56 HSF

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1444 WENTWORTH AVENUE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA MAIL ADDRESS: BIN H, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA
SYCAMORE 3-6121 RYAN 1-6638

RECEIVED APR 11 1956

April 9, 1956

Dear George,

A charming lady named Vanessa Brown, who looks too attractive to be as bright as she is, will be in Atlanta between April 16 and April 20. She would like to talk with you and learn a little about the activities and problems of the Southern Regional Council. Bob Hutchins and I would be grateful if you can give her a little time. If you are not going to be in town during the time she is in Atlanta, would you arrange for her to meet one of your principal assistants?

Kindest regards,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

RECEIVED APR 30 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 27, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for sending me your fine article. It's full of life, and we are using part of it in the first issue of the Fund's bulletin. In deference to your wishes, we are not making it the lead piece.

The next time you are in New York, I hope we can get together for lunch.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

FKK/mrr

CONFIDENTIAL

May 21, 1956

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

TO: The files

SUBJECT: Actions of Fund for Republic Board, May 1956.

Favorable action on the following grants recommended by the Fund's officers:

1. YMCA and YWCA for college integration. $20,000 to the Student Department of the National Board of the YMCA, $20,000 to the College and University Division of the YWCA, and $5,000 to the Community Division of the National Board of the YWCA to expand their educational work on race relations. Projects to be separately administered but with joint planning at the national and regional levels. Money to be used by each for strategy planning sessions with southern field staff, campus visitors to work with administrators, faculty and student groups, scholarships for interracial conferences and projects, field staff. "A full time staff person, probably a faculty member on sabbatical, to be employed to direct the above projects. Field staff to be based in Atlanta."

Additional $5,000 to Community Division of the YWCA for fourteen local meetings of the YWCA Board meetings and other community leaders, "giving special attention to places where there is a possibility of progress on integration in the city schools, colleges and universities."

2. United Church Women, Department of Church Social Relations, $10,000 for eighteen months for thirty workshops in given communities where there are special difficulties in race relations.

3. Congregational Christian Churches, the Council for Social Action, $31,480 for a two year experimental program in race relations in Virginia and North Carolina. This is a joint project with the Evangelical and Reform Church. The Congregationalists have 203 white churches with 27,000 members and 164 Negro churches with 18,000 members in Virginia and North Carolina. Object is "a person to person and small, informal group approach to closer relations between Negro and white members." Two mature women, one white and one colored, to be leaders of the program. Among their duties would be "stimulating lay leaders and ministers to participate in the program of such organizations as the SRC, Fellowship ~~and~~ Southern Churchmen and the Fisk Race Relations Institute." Galen Weaver will direct the program.

4. Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, a terminal grant of $5,000 (a renewal).

5. Anti-Defamation League, $5,000 to help pay the travelling expenses of representatives from southern schools to a southwide conference on human relations education at the University of Oklahoma on June 15th and 16th, 1956.

6. Religious Drawings, Inc., of Waco, Texas to finance the free distribution of drawings dealing with segregation drawings for use in newspapers and other periodicals, $2,000. The corporation is actually Jack Hamm.

7. For distribution of the film "For Fair Play", $2,000 to the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. Approximately fifty 16 mm prints of the film, some to be distributed to SRC.

8. To Phoenix Productions Inc., authorization of up to $125,000 for the preparation of a revised film script of "Birth of a Nation". (This is an advance to be repaid. The object is to do an "honest" version that will promote interracial understanding).

9. A large amount for a public information program on the work of the grantees and the Fund's general program, to be directed by Mr. James Real. (Prospectus attached)

10. Dr. Robert Hutchins submitted a proposal for the setting up of a committee to consider the advisability of the Fund creating an institute or council for the study of the theory and practice of freedom. In his analysis of the Fund's work, Dr. Hutchins says "the situation in the South presents the greatest immediate challenge to civil liberties in the U.S. today. The limitations on expenditures by the Fund are two: The difficulty of finding beneficiaries competent to spend money wisely and the probable effects on Southern opinion of very large grants designed to alter 'the Southern way of life'. The Fund should continue to look for qualified beneficiaries, and it should seek to increase their number through financing some form of training for persons to work in the interracial field. A sum should be reserved for any possibilities that may open up. Still it does not seem probable that the Fund can add much more than $200,000. a year to what it is now spending in the South."

Grant applications awaiting further considerations and dealing with race relations are:

1. U.S. National Student Association, $15,000 requested for an Interracial Conference of Southern Student leaders and educators at Spring Hill College.

2. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, $8,929 for a southern conference on integration to be held at the end of this year either at Knoxville or Nashville.

3. National Council on Social Work Education and the American Jewish Committee, $117,400 for a three year study on professional practice in the field of intergroup relations, looking toward teaching materials and recommendations for increasing professional competence in this field.

4. Penn Community Services Inc., $70,225 for five years to cover the costs of converting the Penn School into an interracial community service and meeting center.

C
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May 2, 1956

PROPOSED PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM

At the March 22 meeting the Board authorized an appropriation of $9,300 for a program to demonstrate the application of various publicity techniques to the work of the Fund's grantees, and to the Fund's program on the American legacy. The program was to be put together by Mr. James Real.

This memorandum will summarize the presentation to be made by Mr. Real at the May 15 meeting of the Board. The material to be discussed is divided into three categories:

1. Reporter-researcher project

This idea involved the assignment of photo-reporters, artists or writers to specific studies being made by Fund grantees, to permit exploration of the dramatic content of these projects. Usable photo-stories, articles and scripts would be available at the release date of the study for much wider circulation than could be expected from the usual release techniques. Heightened impact and wider popular currency of the finished work will result.

Two photo-reporters have been assigned to specific problems for the purpose of this demonstration. Mr. Robert Mottar of Scope, Inc. has prepared a photo-story on Freedom A enda activities in the Chicago area. This job will be shown as a projected magazine feature picture story.

Mr. Dan Weiner has completed a picture story covering aspects of the Concord Park project in Philadelphia as a demonstration, in working with the Griers, of the application of the reporter-researcher idea to the Commission on Race and Housing project.

For fees to photo-reporters, artists writers working on reporter-researcher project June 1, 1956 - June 1, 1957
$28,000

2. Advertising Campaign

Mr. Real will show several examples of advertisements illustrated by leading American artists Robert Osborn, Austin Briggs and Al Parker. These are intended as prototypes for a proposed campaign on the American legacy.

They are designed to be used in two ways:

(1) As a paid advertising campaign to help make clear and understandable tht contemporary importance of the Bill of Rights as the basis of the American legacy.

This program is intended to be placed in magazine schedules paid for by the Fund.

(2) These same ads are also to be offered in mat form to all consumer magazines in the country for publication at the publisher's expense, in the manner employed by the Advertising Council.

A promotional budget is requested in connection with this activity, to promote the use of the ads and to provide a logical vehicle for exposing editorial and management people to the views and interests of the Fund.

For 20 full-page advertisements on the American Legacy - fees and complete production
$26,000

Sales promotion campaign to publishers and publications
$9,200

Mat service to periodicals (12 insertions)
$12,250

For exploration of additional techniques in the field of advertising, for one year
$12,000

Publication Schedules

Two publication schedulesare to be presented to the Board in connection with the advertising campaign.

One is a limited schedule aimed at so-called "leader-influence" magazines, the New Yorker, Saturday Review, Harpers and the Atlantic. These publications have a combined circulation of 966,051.

For 3 pages in each of these four books on a staggered schedule for one year
$22,890

The second schedule deals with the "mass" magazines, Digest, Life, Look and the Saturday Evening Post. Their combined circulation is 24,606,588.

For 3 pages in each of these four books on a staggered basis for one year
$242,455

(73,819,764 impressions at $3.28 per 1,000 readers)

3. Television Films Project

Five films are proposed for general television use interpreting the advantages and benefits of the American legacy.

The scripts are to delineate, in contemporary terms, the average American's stake in the basic law and its foundation, the Bill of Rights.

It is intended that the films be produced by the Fund and that they be sponsored by Bar Associations and other civic organizations with which the Fund has connections.

Writer's fees for five 28-minute television scripts on the American Legacy
$8,000

Production of these five films @ $30,000 each $150,000

20-Second Television Spots

Mr. John Hubley of Storyboard, Inc. has made a series of preliminary sketches of 20-second television spots. These are entertaining allegorical situations, bearing on the American legacy.

These would be produced with Fund financing and offered to television stations as filler spots through the Fund film clip service.

The preliminary sketches will be shown at the Board meeting.

For five 20-second spots for television - American legacy
$8,100

Animated Film on the Bill of Rights

Mr. Real wishes to incorporate into his materials for television the animated film on the Bill of Rights which was described in the docket at the March meeting of the Directors, but was withdrawn for Mr. Real's appraisal. (See Recommendations to the Board for the March 22 meeting.) The storyboard of this film will be shown at the Board meeting.

Although it is proposed that the Fund finance the production of the film, the distribution contract for theatrical use will assure that most, if not all, of the Fund's investment will be recouped.

For production of an animated motion picture about the Bill of Rights
$65,000

4. Use by the Public Information Program of Other Materials from Fund Activities

The Public Information Program described above is intended to fit into and be used with other public information activities of the Fund. Some of these are mentioned to illustrate the integration Mr. Real hopes to achieve.

The appropriation for assistance to others and experimental work in radio and television has produced several items, among them the Miner film, "Challenge," which has now reverted to the Fund, and the KNX-Radio program, "Minority Report." To these materials will be added shortly a film on integration of St. Louis schools, being made in St. Louis under a Fund contract; and pilot films for a possible television series of 5-minute dramatic programs based on the William O. Douglas book, "Almanac of Liberty." Mr. Real Would add a second film on school integration, reporting on three communities in the South. Arrangements have been completed to kinescope some of the programs of the Council for Civic Unity in San Francisco, when these programs appear likely to have usefulness outside the immediate area. Use of all of these materials can be promoted on educational television stations, and through some public service commercial television time; and they can be made available to adult education programs and schools.

Mr. Real and Mr. Martin already maintain a close liaison; it is expected that the Public Information Program and the Newsfilm Project will reinforce each other. Mr. Real may help the Newsfilm Project arrange to distribute civil liberties photo stories to newspapers in conjunction with its service to other news disseminating agencies. Mr. Real's proposed public service spot announcements will enhance the interest of stations in the Newsfilm materials.

It is also expected that the Public Information Program will be able to make use of the American Tradition project materials developed by Leo Rosten, and that Mr. Rosten will be assisted by the public attention to the ideas for which the Fund stands, as they are broadcast by Mr. Real's program.

May 25, 1956

To: GSM

Frank Loescher told me in the course of a telephone call yesterday that the Presbyterian article on the Fund was duly read into the Congressional Record by Congressman Richard ~~Boling.~~ Bolling.

He also asked that you and I think of ways in which Paul Pfuetse and his colleague Godetsky might do something along with their regular work that would entitle them to a small grant-in-aid. He is thinking of some sort of study or philosophic inquiry relevant to the Fund's concerns. Perhaps we can talk about this.

HCF:mbo

June 6, 1956

Mr. Herbert Bernard
Fund for the Republic Newsfilm Project
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, California

Dear Herb:

Many thanks for the copy of the film. I appreciate your sending it to me so promptly. The day after it appeared on the local stations I took the boat out to Catalina and had at least half a dozen people come up to me and say they had seen me on television and thought it was about time some one told the truth in the manner this film presented the progress of the South.

Thanks for the opportunity of reaching some 300,000 people.

It was good to know you and I wish you success in your work. I am entering a subscription to New South for you.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE
Munstergass 9 - Zurich 1, Switzerland

Telephone: (051) 34 48 38

June 6, 1956

My dear Frank,

I regret to have to tell you that my Executive Board at its meeting here last week decided, with great reluctance, that the Institute ought not to accept the exceedingly interesting commission from The Fund for the Republic.

They were very happy that the Institute should be considered for this work, but they felt that we ought not to undertake for a third party any research whose findings might be used for a political purpose, however worthy. They laid down the principle that we can only undertake research on commission which is of direct concern to the profession.

They asked me to tell you how much they appreciated the fact that you thought of us for this work. I am very sorry indeed to have to send you this negative answer.

Yours ever,

E.J.R. Rose

Mr. Frank Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Special & Harold Fleming, SRC, Atlanta, GA.

Rec'd 6-15-56

AIRMAIL

May 28, 1956

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ping:

The correspondence duly arrived, and I have spoken to Bob Brown by telephone today. I am driving down to Columbus to talk with him Wednesday morning. I will call you on returning to Atlanta - Wednesday afternoon if I get back in time, otherwise Thursday morning.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 25, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here is the correspondence I mentioned. Please let me hear from you after you get in touch with Brown.

Warm regards,

W. H. Ferry

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

Tel. 2-8831

May 11, 1956

WM
AV
FL
RF

Dear Mr. Ferry:

Off the cuff, yes, the project has merit. There are some details I would want to think about. Suppose I take advantage of your invitation to come up there and kick it around a bit?

Almost any Friday would be suitable; Mondays would be second best. How about Friday May 25 or Monday May 28?

I think first we have to establish just what the purpose would be. Besides providing a report and "auditing" the IPI, would not the matter of indoctrination of key journalists be a considerable part of the purpose?

This being true, selection of the visiting newsmen would be most important. I should think since part of the purpose is to convince them, they should be the ones who are not now especially convinced; also those who, once persuaded, can convince others.

Then there is the matter of leave-of-absence. Some publishers, I imagine, would not permit a lengthy leave of a key man; others might balk at maintaining salary during absences. (Publishers are not known for generosity and tend to evaluate expenditures on the basis of whether lineage or circulation are increased thereby.)

I am checking with some Southern editors and publishers as to their views on the value of such a project and as to whether they would grant leave and maintain pay should a Committee pick one of their staffers.

This should tell us if the project is feasible from the personnel angle; the procedures of the study and the gauges for careful, effective personnel selection should be worked out without too much difficulty.

Cordially,

Robert W. Brown

Mr. W. H. Ferry
The Fund for The Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

May 21, 1956

Mr. E. J. B. Rose
International Press Institute
Munstergasse 9
Zurich 1, Switzerland

Dear Jim:

In answer to your letter of May 15, let me say that what we had in mind with Professor Davis was possibly sending him over as a consultant to work with you for a month during the first phase of the project. We certainly want you to feel free to select a project director. We did not have Mr. Davis in mind as the director, but simply as a person who had done a good deal of work in this field and might be helpful on a consulting basis.

To give you an idea of the quality of Professor Davis' work, I enclose a copy of one section of his study, which is entitled "Foreign Reactions to American Racial Problems." He has directed a rather comprehensive survey and has been assisted by a number of competent people.

If this project seems feasible, and if we get final approval from our Board to finance it, the Fund would pay the cost of sending Professor Davis to Zurich for one month and would also pay his fee as a consultant. This would be entirely apart from the tentative budget of $35,000 for the I. P. I.

Best wishes,

As always,

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

FKK/mrr
Enclosure
Airmail

INTERNATIONAL
PRESS INSTITUTE
Zurich 1 Switzerland

May 15, 1956

Dear Frank,

Very many thanks for your letter of May 8th, which helps considerably in clarifying the problem. I will now work out a plan, but while doing so should be grateful for the answer to one further question.

You mention a figure of $35,000 as the overall budget. In your first letter you said that it might be possible for The Fund to send Professor Davis over to Zurich to make his material available to us and to serve as a consultant. Could you tell me whether Professor Davis' salary and his transportation to Europe and back to America would have to come out of the $35,000? If so, I should like very much to know what salary he would want.

The trouble, as you probably know, is that American salaries run so much higher than European that I am not sure at this stage how much a budget of $35,000 could stand. My idea had been to look for a good American journalism professor who might be taking a sabbatical. We should then have to pay him only a European salary.

A very great deal depends on the man whom we appoint to write the report and supervise the research. Can I possibly get hold of some idea of Professor Davis' work in this field before coming to a decision about him?

I do hope you will not mind my putting these questions to you, but if we do the job we must do it very well indeed. I will write again as soon as I have the outline of a plan.

Yours ever,

E.J.B. Rose

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

INTERNATIONAL
PRESS INSTITUTE
Zürich | Switzerland
INTERPRESS ZURICH

May 3, 1956

My dear Frank,

Since I wrote my letter to you yesterday, I feel that I should like to hear from you, if you can tell me, what is the strategic or tactical purpose behind the proposed survey of foreign press reaction to the U.S. Negro problem?

Is it to demonstrate that the whole question is doing America harm or good or what? How would such a survey fit into The Fund's general campaign? I need to have some indication on this, if you can possibly give it to me, if I am to give the right advice to my Board.

Incidentally, you may be interested to know that the study I have had made of the British press reaction to the Lucy affair shows that in almost every case there was great restraint, considerable understanding of the problem and a widespread tendency to point to Britain's shortcomings on the color question either in the Commonwealth or nearer home in England.

When we were in India in March we found that the case got great prominence but, as far as I could see, there was no such understanding. It was doing America a good deal of harm.

Yours ever,

E.J.B. Rose

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

May 2, 1956

Dear Frank,

I was very glad to hear from you and your proposal interests me greatly. I prefer to write rather than to cable as the question whether we should undertake the study you suggest is a matter for my Executive Board because it has certain political connotations. The Board meets here on May 28th and I will, of course, put it high on the agenda.

Meanwhile I should like to give you some of my thoughts. It so happens that I have recently had a short study made of British press reaction to the Autherine Lucy case. I entrusted it to an American for all the reasons that you give in your letter; in other words, I agree that any such study should be, if possible, written by an American.

However, to do the job properly one must, in examining any newspaper, have some means of establishing its normal attitude to the U.S.A. and American policies in order to tell whether its reaction to racial problems in the U.S. is typical of its normal attitude to America or untypical and, if so, why.

With this in mind I had our American researcher study at the same time the same papers' reaction to the Dulles "brink-of-war" interview in Life magazine. This dual approach has, it seems to me, paid off.

Naturally I have not given the question any deep thought and I am sure that Professor John Davis has. The reason I mention it at this stage is because I feel that any such study must go below the surface and not just examine the reaction to any particular story on segregation or racial conflict. This naturally affects the budget.

Another factor in the budget is the number of countries you would want examined. Here you give me no indication. You just mention "other countries". Do you want Asia covered as well as Europe? Are you interested in Australia? Are you interested in the indigenous press of Africa or the European press of South Africa, and so on?

Before I put the matter to my Board I should very much like to have from you an idea of the extent of the study you want, both in space and in time. That is to say, would you want us to go back in time or would you want the study to start as of a certain date in the future. Both questions are important for financial reasons. Languages are involved and, if one has to go back for evidence, there is the problem of buying back issues of newspapers.

As soon as you give me answers to these questions I can probably cable you a budget estimate, but I am sure you will agree that I cannot do so without some more guidance from you.

I hope you will have realized that I am very interested but that I cannot commit the Institute definitely before consulting my Board. I hope that this will not prove too great an obstacle.

Yours ever,

[illegible] Rose

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Idea
Memo
American
Race Relations
Abroad

April 27, 1956

Mr. E. J. B. Rose
International Press Institute
Munstergrasse 9
Zurich, Switzerland

Dear Jim:

Here at the Fund for the Republic, we have been discussing a project in which the International Press Institute might be interested. The idea is to have some responsible organization make an objective study of the reaction in other countries to the conflicts in the United States over segregation and other questions of race relations. It occurred to us that the I. P. I., with its continuing access to newspapers in all parts of the world, might be able to do a comprehensive analysis of the coverage of American race relations in the press of other countries.

I have talked this idea over with Mac Lowry, and he thinks it might make an excellent study if you could get some qualified American newspaperman in Europe to serve as a consultant and to aid you in summarizing the information available. Mac feels -- and I agree with him -- that it would be important to have an American assist you on this project in order to remove any possibility of criticism on the grounds that European newspapermen might be affected by anti-American sentiment and might tend to exaggerate the extent of the reaction to American race problems.

Professor John Davis of City College here in New York, has done a good deal of work on foreign press coverage of race relations in the United States. If the I. P. I. should decide to undertake a project in this field, it might be possible for the Fund to send Professor Davis over to Zurich to make his material available to you and to serve as a consultant.

We are eager to learn whether I. P. I. would be interested in this project at the earliest possible date. We would like to have some indication of what budget you think would be required, and how long you think it would take to do a thorough job. I would appreciate your sending me a cable when you have reached a decision.

Best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

May 8, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
The Ledger-Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thanks for your courteous note. I was disappointed too.

The enclosed tells half the story. We need your advice on the other half.

As the attached shows, we have in mind asking our Board to spend $35-50,000 with IPI for a study of what is being said in the foreign press about race situations in this country.

We have been considering at the same time whether the Fund might offer to pay the expenses of, say, a dozen reporters from a dozen Southern newspapers to go overseas -- Europe, Asia, South America, Africa -- to take their own sampling of opinion about the way the U.S. is handling its race problems. In a sense, this might be thought of as a sort of audit of the IPI study.

The Fund would provide expense money; the reporters would be working and would presumably continue drawing their pay. They would be selected by a committee of Southern newspapermen; the Fund would have nothing to say here or at any other stage of the undertaking.

The material they obtain would be made available, via the committee aforesaid, to all the Southern papers and Northern ones as well.

Is there anything in this idea? We are aware that AP, UP, INS have correspondents everywhere. But we figured that Southern editors might like for once to have their own trusted reporters at the scene, so to speak.

I have given you this only in roughest outline. Could you let me know your immediate reaction? And please let me know also whether it might be possible for you to come on up here one of these days at Fund expense to give us the benefit of your views in person.

Hutchins asks to be remembered to you, as does Millis. We remember very well the diligence with which you tackled the last question that we put to you, and you have our thanks for it.

Sincerely,

W. H. Ferry

Enclosure: cc of 5/8 letter
to E. J. B. Rose,
IPI, Zurich

May 8, 1956

Mr. E. J. B. Rose
International Press Institute
Munstergasse 9
Zurich 1, Switzerland

Dear Jim:

In your letters of May 2 and 3, you raised several questions about the proposal for an I. P. I. study of the coverage of American race relations in the press of other countries.

Your first point is that such a survey should first try to obtain, as a guide line, the fundamental attitudes toward the United States of the newspapers under study. This seems to us a good point. If coverage by any papers of U. S. race relations is strikingly different from their coverage of other American news we should know this.

Your second point concerns the number of countries included. We would want to include the most important papers in the major countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some representation from Latin America, if possible. The choice of the papers we would leave to you. The I. P. I. is in a better position to judge the press of the world than we are, and can advise us on what would be possible within the over-all cost figure below.

You also asked whether we would like to go back in time or start the study as of now. We thought about going back to the ruling by the United States Supreme Court against segregation in the schools -- which occurred in May of 1954 -- but we can understand what a problem you would have in obtaining back issues. Perhaps next September might be a good month to get the survey under way. This will be just before our schools reopen after the summer vacation. Problems of integration are sure to become acute in some areas.

We have in mind a recommendation to our Board (whose approval is of course needed) of an overall budget of $35,000. We would like your views as to what we would be likely to get from I. P. I. for such a sum. We would like to see the study completed in six to eight months. Within these limitations, we would like to have the study as full and representative as possible.

The Fund is interested in foreign press reaction because almost all Southerners incline to the view that this is a problem that no one outside the 17 states should meddle in, because it affects the South alone. It may surprise you to know that many Southerners are often shocked to learn that race incidents in the United States are given such extensive coverage overseas. We thought it would be useful for all Americans, North and South, to have an idea of the dimensions of this question in the eyes of foreign editors.

You will be glad to know that I got a favorable reaction to this idea from Jim Kerney of the Trenton Times. Mac Lowry told me that Kerney is now serving as chairman of your United States Committee, so I sent him a copy of the letter I wrote to you on April 27. He declared that he considered the idea "noticeably fine." He added: "There is no understanding, I am afraid, of the real condition here and the genuine, hearty effort being made to solve the segregation problem. But that is a guess, for no one knows the facts. Getting the facts would be a great help to everybody interested in improving such conditions. I'll talk to Jim Rose about it in the most encouraging way I can."

Let me emphasize that we are simply making preliminary inquiries. I am sure you realize that any final commitment for financing will have to be made by our Board.

Cordially,

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

FKK/mrr
Airmail

June 8, 1956

Mr. Robert Brown
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

It was good being with you at the Monday session in New York, and I am very pleased at the way the discussion finally turned out. I think your judgment on the embryonic project is the best around.

If I can help in any way in the next steps, be sure to let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Fund for the Republic

May 8, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
The Ledger-Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brown:

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The enclosed tells half the story. We need your advice on the other half.

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We have been considering at the same time whether the Fund might offer to pay the expenses of, say, a dozen reporters from a dozen Southern newspapers to go overseas -- Europe, Asia, South America, Africa -- to take their own sampling of opinion about the way the U.S. is handling its race problems. In a sense, this might be thought of as a sort of audit of the IPI study.

The Fund would provide expense money; the reporters would be working and would presumably continue drawing their pay. They would be selected by a committee of Southern newspapermen; the Fund would have nothing to say here or at any other stage of the undertaking.

The material they obtain would be made available, via the committee aforesaid, to all the Southern papers and Northern ones as well.

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I have given you this only in roughest outline. Could you let me know your immediate reaction? And please let me know also whether it might be possible for you to come on up here one of these days at Fund expense to give us the benefit of your views in person.

Hutchins asks to be remembered to you, as does Millis. We remember very well the diligence with which you tackled the last question that we put to you, and you have our thanks for it.

Sincerely,

W. H. Ferry

Enclosure: cc of 5/8 letter
to E. J. B. Rose,
IPI, Zurich

May 8, 1956

Mr. E. J. B. Rose
International Press Institute
Munstergasse 9
Zurich 1, Switzerland

Dear Jim:

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Your second point concerns the number of countries included. We would want to include the most important papers in the major countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some representation from Latin America, if possible. The choice of the papers we would leave to you. The I. P. I. is in a better position to judge the press of the world than we are, and can advise us on what would be possible within the over-all cost figure below.

You also asked whether we would like to go back in time or start the study as of now. We thought about going back to the ruling by the United States Supreme Court against segregation in the schools -- which occurred in May of 1954 -- but we can understand what a problem you would have in obtaining back issues. Perhaps next September might be a good month to get the survey under way. This will be just before our schools reopen after the summer vacation. Problems of integration are sure to become acute in some areas.

We have in mind a recommendation to our Board (whose approval is of course needed) of an overall budget of $35,000. We would like your views as to what we would be likely to get from I. P. I. for such a sum. We would like to see the study completed in six to eight months. Within these limitations, we would like to have the study as full and representative as possible.

The Fund is interested in foreign press reaction because almost all Southerners incline to the view that this is a problem that no one outside the 17 states should meddle in, because it affects the South alone. It may surprise you to know that many Southerners are often shocked to learn that race incidents in the United States are given such extensive coverage overseas. We thought it would be useful for all Americans, North and South, to have an idea of the dimensions of this question in the eyes of foreign editors.

You will be glad to know that I got a favorable reaction to this idea from Jim Kerney of the Trenton Times. Mac Lowry told me that Kerney is now serving as chairman of your United States Committee, so I sent him a copy of the letter I wrote to you on April 27. He declared that he considered the idea "noticeably fine." He added: "There is no understanding, I am afraid, of the real condition here and the genuine, hearty effort being made to solve the segregation problem. But that is a guess, for no one knows the facts. Getting the facts would be a great help to everybody interested in improving such conditions. I'll talk to Jim Rose about it in the most encouraging way I can."

Let me emphasize that we are simply making preliminary inquiries. I am sure you realize that any final commitment for financing will have to be made by our Board.

Cordially,

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

FKK/mrt
Airmail

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File with F. for R. corresp.
re: Editors Project

The project if successful, or even to be implemented in the first place, must have the support of Southern editors.

Therefore, a sampling of regional opinion of the proposal is pertinent.

Reaction among 15 editors falls into three categories:

1. Against, for various reasons, including the succinct "I would not assign any member of my staff to any project subsidized by the Fund for the Republic."

2. For (the minority).

3. Maybe so.

Reasoning of the opponents ranges from the anti-Fund to a solicitousness for the Fund, lest it "waste" its money. This concern at least is novel.

Samples:

Editor of one of South's largest, most respected afternoon newspapers--"In the first place, personally I'm not losing any sleep about foreign reaction to Southern race developments--and don't believe Alabamians generally are, either. And that isn't callousness nearly so much as conviction that outsiders haven't much, if anything at all, to contribute to the solution of our race difficulties.

"In the second place, I find myself wondering just what the objective is and what result that might be helpful either to the South or the Negro...might come out of the proposed study. Frankly, my impression is that the thing would be likely to arouse new resentments and thereby complicate rather than improve matters...

"In the third place, I believe that what we need most...is not opinion and theory...but sympathetic willingness on the part of emotional and uninformed and inexperienced people to permit the better elements of our Southern communities...to work out (the problem)..."

Publisher of an Alabama daily: "...very little would be accomplished if we should send reporters around the world...as said reporters could learn little that we do not already know..."

Executive Editor of Morning-Afternoon newspaper: "No good can come from this. In the countries where integration has been the practice...it is only reasonable to expect that whatever reaction is obtained will be but another smear against the ancient traditions of the South. The people abroad simply do not understand..."

Editor of Morning-Afternoon newspaper: "I think the idea is spinach and the hell with it. One of the more grossly fraudulent cliches of the segregation controversy is that we've got to integrate and even honeybunch the colored man because the Communists will make capital of it in Asia...For Christ sake, if we acted in this country to disarm Communist propaganda we would have to do such things as raze Wall Street buildings, socialize medicine, eschew the materialism of one car to three Americans, pull Marilyn Monroe's dress down, level and sow Hollywood with salt and jail 'ruling capitalistic circles'..."

Editor and Vice President of large morning daily: "I would say that the proposal...would have little chance of accomplishing anything. If there is measurable reaction, the foreign correspondents of the press associations (etc.) should be able to detect and report it...If the reaction is difficult to measure, this job would seem to me to be one which should be tackled by George Gallup..."

Editor of small afternoon daily: "I'm afraid I can't say the program would be worthwhile. To a degree, it has merit, but the money could be much better spent in this country where the problem exists to promote better understanding. What Asians or Latins think about the situation would, if anything, have a reverse reaction on Southerners."

Columnist for large afternoon newspaper, with endorsement by his managing editor: "I believe our readers' understanding of the segregation problem will not be blessed in any way by a sort of Gallup Poll among people on those four continents...It would seem to me that a more fertile project would be to find out about segregation in the United States, in the North, in the West, as well as the South...If the Fund for the Republic is intent on an international program why not rephrase the project, what kind of segregation is there in South America, Asia, Africa and Europe? This would appear to be a more reasonable inquiry than asking a coffee bean picker in Brazil what he thinks about the interstate ban on Jim Crow..."

The minority reaction (four) uniformly stuck to the subject and in approving the proposal went further to offer sugestions.

Samples:

Editor of Morning-Afternoon newspaper: "I think the proposed survey would be well worthwhile, as it probably would tend to prove that we cannot expect to win over the colored nations if we continue to segregate Negroes in the United States." He thought that it would be more productive if Southern newsmen were utilized, rather than resident correspondents, because they would send back stories for local consumption which would command more readership.

Editor of Morning-Afternoon newspaper: "We...are very much interested in the proposal...It goes without saying that I would welcome eagerly a chance to participate in the project..." He thought that the contacts in foreign countries would be more inclined to talk to visitors than the correspondents they had to live with. But he raised the question of linguistic barriers.

Executive Editor of large morning daily: "A thorough and honest report on foreign reaction to Southern race developments...would certainly help document our belief that it is hard to sell democracy to the world when we don't always practice it in the South. There is no question in my mind but that segregation in America can be used against us with the colored peoples of the world..."

Editor of afternoon daily: "Yes, I think an objective study of foreign reaction to Southern race developments would be valuable. I have heard opinions on either side...I'd like to know the truth."

The "Maybe so" group (three), as the label implies, hedged.

Sample:

Editor of Morning-Afternoon newspaper noted for strong segregation views: "I am so prejudiced against the Fund for the Republic that I look with misgiving at anything it may propose...If the opportunity came to me to observe at first-hand race relations in some other part of the world, I might overcome my aversion to the Fund...The success of the project would depend, like anything else, on the men delegated to run it... and if he weren't too heavily outnumbered by 'liberals' from either North or South, the proposition might be useful."

Executive Editor of Morning-Afternoon daily: "We doubt, to some extent, the value of the project...We think it would be more advisable for Southerners to carry their story and give our reactions toward the Supreme Court decision to folk in other sections of the U.S. and the world... If the project is approved, however, it may be that my boss would send a man..."

Editor of Morning daily (colleague of one who approves the proposal: "I think such a project would be very informative, but I doubt seriously that it would have a great amount of readership in the Southern press--at least not enough readership and reader interest to justify the expense of it. I do not think the average reader in our area gives two whoops about what the foreign reaction is...This, of course, is not right, and you and I recognize the fallacy of it in view of U.S. leadership in world affairs. I am sure it is our duty to make readers more conscious of the effect...but I am not sure this is the way to do it."

Questions:

1. Personnel. While some feel that established resident correspondents are better qualified, others point to the "local" interest aroused if home-town talent is utilized. But the question of linguistic barriers is raised, and it is important. And then there is the related question of,

2. Time. What would be a sufficient length of time for a survey? Objections are raised against hurried tours, 24-hour stop-overs, etc. But would an adequate stay be beyond the limit a staffer could be spared?

3. Remuneration. There is some question whether enough newspaper publishers would grant a leave-with-pay for a sufficient time to conduct the survey. Editors are reluctant to absent themselves for any great length of time, excepting those of a nature and reputation of being peripatetic.

4. What are the objectives? (From the answers here might come some for the foregoing.)

Robt. Brown
Columbus Ledger

June 7, 1956

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ping:

I enjoyed the one day stand on Monday, and I think the outcome of the discussion was the right one. I will keep in touch with Bob Brown and contribute anything I can to the next steps in planning the project.

Following your generous suggestion, I am feeling free to list the expenses of the trip, to wit:

Airplane	$88.06
Airport limousine	5.40
Taxis	4.20
Total	$97.66

I hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

7-8

July 6, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Every once in a while something comes into the office which we think should be of particular interest to you. Here is such an item from our Louisiana group.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JUN 14 1957

June 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As a new secretary looking at an old file, I inadvertently directed yesterday's letter to Mr. Mitchell rather than to you, and I wish to apologize for the error.

Mr. Kelly, rushed with other matters, signed the letter without noticing the incorrect salutation until today.

Sincerely,

Penny Streiffer

Penny Streiffer
Secretary to F.K. Kelly

COPY

F for R

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
First International Vice-President

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President

THOMAS PATTERSON
Eastern Zone Supervisor

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

217 WEST 125th STREET (Room 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080-1

July 13, 1956

Honorable Francis E. Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Walter:

Because we are unequivocally opposed to the Soviet Union communist conspiracy, we are strongly committed to the support of those organizations in our national community whose control is in the hands of persons who believe in the democratic process and human dignity for all men regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and the purpose and program of which are designed to give strength to our national unity and reality and integrity to our American dream.

By these standards, without passing judgement on the merits or demerits of the Report on Blacklisting by John Cogley, a noted and able journalist, and former editor of the well-known Catholic Weekly, Commonwheel, we wish to express our unqualified belief in and support of the Fund of the Republic, headed by a distinguished and responsible educator, Dr. Robert N. Hutchins, backed by a Board of Directors comprised of such outstanding American patriots as Paul G. Hoffman, George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College and Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School, to name a few.

A review of the grants by the Fund of the Republic will indicate that they have been made to causes the advancement

of which is fundamental to the leadership of the democratic forces of the world by the United States against Russian Soviet Communism in its drive for worldwide conquest of the minds and allegiance of the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa.

It is our earnest hope that nothing will be done that may impair the usefullness, in these times of crisis to the free world, of this valuable and important movement, the Fund of the Republic.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

July 16, 1956

Miss Sylvia Spence
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-second Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Spence:

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in having WAAM send us a kinescope of the award winning program on desegregation in the Baltimore schools.

As soon as we have viewed the film, we will return it to WAAM and will write you our reactions.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

July 23, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-second Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is another of those items I have sent you from time to time. This also is from our Florida Council and I think is well done. I believe you will find it of interest.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mbo
Enc.

F for R

STATEMENT OF EMIL MAZEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE,
AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT
WORKERS OF AMERICA

AUGUST 1, 1956

In its harassing of the Fund for the Republic, the House Un-American Activities Committee under the chairmanship of Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania has itself come dangerously close to un-American action.

Its recent badgering of John Cogley, author of a report on blacklisting in the entertainment industry, shows a lack of understanding of the principle of freedom of the press embodied in our American Bill of Rights which should disqualify the Walter Committee from any further meddling in the delicate and vital field of civil liberties.

In his treatment of Mr. Cogley, former editor of the Catholic magazine, Commonweal, Rep. Walter proved himself a direct political descendant of Martin Dies and Joseph McCarthy. The Committee's attempt to embarrass and intimidate Mr. Cogley, coinciding as it did with publication of the Fund for the Republic's report on its first three years of activity, indicates the beginning of a major effort on the Committee's part to discredit the Fund.

The Fund for the Republic, established by the Ford Foundation and administered by a conservative, responsible Board of Directors headed by former Marshall Plan Administrator Paul Hoffman, has in the past three years expended about one-third of its $15 million

available capital to encourage a national understanding of our traditions of liberty and of those forces and practices that threaten them.

The Fund for the Republic is certainly not above criticism. It has demonstrated from time to time, as its directors candidly admit, a wholly human and not surprising fallibility. It makes its quota of mistakes and will undoubtedly continue to do so.

The Fund, however, has engaged in a comprehensive study of Communism in the United States for the purpose of revealing Communism's real threat to American liberties. It has worked to make our Bill of Rights a living document. It has sought to encourage the traditional but lately neglected American virtues of freedom of speech and belief. And it has been active in the field of human and religious equality.

All of the Fund's work in these areas has been calculated to strengthen American institutions and to expose their enemies in every guise. Mr. Cogley's study of the un-American practice of blacklisting in the entertainment industry was part of the Fund's work.

By subpoenaing Mr. Cogley rather than inviting him to appear, the Committee revealed that it was less interested in what Mr. Cogley had discovered about the un-American practice of blacklisting than it was in discrediting the Fund for the Republic.

By calling Mr. Cogley to account for his writing, and by attempting to get him to reveal names he had agreed to keep in

confidence, the Committee was making a frontal assault on freedom of the press.

By turning Mr. Cogley's executive hearing into a public hearing on short notice and by questioning him on the Fund itself in the absence of its officers, directors, and counsel, the Committee was proving once more, as the Dies Committee and the McCarthy subcommittee proved in the past, that political dead-end kids should not be sent to do patriotic business. The Walter Committee apparently lacks the essential qualification for work in the field of un-American activities: the ability to tell a Communist or other subversive from an American with a mind of his own.

Americans generally should not make the mistake of regarding this obtuseness of the Walter Committee as merely a personal misfortune of its specific victims. For in trading on and causing confusion in the area of civil liberties, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is clouding American awareness and misleading American opinion and thus contributing to the very cause of Communism it professes to abhor.

There is mounting evidence that the Walter Committee's abuse of the Congressional power to investigate constitutes a threat to our civil liberties. In the absence of any marked awareness of this danger among Congressmen themselves, an independent inquiry into the matter is indicated and there would seem to be no more fitting agency than the Fund for the Republic for the sifting of the evidence.

An even better solution would be a decision by the American electorate this fall to confine the pursuit of un-American activities to the Department of Justice and to curb, through the ballot box, the irresponsible and demagogic excursions of Rep. Walter.

--0--

FBR

August 7, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is another item from one of our state organizations, which I thought you might find of interest. The Texas group is picking up considerable steam since the new Executive Director has taken office, and since the advisory committee has been functioning with the Board.

Best personal regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Dictated by Mr. Routh. Signed by his secretary in his absence.

RECEIVED AUG 13 1956

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

J. JEFFERSON BENNETT
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT

PHONE 9029

August 11, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending the kinescope, "Desegregation--Baltimore Report." It has been viewed here by some of our staff members with considerable interest. We think the film content is first-rate and presented a vivid picture of the troubles through which that city has gone. I met Lynn Poole who wrote the script for the film. He is a man of strong intellect and physical vigor.

Thank you again for putting this film at our disposal.

Sincerely yours,

J. Jefferson Bennett

J. Jefferson Bennett

JJB/mcg

film returned to WFAM

July 27, 1956

Miss Sylvia Spence
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Spence:

We have viewed the WAAM kinescope and forwarded it, as requested, to the University of Alabama.

We are definitely of the opinion that the film can be used effectively with citizens groups and school administrators in the South. Specifically, our affiliated state groups should find it a helpful program aid.

If the Fund is thinking of distributing the film, we should appreciate being considered for two copies.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Ack

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

7-13-56

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing a press release which lists the winners of our recent Robert E. Sherwood Awards for television programs dealing with freedom and justice.

You will note that the independent award was won by WAAM of Baltimore, Maryland for a program dealing with desegregation in the Baltimore schools. Ed Reed thought you might be interested in seeing a kinescope of this program and I have asked WAAM to send you one. You should be receiving it within the next couple of days. We would be interested in hearing whether you think it would be worthwhile circulating a couple of prints of this film to your various groups. We would then make arrangements to have some additional prints made and leave the distribution entirely up to you.

Would you be good enough to return the kinescope to WAAM when you are through with it and let us know your reaction.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,
Sylvia Spence
Sylvia Spence

July 25, 1956

Mr. Herbert B. Cahan, Program Manager
WAAM
Television Hill
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Mr. Cahan:

This is to acknowledge your letter of July 19th and to let you know that we have forwarded the kinescope of "Desegregation - Baltimore Report" to Mr. J. Jefferson Bennett.

We appreciate your giving us an opportunity to view the film, and we hope to make use of it with our state groups throughout the South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Mr. J. Jefferson Bennett
Mrs. Sylvia Spence

waam
TELEVISION HILL • BALTIMORE, MD.

Channel 13 MOhawk 4-7600

July 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have had a request for a showing of the kinescope print of our program DESEGREGATION - BALTIMORE REPORT, which was forwarded you on July 10.

I would appreciate it if you would send this film to Mr. J. Jefferson Bennett, Assistant to the President for University Development, University of Alabama, University, Alabama.

Thank you for acknowledging the above and taking care of this request promptly.

Very truly yours,

Herbert B. Cahan

Herbert B. Cahan
Program Manager

HBC:bam
cc: Mr. J. Jefferson Bennett
Mrs. Gray Poole
Mrs. Sylvia Spence

waam
TELEVISION HILL • BALTIMORE, MD.

Channel 13 MObawk 4-7600

July 10, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As requested by Mrs. Spence, of the Fund for the Republic, we are today forwarding to you via rail express a kinescope print of the program DESEGREGATION - BALTIMORE REPORT.

As soon as you have finished with the print I would appreciate your returning it to us.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Herbert B. Cahan

Herbert B. Cahan
Program Manager

HBC:bam

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: 2:00 P.M.
Friday, June 22, 1956

NAME THREE WINNERS OF SHERWOOD TV AWARDS

New York, N. Y. -- The three winners of the $55,000 Robert E. Sherwood television awards, established by The Fund For The Republic for programs dealing with the theme of freedom and justice, were announced today by Mrs. Robert E. Sherwood, widow of the noted playwright, at a luncheon at the Hotel Plaza, New York.

Simultaneously with the naming of the winners, Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of The Fund For The Republic, revealed that the directors have been so "encouraged" by the interest and enthusiasm of the television industry in the awards that they have decided to continue them for the 1956-57 television season.

Awards of $20,000 apiece, divided among the producer, director and writer of each program, went to the Armstrong Circle

MORE

Theatre's "I Was Accused" and to the Alcoa Hour's "Tragedy in a Temporary Town" as the best documentary and drama, respectively, appearing on commercial television networks and treating the theme of freedom and justice with the greatest distinction, taste and effectiveness.

Both shows were telecast over the National Broadcasting Company system.

A $15,000 award for the best production over an independent station went to "Desegregation: Baltimore Report", which was produced on Station WAAM, Baltimore.

"I Was Accused" is the true story of George Voskovec, prominent American actor, who fled from Czechoslovakia after its fall to the Communists and was interned at Ellis Island ten months because of false charges that he was a Communist. Mr. Voskovec played himself in the television production. The documentary was written by Jerome Coopersmith, directed by William Corrigan, and produced by David Susskind.

"Tragedy in a Temporary Town" is a drama dealing with mob violence and race prejudice in a temporary camp set up for construction workers. The show was written by Reginald Rose, directed by Sidney Lumet and produced by Herbert Brodkin.

The National Broadcasting Company received silver plaques for both productions.

MORE

"Desegregation: Baltimore Report" was written by Mrs. Gray Johnson Poole, directed by Kennard Calfee, and produced by Herbert B. Cahan. It is a documentary presentation of how the city handled desegregation of its schools. Station WAAM received a silver plaque.

Certificates of Honorable Mention were awarded to the following:

Omnibus: "Constitution" - CBS

Kraft Theatre: "One" - NBC

Philco Playhouse: "A Man Is Ten Feet Tall" - NBC

Pageant: "In Freedom" - KOMO, Seattle, Washington

"In the Minds of Men" - KPIX, San Francisco, California

This is Our Faith - March 28, 1956, WATV, Newark, N.J.

Twin City Heart Beat: "The Invisible Fence" - KEYD, Minneapolis, Minn.

Camera Three Series - CBS

Frontiers of Faith Series - NBC

Frontiers Series - NBC

The jurors for the awards were:

Kermit Bloomgarden
Buell G. Gallagher
Robert M. Purcell
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Gilbert Seldes
Robert Taft, Jr.
Harrison Tweed
Philip H. Willkie

MORE

The Fund For The Republic, of which Mr. Sherwood was a director at his death in 1955, is an independent corporation founded to advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

* * * * * *

August 21, 1956

Mr. Francis M. Wilhoit
Overseas Publicity Director
United States National
Student Association
142 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

I am sorry to advise you that the Officers of The Fund for the Republic have decided that we cannot offer you any assistance for your dissertation on the politics of desegregation in Georgia. The Fund is presently supporting a number of projects on desegregation and it was our feeling that at this time we could not make any additional commitments in this area.

Thank you for writing to us. We wish you every success in securing the assistance you need. Separately, I am sending you a copy of our Three Year Report which describes the Fund's activities.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Vice President

bcc: Hallock Hoffman
Harold Fleming
R. E. Cushman

RECEIVED AUG 16 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 14, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me your detailed comments on Mr. Wilhoit's proposal. A number of people here have expressed similar reservations, especially on the problem of circulation. We have rarely given assistance for a Ph.D. thesis, except where we felt that it had good possibilities for publication and wider distribution. The questions you posed will be very useful in helping us come to a decision.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Judith Greifer

Judith Greifer

August 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In Miss Greifer's absence I am acknowledging your letter of August 2 setting forth your opinions on Mr. Wilhoit's proposal. I shall bring it to her attention when she returns from vacation next Monday.

Sincerely yours,

Maureen B. Ogden

(Mrs.) Maureen Black Ogden

August 2, 1956

Miss Judith Greifer
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Greifer:

I should have liked very much to be able to report a favorable reaction to Mr. Wilhoit's proposal. Conceivably something very useful could be done on the politics of desegregation. And, of course, Mr. Wilhoit has an impressive group of advisers.

Unfortunately, however, the proposal is subject to serious question as it now stands.

1. While the outline is impressively comprehensive, it shows little insight into the Georgia political situation. For example, the central fact of life in Georgia politics is the county unit system, and any study of this kind must start from that point. Yet, in the outline, it is relegated to a minor sub-topic. The basic questions shown on page 2 of the proposal are simply not the right questions in terms of Georgia's circumstances. Again, for example, there was no "marked turn toward the present political militancy" - Georgia's politicians have been militantly pro-segregation all along. And there are no White Citizens' Councils in Georgia.

2. Georgia is the wrong state for this kind of study. The outline, with some slight modification would apply much more meaningfully to one of the states that went sour on the segregation issue, such as Virginia or North Carolina.

3. It may be that the questions raised above would be resolved once Mr. Wilhoit got into the study and gained deeper insight. But what seems to me an even more basic problem would remain: How would the findings of the study get useful circulation? Dissertations are notorious for their obscure resting places. I suppose the answer to this one would lie

in Mr. Wilhoit's writing ability and his potentialities as a popularizer. But there has been a vast amount of very solid work done on politics and race in Georgia which is gathering dust on library shelves and in filing cases.

I don't mean to imply that nothing fruitful can be done in this field. Something could, but it would require a quite different approach. I am sorry to write so negative a letter about a proposal by a man who is clearly of good and constructive purpose. But I can't honestly say that his project, in its present form, is deserving of the Fund's support.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 26, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal from Mr. Francis Wilhoit for a study on the politics of desegregation in Georgia. I am also enclosing a copy of a letter of recommendation from Professor Samuel H. Beer, Chairman of the Government Department at Harvard.

What do you think of the proposal, and do you feel it merits our support?

Sincerely,

Judith Greifer

Judith Greifer

encls

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

LITTAUER CENTER M-22
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

July 23, 1956

Miss Judith Greifer
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Greifer:

Mr. Frank Wilhoit has showed me your letter to him of July 18th, and I thought that I might write a word in support of his application.

As a graduate student here, Wilhoit has showed that he is capable of doing sound and scholarly work, and I think that he has the training and maturity to produce a useful study of the politics of desegregation in Georgia. He will, I am sure, write you in more detail about his project. He has been talking it over with me and several other members of the faculty this summer, and I think his plans are developing well. I shall be his supervisor, probably with the assistance of Professors V.O. Key and Louis Hartz. The latest outline which he has shown me is good, although of course we shall continue to work on it during the coming weeks. Living and teaching in Georgia, he will have an excellent opportunity to do the very considerable field research which the subject requires. I am confident that he will do a good job and is worthy of your support.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel H. Beer
Chairman

SHB:pc

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

[illegible] AUBURN STREET • CAMBRIDGE [illegible] • EAGLE MANSION, CAMBRIDGE [illegible]

Office of the Overseas Publicity Director

23 July 1956

RECEIVED

Dear Miss Greifer:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation your letter of July 18th. It was most heartening to learn that you are willing to consider my request for a grant-in-aid.

In accordance with your instructions, I am enclosing herewith a complete Table of Contents of my dissertation, an account of "The Scope and Aims of My Project," a "Financial Statement," and a sealed letter from Prof. Samuel H. Beer, Chairman of Harvard's Department of Government. I hope that the enclosures will give you the information you need to come to a decision about my request; needless to say, I shall be happy to furnish additional information immediately upon demand.

Again thanks for your consideration and highest regards.

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit,
Overseas Publicity Director

Miss Judith E. Greifer,
The Fund for the Republic Inc.,
60 East 42nd Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

The Scope and Aims of My Project

In my dissertation as now planned, it will be my aim to make a comprehensive political analysis of the politics and pressures hastening and retarding the movement toward desegregation in Georgia. It is hoped that this analysis, using the conventional tools of political science, will be a supplement to previous analyses of the nature of prejudice by sociologists and psychologists, and to standard works on the heritage of Southern racism by American historians. The focus of my inquiry will be on the "politics of desegregation," for I am, after all, a political scientist; yet for background material I shall frequently have occasion to rely on the findings of reputable social scientists in other disciplines.

Briefly stated, the focus of the thesis will be on a political analysis of present trends; the scope will be restricted to the state of Georgia; and the specific field of investigation will be desegregation in education. As for the time element, the bulk of the inquiry will be confined to the period since the Supreme Court's historic decision ending the Separate but Equal Doctrine. These limitations, I suggest, will permit a study broad enough to contribute significantly to our understanding of the Southern political process as it affects desegregation, yet at the same time not too vast for detailed research on the grassroots level. To have made my dissertation a study of the politics of desegregation in the entire South would have

been to stake out too large an area for profitable research.

The purpose of my research and written thesis will be to find answers to the following very topical questions:

a. What selected factors in Georgia history are essential for an understanding of the present crisis of desegregation in Georgia?
b. To what extent is the segregation controversy a culture crisis? What are the significant factors or conditions upon which the Georgia segregation system has traditionally depended?
c. What was the immediate response in Georgia to the Supreme Court's historic decision?
d. When and why was there a marked turn toward the present political militancy?
e. What are the chief integration pressures working to erode the segregation system? What can be said about the specific role of the NAACP in Georgia?
f. What are the principal status quo forces--Institutional and non-institutional? How can we measure the relative degree of their influence?
g. What specific political actions have been taken by the Governor and legislature to forestall desegregation? Are these "realistic" or "half-baked"? Has political action been dictated by outside pressure groups--such as the White Citizens Councils--or by sincere convictions?
h. What are the chief sources of hope that desegregation, once it gets started, may proceed at flood-tempo?
i. Will the answer be gradualism or immediate integration in Georgia? Can educational integration be effective without housing integration? What national influences, inculcating democratic values, are changing the Southern environment and thus preparing the way for a peaceful acquiescence in substantial change?

There are, of course, other basic questions that I must consider. But it seems to me that if through my research I can suggest even tentative answers to all or most of these queries, I shall have made a significant contribution to the fight for Negro rights in the field of education.

As for methods of research, I expect to use all the tools and techniques at my command. The background, for

example, will involve a long and conscientious study of all relevant historical, sociological, and psychological materials. A study of the decision will entail a legal analysis of the implications for Georgia. In my analysis of the integration pressures and the status quo forces--perhaps the heart of my inquiry--I expect to travel throughout the state of Georgia, interviewing people on both sides of the issue, discussing their attitudes with them, observing their operations, and comparing my conclusions with established political observers in the state. In my analysis of the political action to date, I expect to spend a considerable time in Atlanta, reviewing past executive and legislative actions, observing the General Assembly in action, and examining all the relevant political documentation. For part three I shall, of course, have to rely to a certain extent on impressionistic evidence; yet even here I think it will be possible by empirical investigation to acquire sufficient data, particularly in the way of demographic and other statistics, to suggest a few tentative generalizations and hypotheses. Throughout, the emphasis will be on the analytical rather than the narrative or prescriptive approach; and indeed such an approach is the only valid way of transcending the merely reportorial.

I feel that it would be difficult to exaggerate the potential significance of such a study for our understanding of race relations in Georgia and the quirks of Southern politics. To date, most of the writing on segregation has been reportorial, though often of a high journalistic

caliber. There is now needed a basic, comprehensive political analysis, in which all the tools of the political scientist will be used to supplement the findings of journalists, travelers, and sociologists. As a native Southerner now teaching in Georgia, and one who by educational training in Europe and at Harvard has fortunately been able to get beyond the narrow provincialism of the Old South perspective, I believe thatI am peculiarly well fitted to assess and analyze the complex political and human problems growing out of the segregation system.

I have been collecting statistical data and documentation for 6 months and have already completed one chapter. In the coming academic year, while in residence at Mercer, I hope to spend my weekends and many of my evenings traveling throughout the state in order to gather additional data. I hope to complete the writing of the dissertation by August or September of 1957.

At the present time I am being assisted by Professors Beer, Key, and Hartz--all of the Harvard Government Department. I shall, moreover, have the enthusiastic cooperation of a number of my social science colleagues at Mercer.

My ultimate purpose as a scholar and teacher is to continue as a professor of history and government and to do all within my limited power to raise the status of basic civil liberties in the Southern states. I shall probably remain in my native South, for I feel that there the need is greatest. To flee to the North might be an

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"escape to freedom"; it would not be engaging oneself where the fires are fiercest but where the possible rewards are limitless.

Of course, in pursuing my field research, I shall seek to be as objective as possible. I have never felt, however, that scholarly objectivity entails abdication of moral judgment or a refusal to commit oneself to the cause of human freedom.

END

THE PROGRESS OF DESEGREGATION IN GEORGIA:

THE ROLE OF POLITICS AND PRESSURE GROUPS

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Financial Statement

As an Assistant Professor of History and Government at Mercer University (Macon, Ga.), I am now on a salary of $4,000 annually. While this is adequate to take care of basic living expenses in Georgia, it is insufficient to support the research I anticipate for my dissertation. In addition, I must make monthly contributions to the support of my widowed mother and finance myself at Harvard Summer School in 1957, at the end of which I expect to present my completed thesis as partial requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy in political science.

The following figures are presented in round sums; yet they represent, I believe, close approximations of the actual amounts in all categories that I shall have to expend on my research.

a. **Travel:** ($400) This will undoubtedly be my biggest expenditure. As I do not have a car, and I expect to visit all of Georgia's more than 159 counties for on-the-spot observation and investigation, I anticipate spending at least this sum for transportation and living costs. The [illegible] thesis would be considerably decreased without the empirical data that can only be obtained by actual travel throughout the state.

b. **Clerical:** ($250) In addition to the typing of the final manuscript, I expect to have need of considerable assistance in filing, collating, and compiling statistical and other data. Unfortunately, Mercer does not provide clerical help for its faculty. Without it, I shall easily require at least [illegible] months longer to complete the inquiry.

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c. Supplies & Equipment: ($100) In order to do a thorough and systematic job, I contemplate the purchase of a large filing cabinet, as well as a large supply of paper, filing cards, etc. Individually, these items would be fairly inexpensive; taken together for the entire project, they amount to a substantial expenditure.

d. Books & Periodicals: ($100) One of the unfortunate things in being located at Mercer is that our litrary is quite inadequate for basic scholarly research. Many items can be procured through the interlibrary loan service. But in order to have the essential background materials, I shall be required to purchase a number of books and subscribe to at least four Georgia periodicals. I have listed here a very conservative estimate of such expenditures.

e. Atlanta Research ($100) When the Georgia General Assembly is in session next winter, I expect to visit Atlanta frequently for on-the-spot observation. I feel that my critical analysis of the politics of desegregation would be quite inadequate without such a personal acquaintance with the Georgia governmental process.

f. Nashville Research ($100) The most complete files on the subject of educational segregation are to be found at Nashville, Tenn. in the offices of the "Southern School News." I shall certainly have to make at least one trip to Nashville for a thorough study of their relevant documentation.

g. Harvard Trip ($100) Although most of my contact with Harvard's Government Department will have to be "long-range," I shall have to make at least one trip to Cambridge to confer with my thesis director and to take my Ph.D. generals. This trip I shall probably take at Christmas or in the spring of 1957.

I have estimated my expenditures here as $1150. I

believe that this sum will definitely make the difference between a thesis of limited validity, based on inadequate empirical data, and a comprehensive political analysis of the politics of desegregation in Georgia, which can make a substantial contribution to our comprehension of the present culture crisis.

I shall thus be deeply indebted to the Fund for the Republic for any assistance which makes possible the early completion of my project.

END

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FBR -

Fund for the Republic

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

Dave Freeman called with an urgent request for the latest total of funds raised by the states in this fiscal year. He was lavish with statements of reassurance that this had no ominous significance and that he understood full well the difficulties of Southern fund raising in this period. But he wanted to be armed with these figures in coping with his Board.

Ruth cast up for me the figures attached. Note that this is the status as of August 1st, and that Texas was revised upward by $600, representing Ruth's estimate of what they had raised, but had not yet reported in June and July.

Dave was interested only in the totals here shown, not the state by state breakdown. He recalled that according to our original requirement the amount to be raised by the states would total $42,000. I gave him the total of the revised amount - $36,000. He was well enough pleased with this showing, but raised two questions:

1) In the case of those states whose fund raising requirement was reduced, would they receive a proportionately smaller allocation of F for R funds? I replied, that in general, the answer was yes. We agreed that the unexpended balances had been redirected to central needs, in each case with the knowledge and concurrence of the Fund's staff.

2) Dave had gathered from recent communications that there was some possibility that Mississippi would be cut off. If this should happen, he would want us to report the fact by letter and make some proposal for alternative allocation of the funds withheld from Mississippi or any other state group in like circumstances. We wouldn't have to be too formal about it, he said. He simply wants the staff to be protected in the event Board members raise the question during the coming year. I assured him that we would, as in the past, consult fully with him about any proposed diversion of funds from their originally designated purpose. I also remarked that, in the unhappy event any of the state groups were cut off, we would hope to service that state direct through some other staff device. He readily understood this and expressed approval of the general idea.

All the way through, Dave was at pains to make it clear that he was not raising any questions out of dissatisfaction, but was simply informing himself in order to prosecute the Council's request before the forthcoming Board meeting.

If any of this is not clear, let us discuss.

HCF:mbo
Attached report

FBR

Fund for The Republic

MEETING OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC GRANTEES
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA
October 24-25, 1956

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. M. Moran Weston
The National Council
The Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Mr. Alfred C. Payne
Southern Area Student Council, YMCA
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Thurgood Marshall
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc.
107 West Forty-Third Street
New York 36, New York

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church, USA
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of the Churches
of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Mr. A. C. Miller
Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. A. Dudley Ward
Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
(representing Student Division YWCA)
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lewis Deer
United Christian Missionary Society
Disciples of Christ
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Lester Granger
National Urban League, Inc.
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SAMPLE NOTE

C
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Y

THE BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

October 4, 1956

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Herewith two reports, financial and progress, of the use to which we have put the grant made to the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. recently. The financial report of August 31 is enclosed. As you will recall the program for the expenditure of the grant is two-fold: (a) the production of a film on the South; and, (b) the holding of a series of conferences across the South.

The film, built around George Mitchell's classic speech on the development of the South into four distinct regions, with appropriate illustrative clips, is all but completed. I look forward to the opportunity of being able to preview it with you in the near future. There is a distinct possibility that it can be shown at Tuskegee on October 24, at the conference of southern recipients of Fund grants, called by the Southern Regional Council.

One conference has been held thus far, that one in May in Charleston, S. C. The majority of the delegates were from Negro Presbyterian churches in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, many of them under tremendous economic and social pressure. If the conference accomplished nothing else, it did their morale a world of good. In addition, however, some concrete and helpful, results came from the conference: (1) a series of findings, concise and helpful, on how to deal with the various aspects of desegregation and white resistance; and, (2) the preparation of a pamphlet by our Department of Social Education and Action in consultation with leaders in the Negro churches of the South. This pamphlet, which is already in the works, will be addressed to the very situations that were reported by the delegates to the Charleston conference. According to present plans it will have seven sections: (1) Churchmanship, (2) The legal meaning of recent Supreme Court and I.C.C. decisions, (3) Interpersonal relations, (4) Boycotts and economic pressures, (5) Co-operative efforts of churches with civil rights organizations, (6) Vocational opportunities, and (7) Registration and voting.

The second conference will take place October 22-23, at Norman, Oklahoma, and deal with the same subject in a geographical area in the South whose problems and social climate are extremely different from those of the Negro churches in the Southeast.

We have been having extreme difficulty in finding a place to hold the third conference, which was originally scheduled for the last of November, but which has now been postponed until the first of January. It will include the Presbyterian U.S.A. churches in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Kentucky, both white and Negro. We are still looking for accommodations somewhere in Tennessee.

All in all, we feel that this whole project has been most useful, but have no delusions of grandeur about its saving the South. It was heartening to see the encouragement that the people in Charleston took from the mere fact that the Presbyterian Church regarded them as important enough to, as they put it, "come down here and meet with us."

Cordially yours,

/s/
H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb
CC: Dr. Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

77R

January 8, 1957

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of the report of the Florida Council on Human Relations. I agree with you that they have made a good start.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

January 14, 1957

Mr. Herbert Bernard
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, Calif.

Dear Herb:

We have just about achieved a first draft of a report on our survey of Negro suffrage, but we are still some distance from publication. I will see that you get a copy well in advance of public release.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Suspend 2/15/57

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
NEWSFILM PROJECT
1213 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA HOLLYWOOD ~~6-2121~~ 9-2724

January 10, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I understand the Survey of Negro Suffrage is to be released in the near future. It looks like material for a good newsclip. As you're probably aware, film production requires considerable preparation. Would you be good enough to let us have details as much in advance of release as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Herb

Herbert Bernard

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

January 29, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

It was a real pleasure to be with you and the others at the conference of church leaders at the Fund's offices. I believe that much good will come out of this meeting. This is an important step toward the activation of the Protestant clergy in the battle for human rights.

I have briefly told Harold about the meeting and the participant's expectations of SRC. He was impressed that the group had decided to key in with SRC in part of its program and to seek cooperation with CCD for another part.

Enclosed is an account of my expenses for this trip. I hope they are sufficiently "modest."

Best regards to you and Dave.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
enclosure

FFR

D R A F T - FFR Request

Field Services

Following the January, 1957, reorganization of the Central Staff on a more functional basis, the various divisions of work with state groups, women's groups, labor groups, other agencies and community consultation were pulled together in a general department of field services. No attempt has been made to over-structure or institutionalize a Department of Field Services, but rather is this a functional approach to the friendly coordination of the Council's external activities.

Building and Servicing State Affiliates

In twelve Southern states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, the Southern Regional Council has sought to build, maintain, and service affiliated organizations. Recognizing that there is no solid South of racial attitudes and believing that local solutions to the Supreme Court ruling would vary, it seemed wise in 1954 to build state-wide organizations which would be closer to the realities of this diverse pattern than would be a top-heavy centralized organization. The major functions of the central operation were seen as advising, counseling, and assisting these organizations and as gathering, organizing, and disseminating information. This, we then believed, was the most practicable approach to dealing with the many problems of transition faced by a rather reluctant South.

SRC's efforts to build self-governing, self-supporting state organizations have met with varying degrees of success.

In two cases we have failed. In Mississippi, conditions in the state were so oppressive that many of the persons who should have constituted a Board of Directors were unwilling to do so. The good people who did serve were powerless in the face of overwhelming official and public opposition. The state even

refused to issue a charter of incorporation. In Tennessee, a state rich in human relations resources, we were unable to bring together a group of people who would assume the responsibility of functioning as a Board. In both these states, however, professional staff was able to make some contribution in helping local people recognize that a problem existed and the necessity of finding some solution.

In Louisiana, North Carolina, and Texas, the state affiliates were slow getting off the ground. In Louisiana the state organization has pretty well limited itself to three areas of activities: Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and New Orleans. Two important contributions have been made, however: the creation of a joint-committee in New Orleans similar to the one which worked so effectively in Washington, D. C., and the publishing of Research in Action, a monthly magazine on human relations research in Louisiana. In North Carolina the building of a new, widely representative Board has given new hope for that state. Their monthly publication, The Human Relations Bulletin, has helped keep together and inform the progressive people of the state. Workshops for local community leaders have been another important step in the right direction. In Texas, the employment of a new, more aggressive Executive Director has given real impetus to the organization. Work with school officials, labor leaders, and church leaders has sparked the drive toward integration.

In three of the hard-core states, organizations have fought a holding action worthy of commendation. The Alabama affiliate worked to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery; it was the guiding spirit in the creation of the Mayor's Human Relations Committee in Mobile; it worked to expose the forces of opposition in the Miss Lucy affair; it has earned the respect of the Negro and progressive white communities in the state. In Georgia the state organization has helped to preserve the retirement funds of public

employees who disagree with the state administration; strong local units have been created in a number of communities with most notable success in Atlanta and Macon. The group has fought for freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Its state consultants have worked in a dozen or more communities to help local people face and measure their problems. The South Carolina organization has done a superb job of documenting economic reprisals and getting the story out to the national press; work has been done with church groups and women's groups; at the 1957 annual meeting the City Manager and the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Columbia, the state capital, participated. This organization enjoys the confidence of the Negro community and the more enlightened white community.

In Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia, the state organizations have done a job that has won them the praise of twentieth century minded people and the begrudged recognition of the opposition. In Arkansas, the state organization was largely responsible for keeping the Hoxie schools integrated. Without engaging in litigation, lawyers were found who defended the school board against White America, Inc. Much careful work has been done on a community by community basis. In Florida, work with church women has reached an impressive scale. Newly formed Community Councils are grapling with human relations problems in a dozen cities. Several school boards are being cultivated. In the Old Dominion, the Virginia Council pushes on toward integration. In Charlottesville the local chapter has dealt effectively with John Kasper; in the Arlington area 100 persons have formed a new, aggressive local; in Richmond local members participated in the now famous Richmond Ministers' Statement.

In Kentucky the state affiliate has progressed to work on problems of merit employment, "open" union policies, nurses training and a host of other problem areas. Close cooperation with state and local governments has developed and the Council has hopes of major backing by industry and labor.

The pro-segregation forces now operate on a regional basis and as we now work and plan for ~~no~~ our future operation, more emphasis will be placed on meeting the opposition through the Central office. At the same time, state by state and community by community, we must help the South adjust to the more democratic patterns of behavior now demanded of it. To do this most effectively, state organizations must be supported through advice and direction in program and through continued, though lessened, financial assistance. Central field staff and the consultant program largely depend upon the local contacts of state affiliates for invitations to assist local committees and community groups.

Consultant Service Program.

Under the leadership of John Hope II an experienced consultant team has been developed from among the most noted Negro and white social scientists in the South. Workshops have been held with Boards of SRC's state affiliates to help them realistically grapple with the problems which face their states. Each of these Boards has expressed their appreciation for the practical approach of the consultant team which worked with them.

We are now moving into the area of consultant services to communities through local agencies and groups. SRC consultants have met with key leadership persons in Nashville, where the basic question was, "How do we prevent the pro-segregationists from seizing control?" Following the advice of SRC consultants, local leadership has thus far been successful in holding the line and in mustering some members of the power structure on the side of progress. In Piedmont City, N.C., we provided two consultants to work with the school board in an off-the-record session. A letter from an official of the American Friends Service Committee bears testimony to the effectiveness of this team, "(your) choice ... couldn't have been better. He really disarmed them of any apprehensions they had about the experience. The discussion with the school board and superintendent was frank, open, and extended." Meetings with local leadership in Jacksonville, Florida, and Memphis, Tennessee, are scheduled for early April. (Note - to be incorporated in final draft.)

We are receiving more inquiries about Consultant Services from other communities. As more communities face up to the realities of the situation, we expect this consultant service to them to be one of the decisive factors in paving the way to peaceful, successful integration.

SRC's Labor Program

Throughout its history the Council has had close contact with the union movement in the South. Union officials have served on its executive committee and on the boards of its state affiliates. Union sponsored educational programs have made use of Council personnel and materials.

In recent months the Council has added a labor consultant to its staff to work with unions on race relations problems that affect them. The labor consultant acts as a liason between unions and the Council, its state affiliates, and other agencies interested in human relations. Union educational programs, staff conferences, and other meetings will make use of the services of the labor consultant in providing resource persons and materials. The Council's labor program keeps abreast of the developing race relations patterns within unions throughout the South; similarly, the changes in employment patterns, especially as they affect union attitudes and actions, are of interest to the Council. The labor consultant collects information on the activities of "hate groups" as they affect unions.

A matter of high priority in this portion of the Council's work is reaching union staff persons to help them understand what is happening in the South in race relations, how these changes are related to present and past socio-economic conditions, how to keep the union forum open for a reasonable consideration of racial issues, and how to proceed positively in the current situation. The Council already has concluded the first conference to bring selected Southern union staff people together to appraise the current situation and to discuss freely the problems with which unions are faced in meeting racial issues. National union personnel with a special interest in civil rights were also in attendance. The conference itself was

planned and conducted in close cooperation with the Trade Union Consultant of the Fund for the Republic.

SRC's labor consultant will continue to develop materials for specific union use and to see that good materials in the human relations field are distributed to Southern unionists. He will work with regional staff meetings, helping them explore the problems and possibilities of handling racial problems and issues; already considerable time is being spent on an individual basis with union personnel to get them to think afresh in this area and to prevent their frustration over racial issues which too often receive the blame for all the ills of the labor movement in the South.

Unions in the South are important to any move toward an integrated society. They can furnish some of the basic experiences of democratic practice; only through a happy resolution of the dilemmas of some unions and managements will equal economic opportunity become a reality. Also, many persons can be reached through union channels who otherwise would not be touched by positive forces in the South.

Work With Women's Groups

Under the leadership of the indomitable Mrs. M. E. Tilly, SRC has long worked with Southern women concerned about their South. "The Fellowship of the Concerned" has won the respect, if not the admiration, of even the pro-segregationists. These women, a number of years ago, largely were responsible for stopping lynching.

This past year a South-wide Workshop was held with over 100 in attendance, representing national or regional denominational boards, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant, from ten states. The theme of the workshop was: "The Challenge of the Supreme Court Decision." This has been followed-up by state-wide meetings in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, with more scheduled.

Work has also been carried out on the local level with community, labor, and church leaders, and on college campuses. A large part of each summer finds Mrs. Tilly teaching at religious institutes, camps, and workshops.

Clearing House and Coordination Functions

SRC has long served as a clearing house of and source for reliable information on the Southern human relations scene. More recently SRC has sponsored two meetings of South-wide human relations agencies. The first was held at Tuskegee Institute in October, 1956, and to it came the Southern agency-grantees of the Fund for the Republic. The second was held at Atlanta University in January, 1957. Participants at this meeting included the Tuskeegee group plus agencies with field staff and responsibilities in the South who belong to the Consultative Conference on Desegregation (CCD). Four key cities were picked for concentrated effort - Charlottesville, Virginia; Greensboro, N. C.; Miami, Florida; and Nashville, Tennessee. Local representatives of the agencies which met at Tuskegee and Atlanta University are increasing and extending their cooperation in these communities.

In Charlottesville, Va., field staff members of half a dozen agencies congregated in early March. After being briefed on the local situation they went out into the community to contact their local constituency and bring them back to a closed general session. To the amazement of all agencies, all but one of the local constituents thus brought in were members of the local chapter of SRC's Virginia affiliate. However, the insights of field staffers from the various agencies added to their thinking and sensitivities in the field of human relations and community action.

reprint to J.C

Hallock, Hoffman

February 1, 1957

Miss Ruth Landes
559 Chester Place
Pomona, California

Dear Miss Landes:

We have been in the midst of an organizational transition involving a change of directors and several policy meetings, so I must ask your pardon for this delay in replying to your inquiry.

I have read your article on Biracialism in American Society and your proposal for a Southern project with great interest. Undoubtedly an approach from the point of view of social anthropology could deepen our understanding of the South's racial problems and promising solutions to them.

Unfortunately, the Council's fact-finding program, which Hallock Hoffman had in mind, is approaching a conclusion. The funds available for the program are largely spent, or obligated for the completion of projects under way.

I have puzzled with my friends in the social sciences over the dearth of financial sources for research of this kind -- so far without achieving any solution. If anything promising appears on the horizon, I shall most certainly be writing you again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Landes, Ruth

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
835 HUNTINGTON GARDEN DRIVE, PASADENA, CALIF. MAIL ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 1109, PASADENA, CALIF.
RYAN 1-0631

January 17, 1957

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your quick response on Ruth Landes.

I am sure your judgment is correct. When it is final, will you tell her?

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Telephone: Lycoming 2-5773

559 Chester Place
Pomona, Calif.

9 January 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming,

At the request of Mr. Hallock Hoffman of The Fund for the Republic I am asking you to consider sponsoring a proposed study of integration processes in the South, which I submitted lately for Mr. Hoffman's consideration and which he then referred to you. He tells me that today he is mailing your office a copy of the proposed project I sent him. Also upon his advice, I enclose herewith a reprint of an article I wrote examining American racialism, at the request of the American Anthropologist.

I am myself a professional social anthropologist. My proposed study, which I will only summarize in view of the material to reach you, has two aspects: one is to trace the varying local reactions in the news to the integration decisions, to secure reporters' + editors' slants + also styles

of the printed camera shots as well as "facts"; the other is to make case studies now in the field of "good" and "bad" civic reactions in process (as St. Louis, Montgomery & Tallahassee) & set these findings against ~~the~~ broader presumed reported sequences in order to discover underlying trends or patterns of civic adjustment. My objective is to see how a "good" civic reaction differs from a "bad" one, & how one can be converted into the other (as in Alabama developments) as I suspect the differences between them are not absolute & are therefore Educable.

My Ph.D. in social anthropology is from Columbia University, N.Y., 1937. I have done much field work, and have had books and articles published covering it, among American Indians in Canada & the U.S., among Negroes in the U.S., Brazil and the United Kingdom, among Mexicans in Los Angeles and Jews in New York. My latest "integration" study was as a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar to the U.K. covering the colonial Negro migrations there. Bearing further upon American Negro studies, I lectured at Fisk University 1937-8, participated in Myrdal's study of the American Negro (American Dilemma),

was a field representative of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee (stationed in Washington, assigned to complaints of Negroes in federal service), and as a guest of the University of Edinburgh, I advised on graduate studies of interracial problems in the U.K. and colonies. I've also done general writing and broadcasting in this area.

As to the present proposed study, I will not now presume to make detailed suggestions beyond saying that covering the news would be a longish library aspect, & that the city case-studies in critical spots would require each two-three weeks on the location.

I will appreciate your opinions.

Yours sincerely

Ruth Landes

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 15, 1957

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
P. O. Box 1109
Pasadena, California

Dear Hallock:

Thanks for your letters concerning the project idea of Ruth Landes. I have since received a letter from her and a reprint of her article on "Biracialism in American Society".

While we haven't yet had time to consider her ideas fully here, I am doubtful that we will be able to work out an arrangement with her. Her proposed project sounds as though it would run into social science research rather than the kind of action-directed, fact-finding that we are trying to do. It seems a great pity to me that there is no outstanding source of funds for social science research on segregation and integration. I know, for example, that the Professional Association of the Social Psychologist would like to do a job of stimulating and coordinating such research within their discipline, but so far haven't been able to get funds. I think the Fund for the Republic's disposition to aid more direct efforts in this field is a wise one, and we are inclined to keep our efforts as direct as possible.

I am still hoping that one of these days you and I will have a chance to complete the conversation interrupted so untimely in New York some months ago. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
835 HUNTINGTON GARDEN DRIVE, PASADENA, CALIF. MAIL ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 1109, PASADENA, CALIF.
RYAN 1-0631

January 9, 1957

Dear Harold,

Ruth Landes has asked me to send you a copy of her letter to me. It is enclosed. She will send along some elaboration of the idea, and a statement of her own professional experience.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y

C
O
P
Y

559 Chester Place
Pomona, California
2 January 1957

Dear Mr. Hoffman,

Thank you for your kind reply of Dec. 28th. I don't mind waiting until Spring. But in the meanwhile I've thought of another possible study that I like, and which strikes me as useful, and which is quite within my long "Race" experience.

That is, to trace in the news the highly varying local reactions, chiefly in the Atlantic South, to the race-integration rulings. This proposed course is obviously essential to further legislation and to actions of private bodies like churches. I would follow news of incidents, and popular and learned discussions in various media, to secure "facts" and also editorial slants; this would include examination of the camera-shots chosen for publication. We already know of cities' "good" and "bad" reactions and of intermediate ones perhaps--as instances, respectively, St. Louis, Tallahassee and Clinton. Therefore I would study 2 - 3 such city-cases in the field (I don't mind traveling), spending perhaps 2 weeks in each location, to observe reactions in process as well as in recollection. Then I would set this deeper knowledge of a few communities against the findings that emerge from the news and statistical reports. I think comparison is essential to a proper perspective on occurrences that are "bad" or "good". How does the "bad" differ from or change into the "good", and does the latter endure, and by what conditions? The variety of "good-bad" occurrences in the South is arresting and suggests that the "Bill of Rights" aspects are not simple.

I hope I do not tax your courtesy by this fourth essay. Do you believe it feasible? I've pored over the Three Year Report and am still unable to judge if I'm offering repetitions.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Ruth Landes

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Fund for the Republic
Pasadena

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
835 HUNTINGTON GARDEN DRIVE, PASADENA, CALIF. MAIL ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 1109, PASADENA, CALIF.
RYAN 1-0631

January 7, 1957

Dear Harold,

A lady who has recently moved into our area has approached me for a grant-in-aid to make a study of press treatment of race news in local papers in the South.

I have suggested that she write to you, since it is conceivable her study might appeal to you, and might fit into your reporting program under the last grant to the Council.

The reason I consider this proposal worthy of notice is an article published by the lady, Ruth Landes, which accompanied her first letter to me. It is a comparative anthropological examination of the attitudes toward race of the people of the United States, England, and South America. Although it is couched in language so densely sociological as to be almost imcomprehensible to a normal human being, it has something to say. I have asked her to send you a copy.

Please do not take my passing this on to you as a request that you do anything about it. If the proposal appeals to you, feel free.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Feb. 13, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly, V.Pres.
Fund For the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd. Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Kelly:

At the request of Frank Loescher, I am sending you 25 copies of "Toward a Fair and Balanced View" for distribution to the Fund's Board.

This discussion guide was prepared by the Atlanta "local" of our Georgia affiliate for fairly wide distribution.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

cc: Frank Loescher
Encl.

February 15, 1957

Mr. Elmo Roper
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Roper:

It is very kind of you and Mr. Hoffman to invite me to your pre-dinner gathering at the Mayflower Hotel on February 21st. I accept with pleasure, and I am only sorry that Mrs. Fleming will not be able to be with me.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 12, 1957

Mr. and Mrs. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Fleming:

I am, of course, very pleased that you're going to be able to come to the Fund for the Republic dinner at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington on the evening of February 21st, and all of us are looking forward to seeing you there.

Paul Hoffman and I have decided to give a small cocktail party just prior to the dinner for a few of the guests, and we would very much like to have you join us at 6:30 in the Capital Suite on the second floor of the Mayflower Hotel.

Cordially yours,

Elmo Roper

Elmo Roper
Chairman
Board of Directors

ER:hgl

FPR
Freedom Award

February 20, 1957

The Honorable John B. Orr, Jr.
228 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Jack:

I just received very pleasant news from David Koonce, whom you'll remember from the old Pepper campaign when he used to work on the Miami Herald. Dave wrote about your stand in the state legislature and won a Fund for the Republic Freedom Award. Winners of these awards are given the privilege of designating a tax exempt agency or organization to receive a like amount from the Fund for the Republic. Dave, bless his heart, designated the Southern Regional Council. I am enclosing a copy of the letter I have just written him.

Best regards. Keep up the good work, and any time we can be of any help just yell.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

FFR ?
Freedom Award

February 20, 1957

Mr. David Koonce
Sunday Department
Washington Evening Star
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dave:

Congratulations on winning the Fund for the Republic Freedom Award. I am particularly happy that you wrote about my old buddy, Jack Orr. I too feel that he is one of the outstanding guys in the state of Florida.

Secondly, our very deep appreciation for designating the Southern Regional Council as the recipient of an equal amount from the Fund. It is the unexpected and unusual vote of confidence such as this that means so much to those of us who work in what is not locally a popular field. I have said for some time that we will demonstrate in the South in the next few years that a democratic society is capable of granting first class citizenship to all of its people or is unworthy of the support of any.

We are sending you under separate cover the material you requested. It's coming first class, so you should get it shortly.

Once more, thanks for your confidence in us.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

SEATING LIST

The Fund for the Republic

AMERICAN TRADITIONS DINNER

FEBRUARY 21, 1957

THE MAYFLOWER

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FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The American Traditions Dinner

Dinner

in Honor of

The Award Winners

First American Traditions Competition

Given by the Directors of

The Fund for the Republic

The Mayflower

Washington, D. C.

Thursday, February twenty-first

Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven

"The Fund for the Republic is a kind of fund for the American Dream. This dream undoubtedly has economic aspects; many people came to this country in the hope of getting rich. But the essence of the dream is and always has been freedom, the escape from tyranny — political, religious, economic, social — into a free country where a man could work out his own destiny in his own way. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to reminding Americans of this essential quality of the American Dream and to reporting on the state of freedom today."

— ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President,
Fund for the Republic

Program

Invocation	RABBI NORMAN GERSTENFELD
The Fund and the American Traditions Project	ELMO ROPER
The Meaning of the American Tradition	BRUCE CATTON
Introduction of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman	MSGR. FRANCIS J. LALLY
Presentation of Awards	JUDGE ROSENMAN
Benediction	BISHOP ANGUS DUN

ELMO ROPER
Chairman of the Board
Fund for the Republic
Presiding

The American Traditions Project was established by the Fund for the Republic, Inc. to dramatize incidents illustrating how the good sense of Americans has prevailed in their daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines. To do this it has collected true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience, or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations, in the face of considerations of "expediency." Prizes totaling $5,000 are being awarded tonight to the writers of letters reporting such incidents; another $5,000 will be given to charitable, patriotic, religious, or educational organizations designated by the winners. The winners have been selected by a panel of distinguished Americans.

Panel of Judges

American Traditions Project

GENERAL WILLIAM F. DEAN, U. S. Army (ret.)
Chairman

JAMES CAREY
President, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO

MILDRED McAFEE HORTON
Former President, Wellesley College

HENRY L. NUNN
Retired President, Nunn-Bush Shoe Company

THE RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL
Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church

JUDGE SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

MOST REV. JOHN J. WRIGHT
Catholic Bishop of Worcester, Mass.

The Award Winners

FIRST PRIZE: *The case of the Hon. John B. Orr, Jr.* Submitted by Moses Alter, Coral Gables, Fla.; Mrs. E. Carol Klose, Ormond Beach, Fla.; David Koonce, Washington, D. C.; Malcolm Ross, Coral Gables, Fla.; Benjamin A. Epstein, New York, N. Y.; and James W. Miller, Miami, Florida.

SECOND PRIZE: *The case of Mrs. Ann Harr and Mrs. Bessie Dick,* who contributed to the American Tradition by securing the release of an immigrant who had been thrown into jail without justification. Submitted by Robert F. Repas, Akron, Ohio.

THIRD PRIZE: *The case of Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith,* who contributed to the American Tradition by keeping alive freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the face of hostility. Submitted by Hodding Carter, Greenville, Miss.

FOURTH PRIZE: *The case of Father John Corcoran,* who contributed to the American Tradition by mobilizing his community against the evils of slums, crime and prejudice. Submitted by Timothy Tuomey, Chicago, Ill.; and M. L. Wise, Chicago.

FIFTH PRIZE: *The case of Mary Farquharson,* who contributed to the American Tradition by fighting for two years to help a carpenter clear himself of unjust "security risk" charges. Submitted by L. Edgar Prina, Washington, D. C.

SIXTH PRIZE: *The case of the Rev. Sumpter Logan and the Rev. Theodore Braun,* who contributed to the American Tradition by standing alone against organized opposition and turning a tide of racial prejudice and community chaos. Submitted by: Roscoe Griffin, Berea, Ky.; Theodore Braun, Henderson, Ky.; Mrs. C. Sumpter Logan, Henderson, Ky.; and William E. Callahan, Olympia, Washington.

SEVENTH PRIZE: *The case of Father Peter Miller, S.C.J.,* who went to hear the confession of migrant Mexican farm workers — and stayed to defend their rights, thus contributing to the

The Award Winners

American Tradition. Submitted by Ed Marciniak, Chicago, Ill.; and Robert F. Bunker, South Bend, Indiana.

EIGHTH PRIZE: *The case of Samuel L. Powers,* who followed the American Tradition by abandoning his position and his income to follow the dictates of his conscience. Submitted by Dorothy Holcomb, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NINTH PRIZE: *The case of Joseph L. Brechner,* who contributed to the American Tradition by providing equal opportunity for the minority faction of a public school board to protest the banning of a text book. Submitted by Stanley Field, Arlington, Virginia.

TENTH PRIZE: *The case of Superintendent F. Eugene Mueller,* who contributed to the American Tradition by fighting cultural vigilantism with an experiment in democratic free inquiry. Submitted by Milton A. Senn, Beverly Hills, California.

ELEVENTH PRIZE: *The case of Mrs. Barbara S. Marx,* who contributed to the American Tradition by standing firm against insults, discrimination and threats of violence in defense of human equality before God and the law. Submitted by Dr. Gertrude W. Sladek, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Louise P. Engle, Arlington, Va.; Mrs. Jacob S. Cohn, Los Gatos, Cal.; William Korey, Silver Springs, Md.; Benjamin A. Epstein, New York, N. Y.; and Stanley Jacobs, San Mateo, California.

TWELFTH PRIZE: *The case of Senator Harry S. Cain,* who contributed to the American Tradition by fighting for a Federal security risk system which would "balance justice and security" by recognizing "the difference between disloyalty and nonconformity, between treason and heresy." Submitted by Daniel M. Berman, New York, N. Y.; and Lou Arthur, New York, N. Y.

THIRTEENTH PRIZE: *The case of two unknown students,* who contributed to the American Tradition by defending the religious freedom of a minority group. Submitted by Elaine Rich, North Newton, Kansas.

First Award Winner

The story of the Honorable John B. Orr, Jr. has been selected for first prize by the panel of judges for the American Traditions Project.

Mr. Orr is a native of Florida, a graduate of Duke University and the University of Florida, is a practicing attorney, a veteran of the Air Force, and a member of the Florida House of Representatives. He is thirty-seven years old.

Six entrants wrote to the American Traditions Project about Mr. Orr's record as a champion of free speech and of the other basic freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The first prize therefore will be divided among the six entrants.

The writers of the six letters that led to the awards cited Mr. Orr's consistent efforts on behalf of minorities and in defense of civil liberties against attempts at suppression and denial.

These qualities and convictions were displayed dramatically during a special session of the Florida Legislature in 1955, called to consider resolutions designed to preserve racial segregation in the State's public schools. A freshman Legislator at the time, Representative Orr stunned his colleagues by taking the floor in opposition to the measures and by casting the only vote against them. In mild and patient terms he told the members of the House:

"I believe that . . . had we devoted as much energy, time and talent to discovering means to live within the law instead of defiance of it, we could have found a way . . .

"Perhaps the most dangerous by-product of our activity in this Special Session is the attitude of disrespect for our laws and the principles of common decency that is developing. To defy the highest court in our land is unthinkable to me . . .

"I hope that God gives us the wisdom and strength to conquer prejudice and bigotry and to renew our faith in our Constitution."

His address promptly brought calumny, insults, and threats of violence. It was taken as a foregone conclusion that Representative Orr, who at the time was a candidate for re-election, had committed certain political suicide — that he could not, as one correspondent predicted, get enough votes "to make pallbearers at your political funeral."

But by setting this example of free speech, Mr. Orr encouraged others who had been stilled by fear, and he stimulated public discussion of what had been virtually a forbidden topic. Community leaders and plain citizens who previously had been silent, wrote to express their agreement with his views; and many civic, fraternal, church, veteran and other groups invited him to speak openly on a subject that had been taboo. This he did during his election campaign — reasonably, candidly, understandably, and without heat. And when the election returns were in, Representative Orr had been re-elected by 27,000 votes.

Apparently the voters in his district shared the view of another member of the Florida Legislature who, though disagreeing with Mr. Orr on the issue in question, rose on the floor of the House to tell his colleagues:

". . . I want you to know that I respect this man. He refused to compromise with his conscience. If I am ever faced with the same problem I hope I have the same courage."

Representative Orr reinforced and strengthened the American Tradition by refusing to remain silent on a question of civil rights in the face of overwhelming opposition; by risking his political life to remain true to his beliefs; by giving heart to many others of like conviction but lesser courage; by contributing to the free and open exchange of views which is at the heart of the democratic process; by giving the public the right and opportunity to hear both sides of a controversial subject; by proving once again that freedom of speech and discussion are held dear by the American people — that an elected official can break with prevailing popular opinion, take issue with a local custom of long standing and, in so doing, earn the respect and the votes of his constituents.

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ADAM YARMOLINSKY, *Secretary*

FFR
Freedom Award

February 25, 1957

Mrs. E. Carol Klose
1893 N. W. 81st Street
Miami, Florida

Dear "Mom" Klose:

Well, bless your pea-picking little heart, as Tennessee Ernie Ford might say, first of all because you won the American Traditions Award and secondly because you designated SRC as the recipient of an equal amount. To make you happy, we are going to split the $416.66 with the Florida Council, so tell Bill that he has $208.33 coming his way as soon as we get the check.

How wonderful it must be to be back in Miami again. I know you will miss Daytona and Ormond Beach, but fortunately Bill and family will be moving back to Miami with the Florida Council office.

Ruth Alexander sends you her best regards, and when she heard what you had done, she said, "Golly, what a wonderful person."

Best regards to you and the family.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Miami, Florida
February 22, 1957

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Well, isn't this exciting and wonderful? To think that I was among the winners of the American Traditions contest, and am therefore instrumental in helping in a small way the work of your fine organization! I have written Mr. Michael Harrington that I wished the Southern Regional Council to receive the counterpart of the $416.66 which was awarded to me. (Of course if it could be shared with the Florida Council, you know that would make me happy.)

You know - I can still not quite realize that such a thrilling thing should actually happen to me. But it makes me very happy indeed, as you can well imagine, and I feel very humbly grateful. You may be interested to know that I expect to spend a part of my winnings to pay for a course for which I already had an application made out - in short story and article writing. Don't know whether or not I have any real talents in that direction - but I hope to find out. Inasmuch as it would appear that the subject of my letter - Jack Orr - being chosen as the outstanding personality, and not necessarily the literary excellence of my writing that won my share in the award -- there is no danger that I will get an over-developed ego from my good luck.

As you see, I am back in Miami again, and it's nice to be back with old friends and relatives -- still I must confess I miss Daytona and Ormond Beaches, and the many fine people I met while there. My name is in the phone book here - do call me when you come to town.

Please give Ruth Alexander my regards, as well as the rest of the SRC staff, and the best of everything to you.

Sincerely,

E. Carol Kloce

1893 N. W. 81st Street
Miami 47, Florida

March 6, 1957

Mrs. Sue Mills
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sue:

I am sending under separate cover twenty copies each of two items on S.R.C. They are:

"The Southern Regional Council, A Brief Account of Its Origin and Aims" and

"The South of Promise."

The first is more historical in nature; the latter is our best and most recent statement as to how we are set up and operate. For rather specialized purposes we have available a mimeographed sheet giving short "biographies" of each of the staff members (one is enclosed) and a staff organization chart (one enclosed).

We find that it is still not clear to many friends and interested persons that we have affiliated organizations in eleven Southern states. These are known as (name of state) Council on Human Relations.

Thanks for all good words and transmission of information regarding S.R.C. Let us know if anything else would be useful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

FFR

cc: FL

April 2, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

This is the report on the disposition of state funds which I promised to send you.

For the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1956, the Fund for the Republic gave the Southern Regional Council $110,000, of which $100,000 was to be used for the work of state organizations or equivalent activities. In addition, $6,000 of unexpended state monies was carried over from the preceding fiscal year.

The $100,000 amount was allocated to the various state organizations on the basis of the existing staff and organizational efforts. Six of the states were allocated $10,000, five states were allocated $7500, and one (Mississippi), $2500. The latter figure is explained by the fact that we had already arranged to terminate aid to Mississippi as of January 1, 1957 at the time that the allocations were made.

Of the $6,000 carried over from 1955-56, approximately $5,000 was distributed in the form of special supplementary aid to state organizations. This included, for example, a special supplement of $1500 to the Virginia Council for consultant fees and travel, which we felt was justified by unusual opportunities in that state.

Thus far in this fiscal year, all of the state organizations have taken full advantage of their allotments except Tennessee. The Tennessee Council has thus far found it impossible to work out its staffing, and has consequently forfeited $5,000 of its allotment. There are again some indications that Tennessee will get off the ground, in which case the remaining $5,000 will be available to it.

The $6,000 unexpended -- Tennessee's $5,000 plus $1,000 of the carry-over -- has been applied on central staff servicing of states, particularly those states lacking state staff. For example, Tennessee has had special field work by three of our senior staff members, and Mississippi by two. Subject to approval by the Fund for the Republic, we would expect to use in the same way any further unexpended balances during the remainder of this fiscal year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/cab

EFR

W. H. Ferry

April 2, 1957

Maureen B. Ogden

Social Welfare Expenditures: Southern and National

In considering social welfare and educational expenditures for the seventeen Southern states*, I have been guided by your criteria -- "By social welfare work I mean the kind of work done by the Southern Regional Council, YWCA, Unitarian Service Committee, AFSC. By educational work I mean the kind of effort that is being carried on in the various churches and in the church-related organizations, such as AFSC." The litigation expenditures of an organization like the NAACP are not included. Also excluded are the purely educational expenditures such as grants to colleges, scholarships and research projects. The total thus represents the amount spent by private, municipal and federal agencies for the improvement of race relations in the South in programs that could be generally classified as "community education".

Set forth below are the approximate amounts expended by the organizations and agencies which devote a part of all of their efforts for the betterment of race relations in the South. These figures have been obtained from publications or files of the organizations or have been given to me by organization officials. Some of these officials were very reluctant to put their work in the South in terms of dollars and cents. Dr. Moran Weston of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church felt that the efforts of the Episcopalians to promote desegregation are not truly represented by only citing the expenditures of the national office. He believed that the efforts of individual Episcopalian ministers and laymen in the South should be included, but, of course, these efforts cannot be measured numerically. The following expenditures represent, therefore, only the money spent by the organizations. No attempt has been made to estimate what their members do independently.

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* Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

Organization	Average Annual Expenditure for Desegregation in the South
(1) Private Organizations.	
American Civil Liberties Union	$ 15,000
American Friends Service Committee	50,000
American Jewish Committee	50,000
Anti-Defamation League	200,000
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.	15,000
Catholic Committee of the South (Including the Subcommittee of the New Orleans Archdiocesan Committee)	25,000*
Southern Baptist Convention	20,000
National Council of Churches	70,000
Protestant Episcopal Church	50,000
National Urban League	200,000
Congregational Christian Churches	35,000
Southern Regional Council	275,000
Unitarian Service Committee	10,000
Disciples of Christ	25,000
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen	20,000
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.	15,000
Race Relations Dept. at Fisk University	25,000
Highlander Folk School	25,000
National Sharecroppers Fund	5,000
YWCA	135,000
YMCA	50,000
Labor Unions & Labor Committees	35,000
United Church Women (A dept. of the National Council of Churches)	5,000
National Conference of Christians & Jews	100,000
Methodists	20,000
Southern Conference Educational Fund	60,000
TOTAL	$ 1,535,000

*The Committee is inactive at present. It doesn't even have a budget for 1957. The $25,000 represents the Fund's 1956 grant.

(2) Municipal and County Agencies

Organization	Average Annual Expenditure for Desegregation in the South
Committion on Human Relations (Kansas City, Mo.)	$ 10,000
Dade County Council on Community Relations	5,000
Baltimore Commission on Human Relations	25,000
St. Louis Council on Human Relations	15,000
TOTAL	55,000

(3) Federal Agency

President's Commission on Government Contracts	30,000
TOTAL	30,000
GRAND TOTAL	$ 1,620,000*

Harold Fleming suggested that it would be interesting to compare this figure to the amount that is being spent for segregation. In the Southern Regional Council's special report on "Pro-Segregation Groups in the South", it is estimated that at least $2,000,000 is currently being spent by the White Citizens Councils in eleven Southern states -- Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. State-financed commissions in Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi are expending about $450,000 a year to maintain segregation. The legislatures of seven other southern states have set up committees to "guard against racial integration", but figures are not available on their financing.

Mr. Fleming states that this total of pro-segregation funds should be supplemented by 50% of the amount spent in election campaigns in the South.

*The Fund for the Republic is currently spending slightly more than $300,000 through these organizations.

The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Rules and Administration Committee reported that $33,000,000 had been spent nationally in the 1956 campaign for federal offices, but asserted that outlays "far exceeded" this figure. (This total does not include money spent in primaries, conventions and on behalf of candidates for non-federal offices.) In testifying before the Subcommittee last year, Professor Alexander Heard, who directed a two-year study of money-in-politics at the University of North Carolina, stated that $140,000,000 was spent in 1952 for nominations and elections at all levels of government throughout the country. He predicted that the total would be much higher in 1956, probably in the neighborhood of $175,000,000.

According to the state-by-state tabulations that were published in the Subcommittee's report, the Democrats and Republicans spent approximately $3,500,000 in the seventeen states through state committees. This figure doesn't include the expenditures of national organizations in these states. If we estimate that only one-fifth of the money was spent in two-fifths of the forty-eight states, we arrive at $6,600,000. Taking Professor Heard's more realistic total of $175,000,000, we find that one-fifth would be $35,000,000.

Pro-Segregation Expenditures

White Citizens Councils	$	2,000,000
Four State Commissions		450,000
One-half of election funds		17,500,000
TOTAL	$	19,950,000

Since the expenditures of seven state committees are not included, I think that it would be fair to assume that the pro-segregation expenditures were at least $20,000,000.* Thus, the prosegregation forces are spending approximately twelve times more than the desegregation organizations.

National Social Welfare Expenditures

The promotion of better race relations or intergroup relations is only one of the many categories that would be listed under the heading of "social

*Litigation expenditures are not included.

welfare". I have included under the broad topic of "social Welfare" such categories as juvenile delinquency, social casework, youth services, employment services, guidance and counselling, alcoholism, adoption, psychiatric social work, public health, disaster relief, old-age pensions, settlement and neighborhood centers, recreational work, veterans programs, etc. I have excluded education, health services for those in the armed forces, public housing, and programs designed primarily for economic development, price support and flood control.

The total of public and private expenditures for social welfare during the fiscal year 1953-54 was approximately nineteen and a half billion dollars. "Exclusive of foreign aid, the total public expenditures for welfare service and social security in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1954 aggregated $18,117,400,000. The federal Treasury disbursed $10,286,100,000 of this total; the remaining $7,831,300,000 was supplied by the state and local governments .... The best available estimate suggests that the expenditures of voluntary agencies have in recent years been at least $1,500,000,000 per year."* Set forth below is a table giving a breakdown of the public funds. This table came from the Annual Statistical Supplement of the Social Security Bulletin, September, 1955.

Fiscal Year, June 30, 1954.

Program	Total	Federal	State and Local
Grand Total	18,117,400,000	10,286,100,000	7,831,300,000
Social Insurance & related Programs[1]	10,745,500,000	7,554,200,000	3,191,300,000
Public Aid[2]	2,774,700,000	1,406,700,000	1,368,000,000
Health & Medical Services[3]	3,616,900,000	1,053,000,000	2,563,900,000
Other welfare services[4]	980,300,000	272,200,000	708,100,000

1. Old-age and survivors insurance; railroad retirement; public unemployment insurance and employment service programs; railroad unemployment insurance; railroad temporary disability insurance; state temporary disability insurance; veterans programs (excluding expenditures from the Government Life Insurance Fund); workmen's compensation.

*"Financing Social Welfare Services". Wayne McMillen. Social Work Year Book - 1957.

2. Old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, aid to the permanently and totally disabled and general assistance.

3. Hospital and medical care (veterans, others); hospital construction (veterans, others); maternal and child health services; other community and related health services.

4. Vocational rehabilitation; veterans programs, institutional and other care; school lunches; child welfare.

According to Ida C. Merriam in her article on "Social Welfare in the United States, 1934-54", a very small part of the private funds is expended in direct welfare expenditures for needy people. A large share of it was used for family adjustment services, recreation and group work and community planning activities.

A comparison of expenditures for the promotion of desegregation in the South through "community education" activities to the national social welfare expenditures shows that the former is a minute fraction of the latter -- .0082%.

5/2/57
Mailed N. S. - April '56
May '56
March '57
Next Steps in the South
A Brief Account : Southern Regional Council

Please send this mailing to Christman JC

May 1, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: JC

FROM: HCF HCF

When I was in New York I talked with a guy named Henry Christman, who writes on civil liberties and civil rights questions for the Fund for the Republic. He places his articles in various magazines.

He showed a great deal of interest in the question of economic factors that may ultimately be important in facilitating desegregation. I promised to send what we have along these lines. Would you and Florence get up copies of the appropriate things -- New South, the Birmingham story and editorial, the Orangeburg business, etc? Also enclose a few descriptive items on the SRC.

/eab

May 1, 1957

Mr. Henry Christman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Christman:

I am sorry we failed to make connections last Friday, but perhaps we will have better luck the next time I am in New York.

I am asking our Director of Information to send you some material bearing on the economic factors we discussed. If this seems to you to have story possibilities and we can help further, don't hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

FBR

Fund for the Republic

MEMORANDUM on "Institute on the Church in a Multi-Racial Society"

The following general agreements came out of the conference on January 2, 1957 in which the following were participants: Dean O. L. Shelton, Barton Hunter, Lewis Deer and Walter Sikes: Disciples of Christ

THEME: The Church in a Multi-racial Society

DATES: June 11 to 28, 1957

PROGRAM: Three lecture-discussion sessions per day, four days per week, of 75 minutes each:

1. Color, Caste and the Christian Conscience. Walter W. Sikes
   3 weeks

2. Segregation, Discrimination and Integration in American History and Law (together with relevant sociological and psychological consequences)
   First choice: Dr. George D. Kelsey
   Second choice : Dr. Ira De. Reid
   3 weeks

3. Changing Patterns in Race Relations in Contemporary Church and Society:

   1) As related to the International situation and the World Mission of the Church.
      First choice: Roger P. Ross
      Second choice: Emory Ross
      Third choice: Channing Tobias
      1 week

   2) As related to the National situation and the Mission of the Church in America.
      First choice: Roy Wilkins
      Second choice: Lester Grainger
      1 week

   3) As related to local churches and communities
      First choice: Lewis Deer
      1 week

   Lewis Deer will also serve as coordinator of the three consequtive programs

Afternoon seminars and roundtable discussions, probably three per week but others as needed: Strategies and Programs of Education and Action in the Local Church and Community. Staff and Invited leaders.

Among the aspects to be planned would be the following:

1) Brotherhood issues and programs. Secretaries of the following agencies and others as needed -
   National Christian Convention
   Department of Social Welfare of UCMS
   Department of Urban Life of UCMS

2) Local church and community programs in process.
   Selected ministers and other leaders involved

3) Housing, Property and Population movement

Party in 2 Groups -
A. Impendiments
B. Sociological etc and Technique

Suggested leaders: Charles Abrams
Lester Grainger
Dwight W. Culver
Philip Winkfield

4) Political agencies, policies and procedures
Suggested leaders: Francis McPeak (Chicago)
George Scherner (Philadelphia)

PROMOTION: 1. General mailing to ministers, state and local committees on social education and action, leaders of CWF and MCF, to be made by Department, including -

1) Leaflet - copy to be provided by WWS and OLS, art work to be under direction of LHD; cost to be covered by OLS

2) Covering mimeo letter and return card.

2. Personal letter to selected list (50 to 75) persons, List to be compiled by LHD and supplemented by OLS

1) Leaflet, above,

2) Mimeo description in more depth of the Institute (description of program, personnel, conditions of admission, costs and scholarship aid, living arrangements, etc.)

Walter W. Sikes, Recorder

Cc. to O. L. Shelton
Lewis H. Dear

June 25, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

We are delighted that the May issue of New South was thought to merit distribution to the Fund's Board. The copies you requested were sent some days ago with our compliments.

Please assure Miss Streiffer that George Mitchell and I were interchangeable for a long time and I am not at all sensitive about the mix-up.

It was good to see you, however briefly, the other day. I hope next time we will have an opportunity for some conversation.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BULLETIN · JULY 1957

The Fund for the Republic

The sixth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

FREEDOM AND JUSTICE: THE BASIC ISSUES

The Modern Problem of Civil Liberties

The Fund for the Republic has enlisted ten distinguished Americans, outstanding for their experience and competence in relevant fields, to conduct an extensive enquiry into the basic issues of individual freedom and civil liberty in the United States. In a coordinated program on which the Fund will presently put a major emphasis, they will seek to identify and clarify those fundamental issues that underlie most of the tumult concerning questions of freedom and justice in our contemporary society.

When the Fund was established in 1953 it took as its charter the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The purpose of the Fund, as the Directors expressed it, was to make these founding statements "living documents" in the daily affairs of the nation. This work must and can continue. Yet it has become increasingly clear that the defense of civil liberties, as traditionally understood —a mere insistence upon the letter of such texts as the free-speech clause of the First Amendment or the constitutional protection against self-incrimination— is no longer enough to meet the real issues which are constantly arising in this field.

After intensive thought and consultation, lasting over a year or more, the Directors and Officers of the Fund for the Republic have concluded that their fundamental problem does not lie in the ill-observance of the great Eighteenth Century texts; it lies rather in the immense changes in the circumstances and institutions of the American people, which have rendered the application of those texts to contemporary affairs so confusing and difficult a task.

The Eighteenth Century constitutional structure, with its Federal and state bills of rights, was developed for a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, government was virtually the only large, organized institution with significant impact on the individual; and the constitutional guarantees were, naturally, concerned almost wholly with the protection of individual and minority interests against government. There were no giant industrial corporations; no trade unions; the modern political party was not even contemplated; mass communications were not in the hands of huge, highly organized and centrally controlled media; the voluntary pressure group scarcely existed. Today these and other "big" institutions affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as "big government" does. Without a re-examination of the modern context—without full enquiry into the true, as opposed to the alleged, effects of these institutions—the modern problems of liberty and justice in a free society will remain insoluble.

To Clarify the Basic Issues

The Fund for the Republic does not delude itself with a hope that final solutions for those problems can be found through any single effort. It does believe that the basic issues of freedom and justice can be defined; that the mistaken or fictitious issues which absorb most current dispute can be stripped away; that the real problems can be clarified and set forth in terms permitting of their rational debate among free men.

This is the purpose of the new program. The primary responsibility for the work will be in the hands of the ten consultants, who are:

A. A. BERLE, JR., attorney, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil, professor of corporation law at Columbia University since 1927 and author of a number of books on the corporation, including (with Gardiner C. Means) *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, a foundation work on the subject published in 1932.

SCOTT BUCHANAN, professor of philosophy, with a wide background of teaching at Amherst, Harvard, University of Virginia, University of Chicago, St. John's College, Fisk University and elsewhere; a member of the American Mathematics Association and American Philosophical Association and author of works on philosophy and politics.

EUGENE BURDICK, assistant professor of political science at the University of California, a Rhodes scholar, a novelist as well as political scientist and in 1950-'51 a member of the staff of the Naval War College.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN, contemporary historian and presently a professor of history at Princeton. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, a Library of Congress Fellow and a State Department lecturer in Europe and India.

CLARK KERR, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, and a specialist in the fields of labor economics and industrial relations. A member of the War Labor Board, 1943-'45, and of Presidential Fact-Finding Boards, he has had extensive experience as impartial chairman or arbitrator in industrial relations.

HENRY R. LUCE, editor and publisher, the founder of *Time, Life* and *Fortune* magazines, a director of the Union Theological Seminary, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Roosevelt Hospital.

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S. J., Catholic theologian, editor of the quarterly, *Theological Studies*, formerly visiting professor of philosophy at Yale and trustee of Manhattanville College.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, graduate professor of theology and ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York, editor of the quarterly, *Christianity and Society*, and the bi-weekly, *Christianity and Crisis*, author of works on Christian ethics and on Christianity and international and domestic politics.

ISIDOR I. RABI, physicist, presently chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, a member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO and author of many contributions on quantum mechanics, nuclear physics and molecular beams.

ROBERT REDFIELD, anthropologist, professor at the University of Chicago since 1927, past president of the American Anthropological Association. He has served as research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in charge of ethnological and sociological field work.

With Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, these men will meet regularly for extended sessions of study and discussion, directed toward the clarification of the basic issues of freedom and justice in the modern state. Elmo Roper, chairman, and George N. Shuster, vice-chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund, will participate in the work of the group in order to maintain a close liaison between the consultants' committee and the Board.

The consultants will initiate and coordinate whatever factual studies or theoretical or practical investigations they may need to help them in their primary task of clarification. They expect to have published, through whatever media may be most appropriate, the results of such supporting studies, as well as reports of their own discussions, preliminary findings and such conclusions as appear to be of value. The work is seen as one of continuing enquiry, discussion and publication.

In announcing the program, Mr. Hutchins said: "It is our hope that the program will develop findings and reports which will form the basis for intelligent discussion of the most important issues of our time."

Initial Projects

The program has been conceived as a single undertaking in which every member of the consultant group will be jointly responsible for the conclusions in every field of study. At the outset, however, some division of the task is obviously necessary: four separate study projects are now being organized, and others will be developed later. For each project one or more of the consultants have assumed a special responsibility, while two or more members of the Fund's Board of Directors have agreed to lend counsel and assistance and to provide liaison between the Board and the project. The four initial projects are:

On the Industrial Corporation. This project will seek to appraise the effects of the corporation on the economic, political and social freedoms of the individual; later it will try to determine the meaning for a free society of the corporation's relation to other institutions. The project will seek the cooperation of industry and assistance from universities, trade associations and competent individuals.

Special Consultant: A. A. Berle, Jr.
Liaison Directors: M. Albert Linton
J. Howard Marshall

On the Trade Union. This project will examine the relationship between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, and the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit and other factors. The project will develop initially through informal conferences and discussions with trade union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators and others qualified to contribute.

Special Consultant: Clark Kerr
Liaison Directors: Oscar Hammerstein II
Paul G. Hoffman
Meyer Kestnbaum

On Individual Freedom and the Common Defense. While the expansion of modern "big government" is one of the most striking of the institutional changes since 1789, government as a whole is too vast a subject for any single study. It was therefore decided to begin with a study of government in its capacity as an institution to provide for the common defense. The project will seek to identify the significant points of impact of government's measures for defense (against both internal and foreign threats) on

the traditional concepts of freedom and liberty; it will explore the effects on individual freedom of the draft and other military manpower policies; of measures for the control of sedition; of measures directed toward the prevention or detection of espionage and similar conspiratorial crimes. The project will probably commission certain special factual studies and will consult with qualified persons in government, law, education and science.

Special Consultant: I. I. Rabi
Liaison Directors: Charles W. Cole
Herbert H. Lehman
Jubal R. Parten

On Religion in a Democratic Society. The First Amendment guarantees the right of the individual to the free exercise of religion and prohibits governmental establishment of any church. But in our increasingly complex society many issues remain unsettled – problems of censorship, parochial schools, adoptions, etc. To explore the basic issues underlying these controversies the project will deal with the relationship between church and state, the role of religion in public life, the right of religious dissent, the meaning of freedom *from* as well as *for* religion. The project will appoint a consultant sub-group composed of Protestants, Catholics, Jews and humanists who will meet regularly with the special consultants and liaison directors. Spokesmen for various points of view on these questions will be called upon for consultation and advice. The project will also sponsor special seminars and commission needed studies and research from qualified individuals and institutions.

Special Consultants:
Father John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Liaison Directors: Msgr. Francis J. Lally
Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson
Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen

For Later Development

Other similar projects will be undertaken in the future. These may be devoted to other institutions; they may, particularly in the case of government, be devoted to different aspects of the institutions already under examination; they may study certain central problems of freedom which do not lend themselves to the "institutional" approach. The organization of these projects will be flexible enough to permit the employment of whatever methods seem most useful and whatever minds have most to contribute, but it will in general follow the pattern approved by the Board of Directors for the four initial undertakings.

The ten members of the consultants' committee have agreed to serve for at least one year, and in June 1958 the progress of the program will be reviewed and its further direction defined. The present group, as Mr. Hutchins reported to the Board on its formation, "is remarkable for the individual distinction of its members; for the diversity of their interests, backgrounds and points of view; for the harmony and ease of communication in their meetings; for their dedication to the purposes of the Fund and for their enthusiasm for the program on which they are working together." Theirs may well prove a contribution of major significance to freedom and justice in the United States.

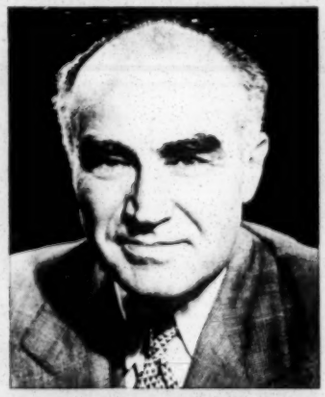
A. A. BERLE, JR.

SCOTT BUCHANAN

EUGENE BURDICK

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

CLARK KERR



HENRY R. LUCE

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ISIDOR I. RABI

ROBERT REDFIELD

Sherwood Television Awards

At a luncheon on June 19 at the Hotel Plaza in New York the Fund for the Republic announced the winners of the second series of Robert E. Sherwood Awards for those television programs contributing to an understanding of freedom and justice most effectively and distinctively.

The winner of the $20,000 prize for the best drama on a network during the season from October 1, 1956 to May 31, 1957 was "Island in the City," which was produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System on October 4, 1956 as one of the programs in the series entitled CLIMAX. "Island in the City" told of a New York City detective of Puerto Rican origin whose efforts to improve the reputation of all Puerto Ricans cost him his job and his own family's safety. The producer of "Island in the City" was Edgar Peterson, the director was Buzz Kulik and the writer was Adrian Spies; each of these shared in the Award.

The $20,000 Award for the best network documentary was given to "Clinton and the Law," produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System on the SEE IT NOW series on January 6, 1957. "Clinton and the Law" was a documentation of the chain of events that brought strife, violence, shame and hope to the community of Clinton, Tennessee as the result of the court ruling to integrate the local high school. It was produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly.

The $15,000 Award for the best production – either drama or documentary—by an independent station was not given this year because the jurors felt that no program entered as a candidate was of sufficient calibre to warrant the prize. Instead, the jurors voted to award $5,000 each to the following program series which do not fall into either the drama or documentary category: CAMERA THREE, produced on WCBS, New York; NIGHTBEAT, produced on WABD, New York and THE OPEN MIND, produced on WRCA, New York.

The jurors for the Robert E. Sherwood Awards for 1956-57 were: Kermit Bloomgarden, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, James J. Rorimer, Gilbert Seldes, Harrison Tweed and Philip H. Willkie.

The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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New York, N. Y.

Additional copies of this Bulletin are available on request.

Cross Ref. Card

See: Arkansas Council - GRISWOLD, NAT

Re: Ltr. to Robert Hutchins re special grant to ACHR - dated July 23, 1957

also

Arkansas request for special grant attached to ltr.

File FFR

AX

August 16, 1957

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1957
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mr. W. H. Ferry, Vice President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Ferry:

The enclosed journal article reprint and content analysis codebook were inadvertently omitted from the package of AEJ civil liberties project materials which I sent you the other day.

Sincerely yours,

Roy E. Carter, Jr.

Roy E. Carter, Jr.
Professor of Journalism
Research Professor, Institute for
Research in Social Science

cc: Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky

Enclosures (2)

Exhibit 4b

AEJ CIVIL LIBERTIES STUDY IBM CODE BOOK -- REVISED

Col. 1 - UNIVERSITY CODE NUMBER

Cols. 2, 3 - NEWSPAPER CODE NUMBER

Cols. 4,5,6 - DATE OF ISSUE
(Col. 4 - Month, Cols. 5,6 - Date)

The particular code numbers for columns 1 through 6 are listed in detail on pages 1,2,3 and 4 of CODE FOR NOTCHING McBEE KEY-SORT CARDS, and are the first six numbers in the lower left corner of McBee card where the scanners have entered them. Do not enter the final two digits of the McBee lower left corner sequence in the IBM columns 1 through 6 sequence. These final two McBee digits are item serial numbers and will be entered in IBM columns 11 and 12.

Col. 7 - GEOGRAPHIC (CENSUS) AREA OF NEWSPAPER

1 - New England, i.e., Wisconsin's (a) group in CODE FOR NOTCHING etc.
2 - Middle Atlantic, i.e., Wisconsin's (b) group in CODE FOR etc.
3 - South Atlantic, i.e., North Carolina's (a) group plus Atlanta Constitution
4 - East South Central, i.e., North Carolina's (b) except New Orleans Item
5 - West South Central, i.e., All Tulane papers, except Atlanta Constitution and including New Orleans Item
6 - East North Central, i.e., (b) group in Minnesota papers
7 - West North Central i.e., (a) group in Minnesota papers
8 - Mountain, i.e., (b) group in California papers
9 - Pacific, i.e., (a) group in California papers

Col. 8 - SPECIAL SOUTHERN PAPER CODES
(Each paper in a southern state (i.e., a 1 code below) will also need either a 4 or a 5 punch. Some papers (paper #53 for example) will need three codes in this column (paper #53 would be coded 1, 3 and 4).

1 - Papers from southern states (these will be all papers in punch positions 3, 4 and 5 in column 7, plus papers #02 and 07 in punch position 7, column 7)
2 - Papers from non-southern states (these will be all papers in punch positions 1,2,6,7,8 and 9, except papers #02 and 07 in punch position 7, column 7)

3 - "Oversampled" southern newspapers (these are newspapers #52,53,58,59,62, 64,65,69,85,90)

4 - Newspapers in "resistant" southern states (these are newspapers #52,53,54, 55,56,57,58,59,62,63,64,65,66,68,69,83,84,85,86,88,89 and 90)
5 - Newspapers in "border" states (these are newspapers #02,07,50,51,60,61,67, and 87)

Col. 9 - A.M. - P.M. - SUNDAY DESIGNATIONS
(Two code indications will be made for each paper in this column, i.e., an a.m. paper without Sunday edition would get a 1 and a 5.)

1 - a.m. newspaper
2 - p.m. newspaper
3 - All-day newspaper

4 - Has Sunday issue
5 - Has no Sunday issue

Col. 10 - CIRCULATION QUINTILE

1 - Zero to 24,999 circulation
2 - 25,000 to 69,999 circulation
3 - 70,000 to 164,999 circulation
4 - 165,000 to 299,999 circulation
5 - 300,000 and up

Cols. 11, 12 - WITHIN-ISSUE ITEM SERIAL NUMBER

This number can be picked up either as the non-circled number written on the McBee-mounted clipping or as the last two digits in the number sequence written in the lower left corner of the McBee card.

Col. 13 - DISPLAY POSITION (This will be based on the code as used on page 6 of CODE FOR NOTCHING, etc. Coders should examine McBee card for display position punch and use this punch to obtain proper IBM code designation below for each item.)

IBM Code	McBee Punch	
1	R-13	Above fold on page 1
2	R-14	Below fold on page 1
3	R-15	Above fold on a second-section front page or above fold on a "back" page
4	R-16	Below fold on a second-section front page or below fold on a "back" page
5	R-13,14	Above fold on an inside page
6	R-13,15	Below fold on an inside page

TABLOID AND TABLOID DISPLAY (A tabloid is designated on the McBee card by punching out (from the side) the unnumbered hole at right side of card, just above hole R-28. This is the hole to which the little sketch of a key is pointing). Every tabloid paper will have 2 punches.

IBM Code	McBee Punch	
7		Punch 7 if paper is tabloid
8	R-13	First three pages in tabloid
9	R-14	Rest of paper

Cols. 14, 15 - HEIGHT OF TOP OF HEADLINE FROM BOTTOM OF PAGE, TO NEAREST INCH (This information is written in the lower right hand corner of the McBee card)

Cols. 16, 17 - TYPE OF ITEM

(NOTE! This information is similar to that required by page 8 instructions in CODE FOR NOTCHING etc. The following IBM code, however, requires certain additional type-of-item distinctions to be made beyond those made for the initial McBee punches. First find the McBee type-of-item punch for each clipping. Then look at the chart below to see whether additional refinements have been made in the IBM description. On the basis of the IBM description, make your final IBM code decision.)

IBM Code	McBee Punch	McBee Description	IBM Description
01	L-21	News item or news-page feature	News item or newspage feature including man-on-the-street columns
02	L-22	Editorial	Items which appear in a newspaper's main editorial column
03	L-22	Editorial	Reprint of an editorial which originally appeared in another newspaper, magazine, etc., and is so identified
04	L-22	Editorial	Short paragraphs of comment, usually appearing on the editorial page. They are not editorials in the accepted sense of the word, but short "filler-type" items.
05	L-23	Letter to the Editor	Letter to the editor
06	L-24	Editorial column (national, syndicated)	Opinion or interpretation columns on public affairs (national, syndicated); also; other editorial page or "opposite editorial page" features of interpretation or analysis which are nationally distributed. Examples: Pegler, Pearson, Associated Press "news analysts," etc.
07	L-24	Editorial column (national, syndicated)	Other syndicated columns, not primarily of a public affairs nature. This includes entertainment, gossip and etiquette columns. Examples: Winchell, Crosby, Dix, Parsons.

Cols. 16, 17 - TYPE OF ITEM (continued)

IBM Code	McBee Punch	McBee Description	IBM Description
08	L-21-22	Editorial column (local or regional) or other editorial or "opposite editorial page" feature	Opinion or interpretation columns on public affairs (local or regional); also, other editorial page or "opposite editorial page" features of interpretation or analysis which are local or regional in distribution.
09	L-21-22	Editorial column (local or regional or other editorial or "opposite editorial page" feature	Local columns of a non-public affairs nature (entertainment, sports, etc.)
10	L-21-23	Editorial Cartoon	Editorial Cartoon (major). This is the cartoon which usually appears on the editorial page. Where more than one appears there, this will be the larger.
11	L-21-23	Editorial Cartoon	Editorial Cartoon (minor). This is a secondary cartoon which might appear anywhere in the newspaper, possibly to illustrate a column or editorial page feature.
12	L-21-24	Picture without accompanying story. (Caption or cutlines do not constitute a story.)	Picture without accompanying story. (Caption or cutlines do not constitute a story.)

Cols. 18, 19 - NEWS SOURCES, AGENCIES, OR SYNDICATES (Note: Only news items or newspage features (01 in Cols. 16,17 will be coded in Cols. 18,19 or in Col. 20)

01 - Associated Press (AP)
02 - United Press (UP)
03 - International News Service (INS)
04 - No news service indicated; no source shown (as in local stories, for example
05 - NEA Service; NEA Newsfeatures
06 - North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA)
07 - Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance (SHNA)
08 - Gannet News Service (GNS)
09 - Chicago Daily News (CDN)
10 - Chicago Sun-Times News Service (CS)
11 - Chicago Tribune - New York Daily News (CT-NYN)
12 - New York Times Service (NYT)
13 - New York Herald Tribune (NYHT)
14 - Reuters
15 - Any Armed Service as Source (i.e., "Air Force Photo")
16 - Special or Staff Correspondent as indicated in a by-line. (This would include small Washington Bureaus. A local staff man sometimes is given the "title" staff writer. Materials prepared by such local staff writers should be coded in 04.)
17 - Pooled wire source (i.e., "From the Star's Wire Services")
18 - Other

Col. 20 - ORIGIN OF ITEM

(NOTE! This refers to source of story or item being coded and should not be confused with Geographical Area of newspaper, recorded in Col. 7. If the item is from within the state in which the paper is published, then the coder will record R or X, plus one of the numbers from 0 through 8. If the item is from outside the state, then the coder will merely record a number from 0 through 9.

R - Story is from city in which paper is published
X - Story is from state in which paper is published, but not from city of publication.
0 - Story is from state in New England census region (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut)
1 - Story is from state in Middle Atlantic census region (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania)
2 - Story is from state in South Atlantic census region (Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida)
3 - Story is from state in East-South Central census region (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi)
4 - Story is from state in West-South Central census region (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas)
5 - Story is from state in East North Central census region (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin)
6 - Story is from state in West North Central census region (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas)
7 - Story is from state in Mountain census region (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada)
8 - Story is from state in Pacific census region (Washington, Oregon, California
9 - Story is from outside USA

Cols. 21, 22, 23 - TOTAL ITEM LENGTH INCLUDING HEADLINE (To nearest column inch)

Col. 24 - PROPORTION OF RELEVANT CONTENT
Relevant content is content which has to do with any of the civil liberties issues under study. This includes the headline if the head has anything to do with civil liberties or the topical area described by the category. Each item in this column will have two punches -- one for the body of the item, and one for the headline of the item.

0 - Mention only
1 - More than mention, but most of item devoted to a non-civil liberties topic.
2 - Most of the item devoted to civil liberties topic(s).

3 - Headline suggests topical area.
4 - No suggestion of topical area in headline.

Cols. 25, 26, 27 - RELEVANT ITEM LENGTH (To nearest column inch)
This includes the headline if the head has anything to do with civil liberties or the topical area described by the category.

Cols. 28, 29, 30 - HEAD AREA (To nearest column HALF inch)
E.g., Thus, the proper entry for a headline one and one-half inches deep and three columns wide would be 4.5. The jump or continuation head is part of the total head area.

Cols. 31, 32 - ART AREA (To nearest column inch)
Multiply inches of depth by columns of width. This assures that you are measuring column, not square inches of art. Headline inches are not assigned to Art area but belong to story, but the small amount of space taken up by an overline caption or by cutlines is treated as Art Area.
X in column 31 indicates that the entire item is art. Note that any picture without an accompanying news story will be coded as X.

Cols. 33, 34 - MAJOR CIVIL LIBERTIES CATEGORY
(Same as page 5 in CODE FOR NOTCHING etc. This can be picked up from the clipping. It is the number in the circle on the clipping. You must record this code number in two-digit form as below (i.e.,02). Do not be decoyed into taking the uncircled number off the clipping just because it happens to be in two digit form as is. Verify the category number written on the clipping against the McBee punch to be sure that these reconcile.

IBM Code	McBee Punch	
01	R-1	Racial segregation in schools (Category 1)
02	R-2	Racial or ethnic segregation elsewhere than in schools (Category 2)
03	R-3	Race relations and racial, ethnic, or religious discrimination apart from the segregation question (Category 3)
04	R-4	Rights of persons arrested or accused of crime (Category 4)

Cols. 33, 34 - MAJOR CIVIL LIBERTIES CATEGORY (continued)

IBM Code	McBee Punch	
05	R-5	Work of government (congressional, senate, legislative) investigating committees; loyalty or security "screening" or clearance procedures (Category 5)
06	R-6	Other loyalty-security issues (Category 6)
07	R-7	Freedom of speech and of the press (Category 7)
08	R-8	Freedom of assembly and petition (Category 8)
09	R-9	Freedom of religion (Category 9)
10	R-10	Protection against lynching, slavery, peonage (Category 10)
11	R-11	Freedom of movement and residence (Category 11)
12	R-12	Academic Freedom (Category 12)
13	(Bottom hole on right, just below R-1)	Civil liberties in general (Category X); See p. 19, Scanning Directions

Col. 35 - SUBDIVISIONS OF MAJOR CATEGORIES (Please note that there will be no code in Col. 35 for most items in categories 1, 2, 3.

R - The "P" (Political) designator. Any item in any Major category in which the civil liberty-related aspect of the item originates in, discusses or comments on the general area of political parties and political campaigns will require the "P" designator in column 35.

In the case of categories 1 and 2 (when the locus of segregation is specific, i.e., when the "y" designator is not used) and in the case of categories 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and X, only punch position "R" will be entered under C35 on the code sheet when the civil liberty-related aspect of the story originates in, discusses or comments on the general area of political parties or political campaigns. For example, a political speech which makes reference to the investigation of Jacob Javits by a Senate Committee would be coded as 5P. In such a case, only punch position "R" would be entered in column 35.

However, in the case of categories 1 and 2 when the "y" designator is added to show some uncertainty about the referents in making the major category decision, and in the case of categories 6 and 7 where the A, B, C and A, B, C, D designators are added, respectively, to specify further the particular civil liberties aspect of the story, it will be necessary to indicate a double punch in column 35, if the civil liberties-related aspect of the item originates in, discusses or comments on the general area of political parties and political campaigns. An example: A story dealing

with one candidate's accusation, in a news conference, that another candidate is sympathetic to Communism would be coded 6B-P. In such a case, both punch positions "R" and "1" would be entered in column 35 on the code sheet.

X - Either 1y or 2y, indicating some uncertainty about the referents in making major category decision 1 or 2.

All Category 6 items should be coded additionally under one of the following subdivisions:

0 - Category 6A - Prosecution of people under various laws relating to our national security (see p. 10, Scanning Directions)

1 - Category 6B - Accusations concerning subversion or disloyalty which has not yet led to legal action and are not directly related to the work of any loyalty or security board or formal investigation. (Scanning Directions, p. 10-11)

2 - Category 6C - Loyalty oaths, clearance procedures, etc. in industry or or private organizations as distinct from government. (See p. 11 Scan. Dir.)

All category 7 items should be coded additionally under one of the following subdivisions:

3 - Category 7A - Items dealing with government censorship or with restrictions on the publication or distribution of any kind of printed material, or with government restrictions on speech. (See p. 12, Scanning Directions)

4 - Category 7B - Post publication/distribution restrictions on freedom of speech and press. (See p. 12, Scanning Directions)

5 - Category 7C - Newsgathering and related privileges. (See p. 13, Scanning Directions)

6 - Category 7D - Items about informal or non-governmental suppression of news or information (whether or not there is collaborative support from law enforcement officials). (See p. 13, Scanning Directions)

7 - "Right-to-work" (Anti-closed shop) controversies. (See bottom of p. 13, Scanning Directions)

Cols. 36, 37 - SECONDARY CIVIL LIBERTIES CATEGORY(IES)
Those items in which more than one category of civil liberties matter appears should be given secondary coding(s) in columns 36 and 37. The scheme for indicating secondary categories is shown below. It is the same scheme used in indicating Major categories.

01 - Racial segregation in schools (Category 1)
02 - Racial or ethnic segregation elsewhere than in schools (Category 2)
03 - Race relations and racial, ethnic, or religious discrimination apart from the segregation question (Category 3)
04 - Rights of persons arrested or accused of crime (Category 4)
05 - Work of government (congressional, senate, legislative) investigating committees; loyalty or security "screening" or clearance procedures. (Cat. 5)

06 - Other loyalty-security issues (Category 6)
07 - Freedom of speech and of the press (Category 7)
08 - Freedom of assembly and petition (Category 8)
09 - Freedom of religion (Category 9)
10 - Protection against lynching, slavery, peonage (Category 10)
11 - Freedom of movement and residence (Category 11)
12 - Academic Freedom (Category 12)

Col. 38 - SUBDIVISIONS OF SECONDARY CATEGORIES

R - The "P" (Political) designator. Any item in any Secondary category in which the civil liberty-related aspect of the item originates in, discusses or comments on the general area of political parties and political campaigns will require the "P" designator in column 38. (See explanation under Col. 35, R on page 7).

X - Either 1y or 2y, indicating some uncertainty about the referents in making secondary category decision 1 or 2.

All Category 6 items should be coded additionally under one of the following subdivisions:

0 - Category 6A - Prosecution of people under various laws relating to our national security (see p. 10 Scanning Directions)

1 - Category 6B - Accusations concerning subversion or disloyalty which have not yet led to legal action and are not directly related to the work of any loyalty or security board or formal investigation (see p. 10-11, Scanning Directions)

2 - Category 6C - Loyalty oaths, clearance procedures, etc. in industry or private organizations as distinct from government. (see p. 11, Scanning Directions)

All Category 7 items should be coded additionally under one of the following subdivisions:

3 - Category 7A - Items dealing with government censorship or with restrictions on the publication or distribution of any kind of printed material, or with government restrictions on speech. (see p. 12 Scanning Directions)

4 - Category 7B - Post-publication/distribution restrictions on freedom of speech and press. (See p. 12, Scanning Directions)

5 - Category 7C - Newsgathering and related privileges. (See p. 13, Scanning Directions)

6 - Category 7D - Items about informal or non-governmental suppression of news or information (whether or not there is collaborative support from law enforcement officials). (See p. 13 - Scanning Directions)

7 - "Right-to-work" (Anti-closed shop) controversies. (See bottom of p. 13 Scanning Directions)

Exhibit 9

R. E. Carter, Jr.

PROPOSAL FOR STUDY OF EFFECTS OF RACE LABELING UPON INTERPRETATION OF NEWSPAPER ITEMS

Revised June 15, 1957

1. Problem to be studied.

Newspapers have been criticized by behavioral scientists and others for their treatment of news about Negroes. In particular, it has been argued that Southern newspapers tend to hammer in stereotypes of the Negro through linkage of the word "Negro" with events which tend to prove that the Negro is lazy, unintelligent, and so on.

Objectives in the proposed study would be

(a) to construct a typology of race labels based upon their "meaning profiles" as assessed by Osgood's "semantic differential"[1] procedure, and

(b) to determine the extent to which various "race labeling" practices (in newspaper items and in headlines) influence subjects' interpretation of news items.

2. Methodology and plan of study.

The experiments would be of two types. In the first I would use the "semantic differential" procedure to obtain group norms for the "meanings" —in Osgood's three-dimensional "meaning space" (a concept derived empirically from a series of factor analyses) of race labels used in news items, of the nouns with which these labels—as adjectives—have been used most frequently, and of the paired adjective-noun combinations. From this type of inquiry I can obtain data concerning the degree to which meanings of non-race labels (e.g., occupational labels) are assimilated to the meaning profiles of the race labels, and vice versa.

The second type of experiment would involve preparation of experimental news items based upon actual newspaper articles about Negroes. The main effects to be studied would be the influence of form of presentation (with race label, with modified race label, without race label) upon attitudes, "playbacks" of item content, judgments concerning the behavior of the "actor" in the story (e.g., guilt of an alleged criminal), and so on.

I hope to use a design (given metrics meeting the requisite assumptions) which will permit examination of effects per prior attitude toward Negroes, effects per story type ("actor" in socially approved/disapproved role), and possible interactions of these variables.

Subjects would include university students and, if possible, high school students and one or more adult newspaper-reader groups. It might prove possible to augment the work with captive audiences with a small field study, provided a nearby publisher can be induced to carry one or more

"split-run" items in two different versions. Test materials will be presented in a context which will maximize the possibility of obtaining cooperation from school authorities, publishers, etc.

3. Significance of anticipated results.

(a) "Action" consequences--Given empirical evidence concerning the effects of race labeling upon reader interpretation of news items, it might prove possible to persuade newsmen to modify their practices to a degree. For example, if it is demonstrated that modified race labeling is less prejudicial to Negroes than is "straight" race labeling (e.g., "Negro," as compared with "Negro taxi driver"), some newspaper editors who are unwilling to abandon race labeling entirely might at least be willing to reduce the incidence of unqualified race labels which merely identify a person by race without calling attention to any other attributes.

(b) The preliminary experiments will yield by-product data on the differential images subjects have of occupational groups and other referents and should constitute a contribution to the substantive literature on racial and occupational stereotypes.

(c) The early experiments will also provide further tests and validations of the "congruity" principle advanced by Osgood[2] and Tannenbaum for predicting attitude change upon the basis of pre-existing attitudes towards two concepts (e.g., "Negro" and "carpenter") which are linked in discourse.

(d) The "semantic differential" data would provide evidence concerning the validity (in terms of heretofore presumed effects upon an audience) of "associational" type content analysis categories.

(e) The experiments with news stories would open the way toward a variety of experimental approaches to stylistic problems in the presentation of news.

(f) Substantive data would be available concerning the effects of certain specific newspaper practices upon readers. Little information of this kind has been gathered--especially in the area of the social responsibility of the newspaper.

4. Time schedule.

Academic year 1957-58.

5. Budget.

Frequency counts, incidence of words paired with race labels in news about Negroes (from previous content analysis work).	$125.00
Mimeographing and printing	200.00
Preparation of experimental news items and of test materials	300.00
Payments to subjects	400.00
Travel (to test centers and for conferences with newspaper publishers, etc.)	100.00
Miscellaneous supplies and materials	100.00
Secretarial and clerical assistance	250.00
Statistical analysis and data processing	425.00
Preparation of report	600.00
TOTAL	$2,500.00

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1. Charles Osgood, et al., The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

2. Ibid.

Exhibit 10

Brief Progress Report

Foreign-Press Reports on American Civil Liberties

1. Nature and scope

Our study was authorized early in December 1956 and a staff of some twenty foreign-language readers was organized about January first. The task was to determine and to explain differences in the amount and kinds of reporting by a representative sample of the foreign press on typical American civil-liberty issues.

Our sample of "the foreign-press" was to some degree determined by conditions beyond our control, since the amount of reporting upon American civil-liberty issues by most foreign newspapers was too small during the period covered by the companion study of the U.S. press (i.e. September 1956-March 1957) to indicate significant differences in reporting. We were thus required to make a much larger time-sample, from January 1, 1953, through September, 1956. This requirement restricted us to those foreign newspapers obtainable in the U.S. on microfilm; and this, in turn, did some damage to the sample of foreign newspapers which we had previously selected on theoretical grounds. Despite this limitation, we managed to obtain films of most of the foreign newspapers we wanted and also for the dates required to cover our selection of typical civil-liberty issues.

The findings to date have been interesting indeed. In general, our expectations were as often contradicted as confirmed by the findings. The papers which were analyzed for selected time periods appear on the first page of the attached Code. Other sections of the Code will indicate the types of data searched in the papers read. In all, something over 1,500 press items were found relevant to the twelve stories listed in the Code, page 5, paragraph D.

2. Essential elements of a Civil Liberty Issue

After experimenting with several distinguishable elements of any civil-liberty issue, we finally settled on the four elements shown on page 6, paragraph 8 of the Code. These four--the context, the minority involved, the civil right at issue, and the slanting--proved sufficient for meaningful indexing and classification of the newspaper items found. Context, slanting, and the minority are independent variables. There is some interdependence between the civil right and the minority, e.g. the "right to attend non-segregated schools" would normally involve the minority-"Negroes" and no other.

Of most help, perhaps, in identifying differences in the play given the same story by different foreign papers was the context. The distinction between the reporting by papers friendly to the U.S. and those hostile to the U.S. is normally indicated by the ratio of (a) official statements, courts decisions and the like to (b) unofficial and intemperate remarks, sensationalized accounts of violence, and the like.

3. Slanting

As described at the foot of page 6 of the Code, differences in slanting from "entirely favorable" to "entirely unfavorable" were noted with reference both to the language and to the selective description used. However favorable or unfavorable toward the U.S. the facts reported might be, the report was not judged to be slanted without clear evidence that the editor had introduced, either by selective description, by loaded words, or by both, an interpretation which pointed the facts in one or the other direction and went beyond the facts.

4. Findings

No comment on major findings can be made at this time without risk of contradiction by evidence now being processed. It seems fairly safe to suggest that the study will throw new light on the importance of the wire services as a prominent and controllable factor in foreign-press reports on American civil liberties; that it will disclose unsuspected differences among the editorial practices of friendly and of communist papers respectively; and that it will state in researchable terms a number of basic problems which have not been so stated before.

Douglas Waples

August 1957

CODE FOR AEJ FOREIGN-PRESS STUDY

The topics listed below are used to index meaningful differences among reports on Civil-Liberty Issues in the U.S. (USCLI) as found in the foreign newspapers read. (T, B, R and L refer respectively to the Top, Bottom, Right side and Left side of McBee cards on which the numbered hole is punched.)

A. Newspapers

T2	Argentina	La Nacion (Buenos Aires)
T3	Australia	The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney)
T4	Austria	Arbeiter Zeitung (Vienna)
T5	Belgium	Le Soir (Brussels)
T6	Burma	New Times of Burma (Rangoon)
T7	Canada	Winnepeg Free Press (Winnepeg)
T8	Columbia	El Tiempo (Bogota)
T9	Czechoslovakia	Rude Pravo (Prague)
T10	Egypt	The Egyptian Gazette (Cairo)
T12	England	The Times (London)
T13	France	Le Figaro (Paris)
T15	Germany, East	Neues Deutchland (Berlin)
T16	Germany, West	Frankfurter Allgemeine (Frankfort)
T17	India	The Statesman (Calcutta)
T18	Indonesia	The Times of Indonesia (Jakarta)
T19	Italy	Il Corriere della Sera (Milan)
T20	Japan	Mainichi Shimbum (Tokyo)
T21	Mexico	El Universal (Mexico City)
T22	Pakistan	Dawn (Karachi)
T23	Phillipines	The Manila Times (Manila)
T24	Poland	Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw)
T25	Sweden	Svenska Dagbladit (Stockholm)
T27	Switzerland	Neue Zurcher Zeitung (Zurich)
T28	Thailand	The Bangkok Post (Bangkok)
T29	U.S.S.R.	Izvestiia (Moscow)
T30	Vatican City	L'Osservatore Romano
T31	Yougoslavia	Borba (Belgrade)
T32	Israel	Haaretz
T33	U.S.S.R.	Pravda

B. Relationship of country to the U.S.:

TRO Friendly
TR-Key Neutral
TLO Unfriendly

C. Year:

L5 1953
L6 1954
L7 1955
L8 1956
L9 1957

D. Stories:

L10 U.N. employees dismissed:

L11 Books removed from overseas libraries:

L12 The Rosenbergs' trial and execution:

L13 The Supreme Court decisions on school segregation and implementation:

L14 McCarthy hearings:

L15 Oppenheimer denied clearance:

L16 Ladijinski ousted by the Department of Agriculture:

L17 Emmet Till case:

L18 Autherine Lucy vs. the University of Alabama:

L19 Other segregation stories as a result of L13 (not involving the Supreme Court):

L21 Race relation stories, September 1956:

L20 Other CL stories.

E. Type of item:

R1 News
R2 Editorial
R3 Letter to the editor
R4 Feature
R13 Front page (or any of first three pages in a tabloid, or top position on the foreign news page in papers which never report foreign news on the front page)
R14 Multiple column head
R15 Photo
R16 Cartoon

F. Source:

R5 Wire service (state which one)
R6 Local source (applies only to stories originating in paper's own country)
R7 Foreign paper
R8 Own correspondent in the U.S.
R9 None

G. General

R10 Attributed to participant
R18 Is there a comparison of conditions in the paper's country with conditions in the U.S.?
R20 Other CL incidents mentioned

H. Content analysis of USCLI's

CLI items in foreign newspapers normally contain substantive elements by which the stories can be conveniently classified for purposes of qualitative interpretation. They are:

I. The context in which the event is reported as having taken place in the foreign newspaper. (For example, a murder may be recounted as observed by an eye-witness, or it may be referred to in a political speech.) Context categories may be combined into groups for the purpose of sorting papers according to more general criteria, such as proportion of official to non-official items, or proportion of violent to non-violent items reported.

II. The minority involved. Generally a civil liberties issue arises only when it is alleged that the civil rights of an individual or group are either violated or threatened by reason of that individual's or group's membership in a minority group.

"Membership in a minority" as here defined may be permanent (as low-status ethnic groups), semi-permanent (as men united by opinions held to be unpopular by the general public), or temporary (as men accused of crimes considered to be so reprehensible by the general public as to prejudice fair trial by their peers).

III. The civil rights which allegedly have been violated or are in danger of being violated.

IV. Slanting. To estimate slanting two criteria have been used: (1) language employed in the story and in the headline, and (2) the use of selective description.

(1) The language used by a foreign newspaper to describe a CLI in the U.S. may be such as to imply approval or disapproval of the event or condition and/or the official U.S. action taken.

(2) The description of a particular event or series of events may be so selective as to suggest that the editor had himself so arranged the facts as to imply approval or disapproval of conditions in the United States and/or of the

official actions taken. This last statement requires amplification. We do not consider that the mere publication of a newsworthy event, however discreditable to the United States, constitutes a slanted selection. But when an item reports, for example, that the Atomic Energy Commission by a 4:1 vote decided not to renew Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance and then goes on to describe the minority member's views in detail without ever giving any reason for the majority's action, such an item is rated as unfavorably slanted.

According to these two criteria we estimated slanting in terms of a three-point scale for headlines (favorable, neutral, unfavorable) and a five-point scale for the body of the story (entirely favorable, somewhat favorable, neutral or balanced, somewhat favorable, entirely unfavorable).

* * *

For coding purposes the above elements are indexed as follows:

I. The context in which the event is reported:

B1 Acts committed -- acts of violence: murders, riots, et al.;

B2 Threats of violent actions;

B3 Hearings, investigations by non-judicial bodies;

B4 Grand Jury trials, court decisions, other official decisions;

B5 Statements (speeches) by government officials;

B6 Statements (speeches) by persons other than government officials; opinions from other publications;

B7 Other events (indicate what the event is); demonstrations; items which straddle several categories, none predominating.

II. Minorities

B9 Racial (color), religious and/or ethnic groups;

B10 Government employees at home, teachers, journalists, broadcasters;

B11 U.N. employees, government employees abroad;

B12 Other professional groups;

B13 Political groups: leaders of minority parties and of subversive organizations, and the parties and organizations as such;

B14 Other minorities: persons accused of crimes involving CLI's, minors, destitutes, insane, et al.;

B15 Minorities in general, not specified.

III. Civil rights (Which civil right is involved?)

Non-discrimination

B17 Right to attend non-segregated schools;

B18 Right to non-segregation in any public or quasi-public organization or facility (including units of the armed forces, public housing, public transportation, public theaters, et al.);

B19 Other rights to liberties held by others in the society which are denied to some groups or individuals by reason of their sex, color, religion, or nationality. This category includes discriminatory employment practices, discrimination against organizations like the NAACP as such, against the immigration of certain groups like Jews and Catholics, et al.

Free thought and free speech

B21 Religious freedom;

B22 Academic freedom--includes loyalty oaths, investigations of teachers and school administrators, efforts to ban certain books, objections to certain speakers before academic audiences;

B23 Freedoms of speech and press--includes non-censorship of news reports and news commentaries by press, radio, TV and other public media; free access by all media to all news sources; freedom of individuals to express their personal opinions (including the right to join organizations which advocate unpopular causes);

B24 Freedoms of assembly, petition, vote.

Legal rights of individuals

B25 Rights of individuals tried under national security laws in any court or any quasi judicial body--federal, state, district, military. (Criterion: is the constitutionality of the laws at issue?)

B26 Rights of persons arrested and accused of crimes, including "due process", trial by jury, legal counsel, habeas corpus, protection from false arrest, illegal search, third degree treatment, wire tapping, et al.;

B27 Rights to legal recourse for alleged violations of civil liberties: damage suits, libel and slander actions, et al., involving infringement of one's civil liberties;

B28 A corollary category questioning methods used by investigators and investigating bodies dealing with CLI's.

Other civil liberties

B30 Freedom of residence and movement, privilege of government, employment, right to decline to take loyalty oaths (except in B22 above) et al.; civil liberties in general.

IV. Slanting

1. Slanting of story, disregarding main headline

B32	Entirely favorable	. +1.
B33	Favorable . .	. + .5
B35	Neutral or balanced	. 0.
B36	Somewhat unfavorable	. - .5
B37	Entirely unfavorable	. -1.

2. Slanting of main headline

R22 Favorable headline

R23 Neutral headline

R24 Unfavorable headline

Annex A

Dates of foreign newspapers read

1.	Jan. 1-15, 1953	U.N. employees dismissed
2.	June 3-25, 1953	Books in overseas libraries
3.	June 12-25, 1953	Rosenbergs
4.	May 18-25, 1954	Supreme Court decision on desegregation
5.	May 27 - June 17, 1954	Army vs. McCarthy hearings
6.	June 29 - July 6, 1954	Oppenheimer denied clearance
7.	Dec. 3-10, 1954	Senate censures McCarthy
8.	Dec. 22-29, 1954	Ladijinsky ousted by Dept. of Agriculture
9.	June 1-8, 1955	School desegregation implemented by Supreme Court
10.	Sept. 18-28, 1955	Emmet Till's murderer acquitted
11.	Feb. 1-8, 1956	Autherine Lucy admitted to the University of Alabama
12.	Sept. 1-21, 1956	School integration stories

Exhibit 11

Roy E. Carter, Jr.
Robert L. Jones

STATEMENT OF SPECIFICATIONS FOR A STUDY OF THE SAMPLING ERROR OBTAINED VIA USE OF A "CONSTRUCTIVE WEEK" PROCEDURE IN ESTIMATING TOTAL NEWSPAPER "NEWSHOLE" FOR A THREE-WEEK PERIOD IN SEPTEMBER, 1956

Purpose

Our purpose in carrying out these calculations is to test the extent to which a "constructive week" procedure can produce newshole estimates which do not vary sufficiently from an over-all expected value to affect appreciably estimates of space allocation to civil liberties content. In performing this study we foreseeuusing newshole estimates for the denominator term for a percentage-of-newshole-given-to-civil-liberties-content computation.

Procedure

The time period to be covered is September 1 (Saturday) through September 21 (Friday). Content will be measured in columns and fractions of columns rather than column inches to simplify measurement.

Detailed procedures will be as follows:

1. Select two newspapers which differ considerably in circulation but have the following two characteristics: Inclusion in the Minnesota allocation of papers, and non-presence on the list of papers for which Media Records annual-value newshole data are available. (Muskegon, (Mich.) Chronical and Harrisburg (Ill.) Register).

2. Rounding to column totals, obtain newshole space for each paper for all 21 days of the study (18 days, in the case of a six-day paper).

3. Apply this measurement procedure to two dailies for which Media Records year-based newshole estimates are available (Detroit News, St. Paul Pioneer Press). The space measurements obtained for the entire three-week period for these papers will be used to produce a value for comparison with the year-based figure, where both are used as denominator terms in computation of percentage estimates. Our objective, here, is to obtain some slight empirical confirmation of our expectation that use of the year-based denominator will have only a slight effect on the percentage estimate.

4. Compute total columns of space devoted to civil liberties content in papers chosen for 2 and 3 above. The particular space to be measured in Sunday newspapers will be defined by the scanning instructions. (All measurements of newshole must conform to the "hole" which is scanned; otherwise, the percentage estimate will not be meaningful.)

5. Once the data called for in 2 and 3 are obtained, a series of "sample weeks" or constructed weeks" will be drawn. The total-space values for each of these "constructed weeks" will then be computed, and their variance around the population value (one-third of the 21 or 18-day total) will be determined. Samples will be drawn by the following probability procedure: Our first Saturday-through-Friday week will be defined as week 1, the second as week 2, the third as week 3. The sample-producer will then generate on the calculator a series of random numbers between 1 and 3, and will write them down, thus: 1312221, and will translate them into the calendar days of the month, as per the chart below.

	Day of Week						
	S	Sun	M	T	W	Th	F
Week 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Week 2	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Week 3	15	16	17	18	19	20	21

Thus the calendar days corresponding to the week used as an illustration would be September 1, 16, 3, 11, 12, 13, 7. Or, ordered in sequence, September 1, 3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 16.

Only one restriction is to be imposed on the samples drawn by the person carrying out the substudy described here. He is to inspect each sample as drawn, and reject it if it fails to include at least one day from each of the three weeks. He must not restrict what may occur at any point in the draw. He is to draw the seven digits independently, giving each one equal chances to occur as a 1, 2, or 3. After completing the draw of seven digits, he will reject the draw if he lacks a 1, or 2, or a 3. He is to continue this process until he has 30 different samples, each of which includes at least one day from each of the three weeks. Note that the sample 1112223 is regarded as different from the sample 3111222, inasmuch as the specific days drawn are different. The only sample which is not different from 1112223 is another 1112223.

For a seven-day week, the number of possible samples (all different) is 3^7. We want to exclude all samples from which any week is excluded. Take the case of one week: The chance of omitting week A is 2/3 for each of the seven random numbers drawn. Thus the probability of omitting week A entirely is $(2/3)^7$, and the probability of omitting any week is $3\ (2/3)^7$. Applied as a proportion to the total number of possible samples, this yields the value $3\ (2/3)^7\ (3)^7$ to be subtracted from 3^7. Thus there are 2187-384, or 1803, possible samples. By similar proof, there are 537 possible samples (all different) in which all three six-day weeks will be represented (729 - 192 = 537).

THE FREE SOCIETY

"To revere the founding fathers is all very well, but it would be better if we followed their example by re-examining the fundamental human rights and the economic and political institutions best suited to secure them."

CARL L. BECKER, *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life.*
Alfred A. Knopf, 1945.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the

certain unalienable rights

QUESTIONS FACING AMERICANS TODAY

Are any limitations imposed on the political and social activities of a corporation executive because of his job? How does the economic power of corporations affect Americans in the 20th century? What is the corporation's role in a free society?

When a union member wants to change the policy or the leadership of his union, does he have freedom of expression? What is the union's role in modern society?

When different religious groups discuss public bus service for parochial school children, are they approaching a fundamental problem in the church-state relationship in a democratic system?

When a young man considers his future in relation to the military service now required of American youth, does he understand his obligations as a citizen? What are the obligations of society toward him? What is the impact of our defense establishment on freedom and justice in America?

Are voluntary associations — professional societies, clubs, etc. — voluntary in all respects or are they compulsory for persons who may wish to enter certain occupations? Is entry into the professions really open to all?

These are some of the questions which face Americans now. The Bill of Rights says nothing about them, although they do seem to be questions related to liberty under contemporary conditions.

The Fund for the Republic has begun a series of studies that will go into these questions and many others in modern life — questions affecting the lives of all Americans. To examine them thoroughly and impartially, it has enlisted the aid of ten outstanding Americans who will initiate and direct the studies.

The consultants are:

ADOLF A. BERLE, JR., attorney; professor of corporation law, Columbia University; former Assistant Secretary of State; author of many articles and books on business organizations and corporations.

SCOTT BUCHANAN, philosopher and author; former dean of St. John's College.

EUGENE BURDICK, political scientist at the University of California; novelist, author of *The Ninth Wave*.

ERIC GOLDMAN, professor of history at Princeton University; winner of the Bancroft Prize in 1952 for distinguished American history.

CLARK KERR, Chancellor of the University of California; a specialist in the fields of economics and labor with extensive experience as impartial chairman on arbitration in industrial relations.

HENRY R. LUCE, editor-in-chief and publisher of *Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated* and *House and Home*.

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J., educator and editor, professor of theology at Woodstock College, Maryland; winner of the Cardinal Spellman Award for theological scholarship in 1950.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Protestant theologian; vice-president of the Union Theological Seminary; author of many books on Christianity in the modern world.

ISIDOR I. RABI, professor of physics at Columbia University; winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, 1944; chairman of the general advisory committee of the Atomic Energy Commission.

ROBERT REDFIELD, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago; former president of the American Anthropological Association.

The Fund was established by the Ford Foundation in December, 1952, to advance the principles of a free society. It has devoted itself in the last four years to educational efforts in race relations, academic freedom, due process, loyalty-security programs, freedom of speech and assembly, and generally to the preservation of the traditional liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

These activities of the Fund helped to initiate a widespread debate about the application of our traditional liberties. In a sense this indicated that the Fund had been meeting one of its objectives — to encourage public discussion about freedom and justice and, thereby, to help maintain our free society. But the real issues often were obscured by emotionalism and irrational arguments.

It became evident that clarification of the debate was urgently needed. Consequently the Fund's Board of Directors decided, in May, 1957, to concentrate on a searching examination of the questions facing Americans in preserving a free society under 20th century conditions.

A year's discussion and planning preceded this decision which, in essence, takes cognizance of the fact that the *basic* issues of freedom and justice in the complex industrial America of today involve more than the *traditional* issues as formulated in the eighteenth century.

Many thoughtful persons in recent years have expressed a feeling that Western society needed a reformulation of its ideas. In April, 1956, Dr. A. J. M. van Dal of The Hague, Secretary-General of the International Com-

mission of Jurists, called for "a simple set of fundamental principles expressing in a readily understandable way the common denominator of our legal-political beliefs." Similar ideas were voiced by Sir Norman Angell in the *Sunday London Times* on April 15, 1956, and by Dr. Charles Malik in Beirut on May 21 of the same year.

When the Fund announced in June, 1957, that it would go into these questions, a number of leading American newspapers commented in their editorial columns. All recognized the difficulties likely to arise. All felt that the program was needed.

The Providence Bulletin said: "Such an excursion into philosophical definitions might seem as remote from the pressing issues of this day as Einstein's curiosity about matter and energy was to the atomic bomb. Yet the Fund's projected study is basic to our understanding ourselves . . . and so to our very survival."

The New York Times declared: "The Fund for the Republic is embarking on an important study of one of the great problems facing our democracy: the effect on freedom and a free society of the large-scale organizations and institutions that have grown up in the last half-century and that were as unknown to the Founding Fathers as the jet airplane and the atomic bomb . . . The Fund has helped strengthen American democracy, and the new study just announced gives every indication of being a major contribution to this end."

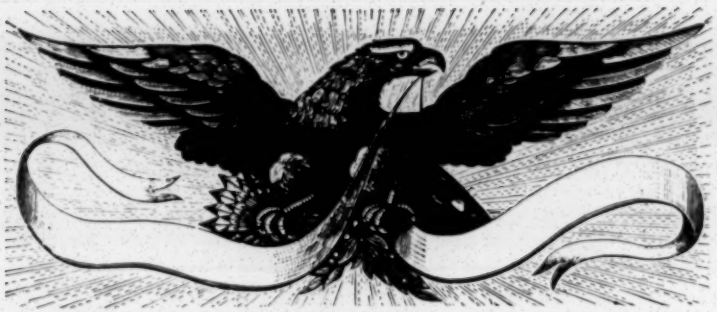
The Tulsa (Okla.) World said: "The Fund is taking on an area of study about which there is far too much unfounded suspicion and too little real knowledge."

The Denver Post commented: "The inquiry into both the status and the necessities of freedom, and the search for answers to the questions posed by this situation, offers the ten distinguished Americans chosen by the Fund an opportunity for tremendous service to the nearby present and the further off future of free society in the United States."

"The study is well launched," *the Nashville Tennessean* said. "A right to one person is not a right to another in our complex society . . . The Fund is off to an interesting study, to say the least, and one apt to kick up no few disputes before it is ended. The water into which these scientists are plunging is fathoms deeper than a mere ocean floor."

More than 100 persons outside of the Fund contributed to the shaping of the program, among them the ten men who have become the Committee of Consultants.

The Committee has three functions: to think, to discuss, and to publish. Out of its deliberations and the work commissioned by it, the Fund hopes that fresh definitions of fundamental problems and a clarification of the arguments concerning these problems will emerge. The discussions of the Committee may become models of the rational debate essential to the democratic process. Additionally, the Fund will make every effort consistent with its charter to implement the findings of the Committee.



THE BASIC ISSUES: 1791-1957

At the time the Bill of Rights was adopted in 1791 . . .

- The population of the United States was approximately 4,000,000.
- Fewer than a quarter of a million people had the right to vote.
- Industry was small, dispersed and largely made up of family-run enterprises serving local needs.
- Farming was the main economic activity.
- News syndicates, radio, television, telephones and movies did not exist.
- There were no nuclear bombs, airplanes or guided missiles.
- There were no Communists, either Soviet or domestic.
- There were no trade unions.
- The Industrial Revolution was just beginning, and most of the population was self-employed.
- Fewer than 5,000 persons were employed by the Federal Government.

The Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution to guarantee the rights and liberties of the individual in such a society, uncomplicated, new, and with inviting frontiers. The first ten Amendments defined the citizen's status in relation to Government, the only institution whose power was great enough to oppress him.

Since 1791, the population has expanded more than 40-fold; the Industrial Revolution has turned into the Atomic Age; the Federal Government employs more than 2,400,000 persons and has many more under arms; two-thirds of the population live in cities; only one out of seven people is self-employed; and as economic and social life has become more complex, huge institutions have arisen with varied powers and influence over the daily lives of Americans.

Some of these institutions did not exist at all at the time the Bill of Rights was adopted: the modern corpora-

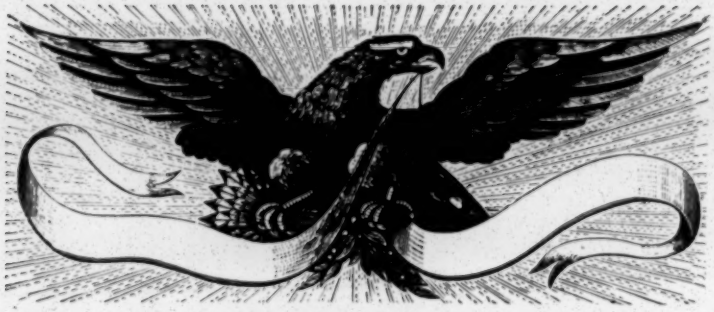
tion, the labor union, the media of mass communications, the organized political party.

Some of these institutions have grown enormously: government, education, and the communications system.

Some are playing roles sharply different from those they played 165 years ago: e.g., the church and the voluntary organizations. Government is no longer the only institution with the power to increase or to deplete the freedom of the individual and of society.

But all these new or changed institutions have one thing in common: they have a profound effect on the individual's daily life, and on his rights and responsibilities. They create new problems of maintaining a free society; they may even force us to re-define what such a society is.

In outlining the goals of the new program, the Fund's president, Robert M. Hutchins, declared: "It would be pretentious to suppose that any pioneering venture such as the program of studies we are undertaking could offer definitive solutions to the problem of how to maintain and expand individual liberties in an industrialized and politically polarized world. But I believe that the program offers reasonable expectation that the Fund can, by concentrating upon it, make its most effective contribution to the maintenance of freedom and justice in the United States."



HOW THE PROGRAM WILL BE CONDUCTED

The Committee of Consultants is committed to sustained discussion as the principal means of achieving clarification.

In this process the first task is to define the issues. The second step will be to obtain, through staff work or from Committee members, information necessary to the comprehension of the issues as defined. The third is examination of the data and discussion of relevant viewpoints. This process will result in published statements, representing either interim reports or the efforts of the group to clarify the issue under consideration.

The Committee will go into two main classes of issues: those resulting from the impact of new or vastly enlarged institutions, e.g., the influence of the trade union on its members; and those resulting from the growing complexity of the national life. The latter category includes questions like those of privacy and censorship.

Four projects have been started: on the Corporation, the Union, Governmental Provisions for the Common Defense, and Religious Institutions in a Democratic Society. The purpose of these studies will be to assist the Committee, although materials prepared for the members may be published as part of the effort to encourage rational debate.

Organization and administration of the studies follow these lines:

A. The Board of the Fund approves each project.
B. Members of the Board serve as Liaison Directors with each project.
C. Members of the Committee oversee each of the projects.
D. Each project has the services of a staff member of the Fund.
E. Each project is authorized to retain consultants or the services of outside groups with special qualifications in the subject under study. This will include spokesmen and others prominent in the affairs of the "institution" under consideration.

F. The Fund will make every effort to stimulate public discussion and debate on the findings.

Outlines of the four projects approved thus far follow.

THE CORPORATION

The debate today about the relation between the corporation and society, and between the corporation and the individual, is incessant and confused. According to one point of view, the corporation moves year after year to progressively higher plateaus, casting off outworn or irresponsible practices as it does so. Others hold that as corporations become more and more powerful, their influence becomes pervasive and perhaps dangerous.

Of special concern is the effect of the corporation on those closest to it. If civil liberty describes a proper relation between the state and the individual, should the idea of civil liberty be carried over into the life of the industrial corporation? Or does a different and perhaps more limiting concept, say a concept of corporate liberties, apply?

Answers to such questions appear to be central to a clarification of basic issues in the U.S. today, since corporations now employ three-fourths of the nation's labor force and wield considerable powers, explicit and implicit, over other institutions as well.

This project will first seek to appraise the impact of the corporation on the political, social and economic freedom of individuals affected by it.

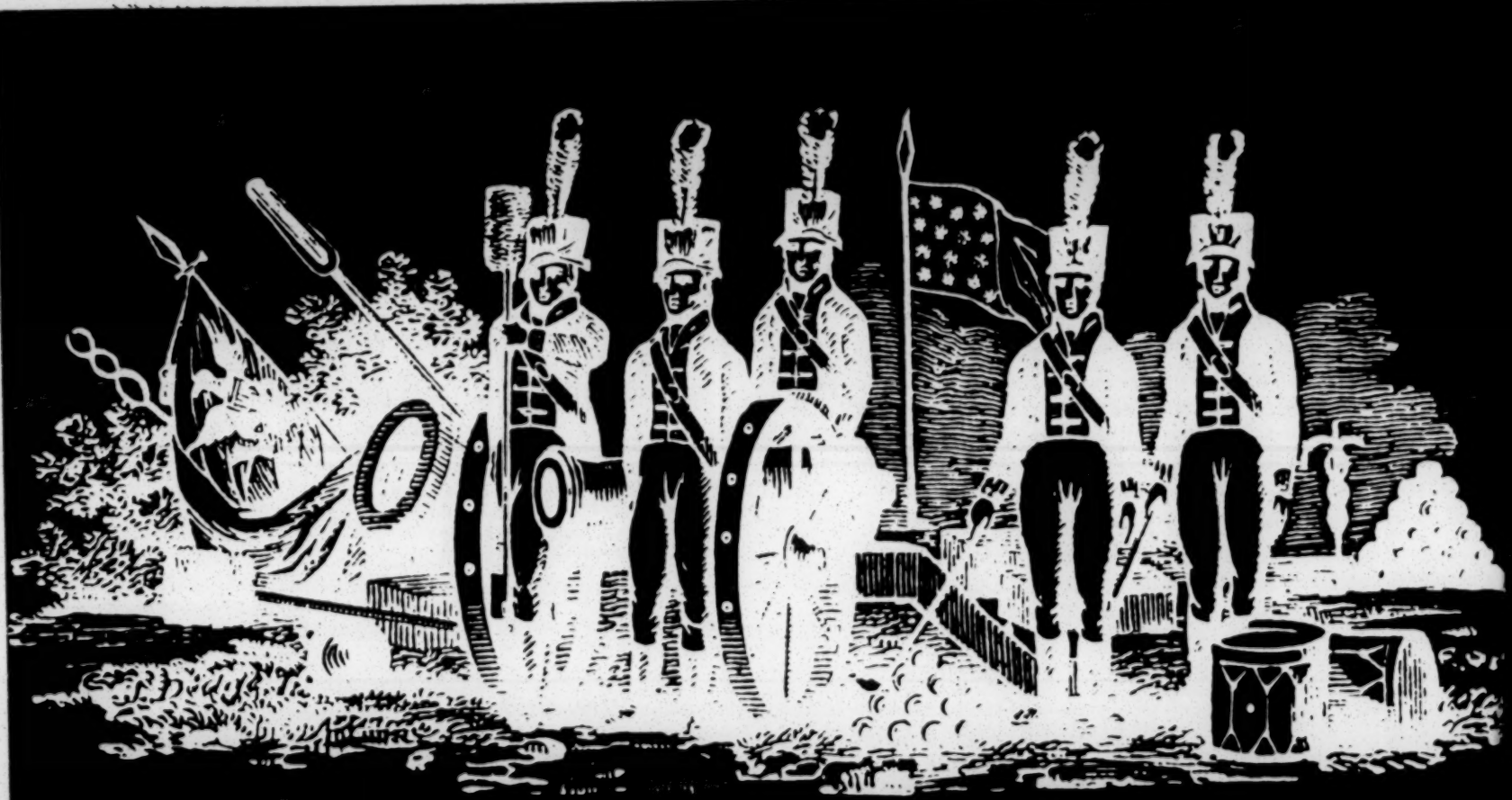
From the outset, the cooperation of industry will be sought, in addition to assistance from universities, educational foundations, and trade associations.

Liaison Directors:	M. Albert Linton
	J. Howard Marshall
Representing the Committee:	A. A. Berle, Jr.
Staff member:	W. H. Ferry

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE TRADE UNION

American unions, following a tremendous expansion in size and power in the period 1933-1950, have exerted growing influence on the social, cultural and political lives of their members. At the same time, they have become a powerful force in areas once considered the exclusive domain of the corporation, such as employee discipline and the process of production itself.

The "new unionism" emerging in America takes an interest in foreign affairs, community relations, race



relations and other aspects of the civic rights and responsibilities of its members. This may be symptomatic of the will to power or of a new sense of obligation.

The project will examine the implications for the rights of individuals of collective bargaining practices together with such specific issues as jurisdictional strikes, national strikes affecting the public interest, restrictive work rules, and community-union clashes of interest.

Union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators and other authorities will contribute to the project. Close cooperation between the projects on the trade union and the corporation will be maintained.

Liaison Directors: Oscar Hammerstein, II
Paul G. Hoffman
Meyer Kestnbaum

Representing the Committee: Clark Kerr

Staff member: Paul Jacobs

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMON DEFENSE

International tensions and the resultant military posture of the country have raised questions of individual freedom and civil liberty. Although the Federal Government's obligation to provide for the common defense is stated in the Constitution, the changes in government responsibility that have taken place since the 18th century have created a shifting and confusing relationship between measures of defense and concepts of freedom.

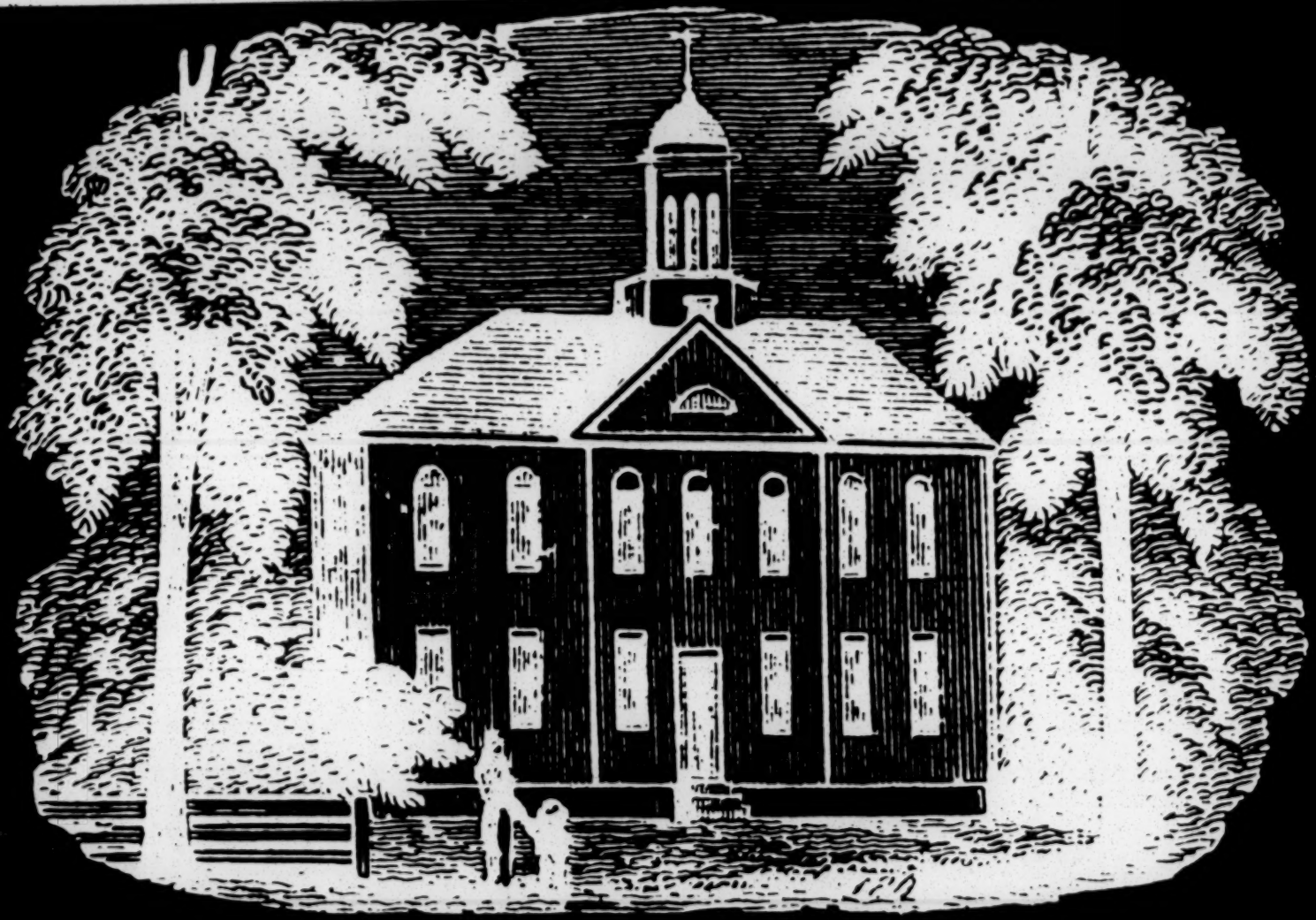
To explore the basic issues arising in this field, the project will concentrate mainly on three areas of governmental activity: military manpower policies, the suppression of sedition, and the discovery and prevention of espionage.

The project will be advanced by commissioning special studies; by consulting with qualified persons in government, law, education and science, and by convening advisory groups from time to time.

Liaison Directors: Herbert H. Lehman
Charles W. Cole
J. R. Parten

Representing the Committee: I. I. Rabi

Staff member: Walter Millis



RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

This project will deal with the relationship between Church and State, the role of religion in public life, and the rights of religious dissent or non-conformity.

A study group will consider such questions as:

The role of the religious pressure group and its effect on freedom of speech, freedom to read, freedom of communications, etc.

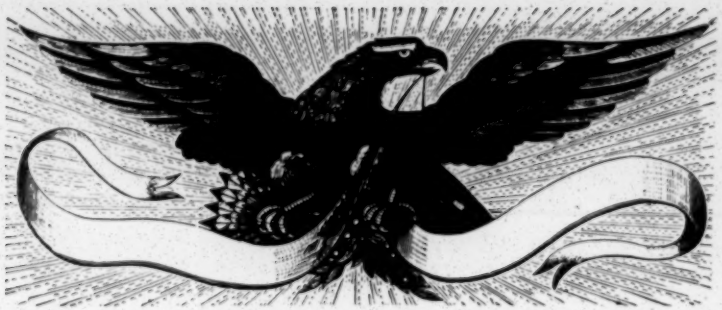
The influence of ecclesiastical directives on legislators and blocs of voters and through them on the public law.

The use of public funds to support church-directed education, parochial activities and sectarian interests.

The question of prayers, released-time and "moral guidance" programs as well as religious celebrations in the public schools.

The project will be a joint effort engaging representatives of the three major faiths, as well as the religiously uncommitted. It will from time to time call in outside experts and leading spokesmen of the various faiths as well as representatives of the non-religious point of view. It will commission special studies and research from qualified individuals and institutions.

Liaison Directors:	Henry Pitney Van Dusen Msgr. Francis J. Lally Eleanor B. Stevenson
Representing the Committee:	Reinhold Niebuhr John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Staff member:	John Cogley



THE FUND'S FIRST FOUR YEARS

The purpose of the Fund for the Republic — a non-profit educational corporation — is to defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

Since its establishment in 1952, with Ford Foundation grants totalling $15 million, the Fund has been an independent entity. It has no connection with any other foundation. The policies of the Fund are determined by its Board of Directors, who are listed at the end of this booklet.

The Fund has carried on its work in a variety of ways. It has distributed books, pamphlets, films, reprints of speeches, and other materials. It has made grants to individuals and organizations to enable them to conduct studies and programs in civil liberties. Among organizations that have received this kind of assistance are the YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Inter-racial Council of Chicago, American Bar Foundation, the Institute of Social Order of the Society of Jesus, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Presbyterian Church of the United States, Columbia University, Stanford University, Southern Regional Council, Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., American Friends Service Committee, Vanderbilt University and the University of Virginia.

The Fund has also sponsored research projects which have been carried out by persons appointed by the foundation. Examples of such projects are: a study of academic freedom in the United States, directed by Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University; a study by John Cogley of blacklisting in the entertainment industry; and a study of the influence of Communism in American life, under the supervision of Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

As of June 30, 1957, the total expended by the Fund was approximately $8½ million. More than a third of this has been devoted to educational work in race relations, both in the North and in the South; other considerable sums have gone into the study of domestic Communism and Communist infiltration. Much has been expended on popular education concerning the significance of the Bill of Rights. Another area of the Fund's interest has been the study of problems of due process, many of them arising out of the methods and procedures used in combating domestic Communism.

In a review of its first three years, published in 1956, the Fund said:

"The Fund conceives that in all the issues which have arisen in recent years over the liberties, the rights and the dignity of man, two matters are of first importance. One is to ascertain and make known so far as possible the relevant facts. The second is to clarify and define the issues in the public consciousness and so to make possible their rational discussion and resolution."

For the next year, the Fund will place a major emphasis on the second of these two objectives — the clarification of the basic issues.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman: ELMO ROPER
Elmo Roper & Associates
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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC. 60 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED SEP 19 1957

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
60 EAST 42 STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

The attached booklet, "The Free Society," describes the Fund's program concerning the basic issues of liberty and justice in the United States.

We will appreciate receiving your comments and suggestions about the program.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Barnett, Claude A.

REGARDING:

Ltr. of commendation to RBT. HUTCHINS, F.F.R.

DATE:

September 20, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Newspapers, et. al - General

VIA AIR MAIL

November 21, 1957

Mr. W. H. Ferry
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ping:

Thanks for your recent letter enclosing the Monitor's reprint of the editorial from the Bradenton, Florida, Herald, which, incidentally, we are reprinting in New South.

It seems to me that two questions are involved: (1) assistance to victims of economic pressure and reprisal; and (2) efforts aimed at improving the Negro's position in the Southern economy.

As to the first question, I have some doubt about the need for and effectiveness of large deposits to guarantee loans to Negroes or boycott victims at this time. As far as we can tell, punitive credit restrictions are not a widespread problem at the moment -- though they may become so again. Unfortunately, most of the victims of economic sanctions need relief in the form of outright subsidy rather than loans. There is recurrent talk in interagency circles of getting up a central fund to be prudently administered for this purpose. The Relief and Rehabilitation Committee of CCD, under the co-chairmanship of Oscar Lee and Fay Bennett, operates in this general area.

Some of the Southern consultants to the Commission on Race and Housing feel that there is need for investment of sizeable funds to facilitate favorable housing loans for Negroes. I believe Bob Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League

has been plumping hard for this with Mr. Schwulst.

Programs aimed at expanding job opportunities for Negroes seem to me a more promising approach to the improvements discussed in the Bradenton editorial. You may recall our discussions some time ago about a project that would forecast the development of industry in the South and the point at which Negro manpower will have to be fully utilized if the development is to continue. This would call for a piece of major research; our hope was that it would grow out of our modest fact-finding efforts. Up to now it hasn't, mainly because of the sluggishness of the National Planning Association.

I still feel that such a study, given proper airing of the findings, would do a great deal to change the attitude of Southern employers toward Negro workers. As of now, the Southern Negro is little esteemed as a potential skilled worker because nobody much needs him yet. This lack of regard, as the Bradenton editorial suggests, heavily determines the Negro's poor status in the society.

If it could be clearly demonstrated that the Negro in a few years will be the only hope of continuing industrial growth in the South, many Southern leaders might begin to regard him differently. More employers might be moved to make a beginning in the full utilization of Negro skills. Any such trend would be bound to create an upward spiral in the total condition of Southern Negroes.

This may be far from the point raised in your letter. Perhaps you are thinking exclusively in terms of the leverage available through investment of foundation capital funds. If this is the case, I suggest that the housing field be considered as an appropriate area for trying out the technique. I'll be glad to explore the idea further with knowledgeable people down here if it seems desirable.

In any case, I'm glad to be used as a Dixie sounding-board, so feel free any time it seems worth a try.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed a clipping from the Christian Science Monitor of October 29 that Elmo Roper sent along to us. It is a reprint of an editorial in the Bradenton, Florida Herald, which suggests that the economic front is the one on which advances in the South can and should most rapidly be made.

What do you think about this line of argument? What, if anything, might foundation money be able to do about this possibility? You will recall our discussions of a year and two years ago; the suggestions that two or three million dollars of the capital funds of the Fund be placed in various banking institutions in the South to guarantee loans to Negroes; a similar proposal, though not nearly as much money was involved, for deposit of some of our money in banks that continued to make loans to Negroes and to white people who refused to join general boycotts. The Koinonia Farm* which we talked about when you were here, was an oblique effort in the same general area. We'd be glad to have any suggestions from our favorite southern consultant.

Incidentally, I agree with Elmo (and with Erwin Griswold, who sent the clipping to him in the first place) that this is a first-class job. And out of Bradenton, too!

With best regards,

W. H. Ferry

Enc.

* proposal,

M E M O R A N D U M :

November 15, 1957

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Emory F. Via

Re: Letter from Ping Ferry

No concrete suggestions at this point. That the economic area needs attention and further financing and staffing is self-evident. I don't have a clear picture of how restricted credit is at this time, except in specific boycott situations. Personally I would plump for money going in a different direction, still on the economic front, except for an emergency fund which would probably not have to be too sizeable. I will attempt to make the wheels turn further. By all means let us keep "them" on the hook.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

15 Nov 57

re: Ping's letter

Harry—

I would suggest two things we might do as a result of Ping Ferry's letter and its enclosure:

1. Write the Bradenton (Fla) Herald and (a) determine the date of the editorial (b) what reactions have been to it, and (c) permission to reproduce it in New South

2. Send Ping copies of the info we have collected on the economic aspects of this problem. Perhaps a request for a special grant to: (A) publish the Hammer study after having George popularize it; or (b) a larger grant to make a more extensive study.

FRED

P.S. completed 8 min after receipt

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

DATE 11/4

TO: Harold Fleming

FROM: W. H. FERRY

Splendid report, congratulations to each and all chefs. I'm passing around here, & hope you have sent suitable number ~~of~~ to Ford Foundation and others.

May I suggest especially that you send a copy to Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy, Executive Secretary, the Taconic Foundation, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York? This is a young & prosperous foundation & I shall nudge them for a suitable recognition of your record & possibilities. Use my name as much as you wish, at Taconic or elsewhere. I am an SRC fan, a boosterclub organizer.

yrs,

Ping

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I think you may find these copies of a study useful. It has some findings that should be of interest in your bailiwick. This was done under a grant from the Fund.

Best regards.

ER:sw
attachments

Edward Reed

American Civil Liberties

in the Foreign Press

by

Douglas Waples, Director
Professor of International Communication
University of Chicago

Walter Yondorf, Associate Director
Instructor in Communication
University of Chicago

Robert T. Harms, Research Associate
Assistant and Fellow in Linguistics
University of Chicago

1957

American Civil Liberties

in the Foreign Press

Contents

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3. Loyalty Investigations of Americans employed by the United Nations

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OVERVIEW

How foreign newspapers report civil-liberty incidents in the United States is important to our national security. What they report has an obvious effect upon foreign attitudes toward our foreign policies.

Our major foreign-policy objectives for the last decade has been the containment of Soviet expansionism, and in pursuit of this objective the United States has been active on ideological, economic, political and military fronts. On the ideological front our championing of individual freedoms, political justice and equal opportunities for all has proved fairly successful. Our enemies in the cold war cannot ignore the universal demand for civil liberties and accordingly pay lip service to the ideals defined, for example, in John Stuart Mill's essay On Liberty. Soviet propaganda charges the United States with mouthing platitudes about liberty and justice for foreign consumption while persecuting our minorities at home.

Such charges hurt us to the degree that they are supported by reports to the effect that we do persecute our minorities. The reports are the more prejudicial to our foreign policies when they omit any reference to continuing efforts by national, state and local governments to make the civil liberties of all American citizens more secure.

The emergence of any civil-liberty issue tends in foreign opinion to discredit the nation in which the issue occurs. Civil-liberty issues can of course be recognized only in those nations which protect minority rights by law; in other nations there is no issue. It is accordingly in this theatre of the psychological war that the Soviets have every strategic

advantage: they can both exploit the reports of civil-liberty violations in the free nations as carried by the free press and also suppress news of similar violations occurring in the Soviet Union and its satellites, thereby denying opportunities for counter attack by the free newspapers.

News of any civil-liberty incident in the United States normally reinforces any current hostility which is felt by a foreign readership toward this country. Nations like Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and others which protect civil liberties at home are dismayed by such news but their dismay, and also the reports of the incident in their newspapers, are tempered by an awareness of the political and other obstacles confronting efforts to safeguard minority rights in any genuine democracy where the majority makes the laws. Hence the editors of friendly foreign newspapers tend to deplore civil-liberty incidents in the United States but they tend also to describe them as temporary setbacks in our slowly successful efforts to secure equal rights for all citizens.

The editors of communist and other unfriendly newspapers naturally receive news of civil-liberty incidents in the United States with great and malicious joy. They edit such news to bolster their claims that our reactionary, war-mongering capitalist-imperialists are all out to enslave the workers, patriots, progressives, peace-fighters and other--especially colored--minorities for their own political and financial benefits. They then impute the same predatory motives to the makers of our foreign policies toward the "uncommitted" states of Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

Reports by the foreign press, for instance, that Negroes are victimized in the United States, give substantial support to the communist line. They

poison much of the good will which our technical, economic and military aid to non-white populations was intended to foster. They are doubtless responsible for some of the steady progress which communism has made in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia including India and Laos, advances made by essentially democratic methods of the sort which the free world had hoped would defeat the communist parties in the uncommitted states.

Given a nuclear weapons stalemate, victory in a cold war could go to the side which persuades the uncommitted nations that their civil liberties would be less protected by the other side. Our most effective action would of course be to prevent the occurrence of civil-liberty incidents in the United States. Since this solution is far to seek, we must rely on such secondary defences as the American-owned wire services, the U.S. Information Agency, the International Cooperation Agency and other organizations concerned with foreign relations.

The foregoing remarks may explain our interest in a study to learn how civil-liberty incidents in the United States are reported by a sample of the foreign press, a study which a grant by the Fund for the Republic enabled us to make.

We have read what some 25 foreign newspapers reported on civil-liberty incidents in the United States between the dates of January 1953 and April 1957. To the extent that they were available we selected the papers which were official, semi-official or elite papers in their respective nations. Our purpose was to establish some broad generalizations on how civil-liberty incidents in the United States were reported by the foreign newspapers.

We read only one paper of the many papers published in each of the foreign countries in our sample. Conclusions are based on what the editors

chose to publish, which may or may not fairly express the public opinions current in the state. We found a close relationship between the official relations of the foreign country to the United States and the tone in which civil-liberty incidents in the United States were reported by the newspaper we read for each country.

This relationship is obviously very close between the government of a communist country and its official party organ, and probably least close between the official paper of a Southeast Asian government and an English language newspaper in the same country. A good example of the first type is the close relationship between the Soviet government and Izvestiia; and, of the second type, the distant relationship between the Indonesia government and the Times of Indonesia.

Our data were gathered by reading the foreign papers for twelve time periods. The periods ranged from one to three weeks each. The time periods were defined by the dates marking the start and finish of heavy reporting of each civil-liberty incident by American newspapers. Readers were instructed to copy out, and to translate if necessary, all items relating to civil-liberty issues found during each period. This means that although a period was chosen because some one issue which interested us was then current, we nevertheless gathered stories relating to all civil-liberty issues in the United States which the paper reported on the dates read.

What we learned from reading the foreign newspapers can be covered by seven topics: slanting, amount of coverage, an index of relative friendliness, peculiarities of communist reporting, sources, editorials, and the researchable problems deserving further study in this area.

Slanting. Foreign newspapers on the whole were critical both of the situations in the United States which led to civil-liberty incidents and

also of the manner in which they were met. Editors frequently went beyond the facts in order to slant their reports by selective description or by the use of innuendo, thereby reinforcing the unfavorable impression made by the bare events. Of the 1,586 news dispatches, features, editorials, separate photographs and cartoons analyzed, less than 5 percent were favorably slanted; about 24 percent were unfavorably slanted.

Table 1 shows the papers of Iron Curtain countries to have the highest proportion of unfavorably slanted items. The papers of neutral countries as a group have the smallest proportion of unfavorably slanted items. Papers of friendly countries fall somewhere in between. This is true of both the content of stories and of the headlines.

The division of countries into "neutral," "unfriendly," and "friendly" is admittedly arbitrary. It is based on our judgment of the relations between the given state and the United States in the year 1956.

The papers of friendly European countries, as a group, were more unfavorably slanted than were the papers of neutral and of other friendly countries, as shown in the following sub-table:

	Slanting of story content by number of items		
Papers	Favorable	Balanced	Unfavorable
Austria: Arbeiter Zeitung	1	61	14
England: The Times	2	58	25
France: Le Figare	3	78	12
West Germany: Frankfurter Allgemeine	4	42	6
Italy: Il Corriere della Sera	2	23	10
Sweden: Svenska Dagbladet	1	33	11
Switzerland: Neue Zurcher Zeitung	4	56	7
Vatican City: L'Osservatore Romano	1	11	4
Total items	18	362	89
Percentage	4%	77%	19%

Table 1

COMBINED SLANTING FOR ALL ISSUES

Papers		Total Items	No of Prds. Read	Slanting: Body of Story** EF	SF	B	SU	EU	Main Headline*** F	B	U
Neutral Countries											
Argentina	La Nacion	34	11	.	1	28	5	.	.	34	.
Burma	New Times of Burma	9	4	1	.	6	1	1	2	7	.
India	The Statesman	69	12	1	4	49	15	.	.	62	6
Indonesia	Times of Indonesia	24	6	.	2	19	3	.	1	22	.
Yugoslavia	Borba	18	11	1	2	13	2	.	.	13	2
	Total:	154		3	9	115	26	1	3	138	8
Unfriendly Countries											
Czechosl.	Rude Pravo	33	11	.	.	4	16	13	.	14	19
Egypt	Egyptian Gazette	48	11	.	1	39	6	2	.	43	3
Germany, E.	Neues Deutschland	98	10	.	.	10	30	58	.	49	44
Poland	Trybunu Ludu	57	12	.	.	9	26	22	.	30	26
USSR	Izvestiia	23	12	.	.	4	8	11	.	13	10
	Total:	259		0	1	66	86	106	0	149	102
Friendly Countries											
Austria	Arbeiter Zeitung	76	12	.	1	61	12	2	1	58	12
Canada	Winnipeg Free Press	128	12	3	7	103	15	.	.	96	13
Columbia	El Tiempo	61	6	1	5	42	11	2	.	59	1
England	The Times	85	12	.	2	58	21	4	.	72	12
France	Le Figaro	93	12	.	3	78	10	2	.	78	4
Germany, W.	Frank. Allgemeine	52	12	3	1	42	6	.	.	43	3
Italy	Corriere della Sera	35	11	.	2	23	10	.	.	26	6
Japan	Mainichi Shimbum	100	11	1	6	70	19	4	2	87	6
Mexico	El Universal	198	7	3	9	172	13	1	3	183	4
Pakistan	Dawn	61	11	1	6	43	11	.	2	57	2
Philippin.	Manila Times	55	5	.	1	52	2	.	.	44	2
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet	45	3	.	1	33	11	.	.	37	5
Switzerld.	Neue Zurcher Zeitg.	67	12	2	2	56	5	2	.	60	5
Thailand	Bangkok Post	46	6	.	3	41	2	.	.	46	.
Vatican	Osservatore Romano	17*	11	.	1	11	3	1	.	16	.
Israel	Haaretz	54	11	.	.	47	7	.	.	53	.
	Total:	1,173		14	50	932	158	18	8	1,015	76
	Grand Total:	1,586		17	60	1,113	270	125	11	1,302	186

*One item consisted of head only with no reference to civil liberties in body of story.

** EF is entirely favorable; SF, somewhat favorable; B, balanced; SU, somewhat unfavorable; EU, entirely unfavorable.

***E is favorable; B, not slanted; -U, unfavorable. The total number of headlines is smaller than the total number of items rated since not all items had headlines.

Among the papers which slanted news of civil-liberty incidents most favorably were four of the six Southeast Asian papers read. Even if one includes the Pakistani Dawn and the Indian Statesman, which follow the slanting pattern of friendly European papers, this group of Asian English-language newspapers shows a 1:2 proportion of favorably slanted to unfavorably slanted items compared with a 1:5 proportion for friendly European papers.

Papers	Slanting of story content by number of items		
	Favorable	Balanced	Unfavorable
Burma: New Times of Burma	1	6	2
India: The Statesman	5	49	15
Indonesia: Times of Indonesia	2	19	3
Pakistan: Dawn	7	43	11
Philippines: Manila Times	1	52	2
Thailand: Bangkok Post	3	41	2
Total items	19	210	35
Percentage	7%	80%	13%

Borba, the official organ of the communist government of Yugoslavia, slanted texts of stories more favorably toward the United States than any other foreign paper read. This surprising fact (which we have carefully double-checked) shows communist papers at both ends of the slanting continuum. It further suggests the ease with which a government-controlled press can swing to the current official line. When the policy toward the U.S. is hostile, the slanting is hostile, and vice versa. In nations where the press is free, slanting may or may not reflect official attitudes toward the United States, but it is directly related to the editor's view of the United States. The editors' views both influence and are influenced by their readers' attitudes. In our judgment the relatively high proportion of unfavorably slanted items

appearing in such highly respected European papers as The Times, Le Figare, Il Corriere della Sera and Svenska Dagbladet is due less to any basic hostility toward the United States than to the large importance their editors attach to the maintenance of civil liberties at home. This importance is magnified by the realization that how the United States resolves its civil-liberty issues will affect the course of the cold war which directly concerns their own countries.

These considerations explain why papers like the New Times of Burma, the Times of Indonesia and the Bangkok Post are so unmoved by reports of civil-liberty incidents in the United States. English language newspapers in Asian countries have negligibly small native readerships. They can accordingly view with detachment those events in the United States which, if generally known, could start emotional bonfires.

Slanting alone does not indicate the attitudes of a foreign newspaper toward the United States. A reliable index of a paper's attitudes can be approximated by combining two variables: slanting and the context in which any item is reported. More of this later on.

Amount of coverage. As already explained, our data were obtained by reading foreign newspapers during twelve short time periods in the years 1953-57. Not all papers were available for each of the time periods. Hence one might suppose that our findings would be different if we had read the foreign papers over longer periods of time. But we are sure that this is not so, for two reasons: we have read many papers for other time-periods and found them to fit the established pattern, and we selected our time periods to match the dates between which the most newsworthy incidents occurred in the United States.

Table 2. NUMBER OF ITEMS FOUND FOR EACH TIME PERIOD

Country	Paper	Year:	1953			1954					1955		1956		
		Period:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
		From:	1-1	6-3	6-12	5-18	5-27	6-29	12-3	12-22	6-1	9-18	2-1	9-1	Items
		To:	1-15	6-25	6-25	5-25	6-17	7-6	12-10	12-29	6-8	9-28	2-8	9-21	
	Neutral Papers														
Argentina	La Nacion		7	14	*	3	6	0	2	1	1	0	0	-	34
Burma	New Times of Burma		-	-	-	3	4	0	-	2	-	-	-	-	9
India	The Statesman		6	13	*	6	13	5	4	4	4	2	2	10	69
Indonesia	Times of Indonesia		10	-	7	1	2	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	24
Yugoslavia	Borba		2	3	*	2	4	1	4	0	0	1	1	-	18
	Total items:		25	30	7	15	29	7	10	10	5	3	3	10	154
	Unfriendly Papers														
Czechoslovakia	Rude Pravo		12	18	*	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	33
Egypt	Egyptian Gazette		3	7	*	13	15	1	3	1	1	1	3	-	48
Germany, E.	Neues Deutschland		30	-	36	1	5	0	0	2	-	4	3	17	98
Poland	Trybuna Ludu		6	28	*	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	4	12	57
U.S.S.R	Izvestiia		7	15	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	23
	Total items:		58	68	36	15	25	1	3	3	2	7	11	30	259
	Friendly Papers														
Austria	Arbeiter Zeitung		5	18	*	5	20	4	3	1	1	6	2	11	76
Canada	Winnipeg Free Press		9	15	*	14	15	3	8	2	2	12	11	37	128
Columbia	El Tiempo		9	25	*	5	20	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	61
England	The Times		5	18	*	5	17	3	3	1	5	3	8	17	85
France	Le Figaro		7	41	*	5	15	0	5	1	0	10	1	8	93
Germany, W.	Frankfurter Allgemeine		5	15	*	7	8	3	2	2	1	4	0	5	52
Italy	Il Corriere della Sera		3	20	*	2	5	3	1	0	0	1	0	-	35
Japan	Mainichi Shimbum		6	18	*	13	20	5	7	10	4	11	6	-	100
Mexico	El Universal		17	-	70	12	38	4	-	-	-	-	11	46	198
Pakistan	Dawn		11	28	*	5	9	0	3	2	2	1	0	-	61
Phillipines	Manila Times		11	-	14	2	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	55
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet		11	-	21	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
Switzerland	Neue Zurcher Zeitung		16	16	*	5	15	2	2	1	2	0	3	5	67
Thailand	Bangkok Post		4	-	13	3	16	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	46
Vatican City	L'Osservatore Romano		0	3	*	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	8	17
Israel	Haaretz		10	18	*	2	13	2	5	3	1	0	0	-	54
	Total items:		129	235	118	100	226	33	40	23	19	48	42	160	1,173
	Grand total:		212	333	161	130	280	41	53	36	26	58	56	200	1,586

* Included with Period 2.

\- Not read during period.

Differences in the number of items on U.S. civil-liberty incidents are shown in Table 2. A dash (-) means that this paper was not read for the time period indicated. A zero (0) means that the paper was read and no civil-liberty item was found in the time sample. In this table as in following tables the differences in number of items are more pertinent to the questions we are trying to answer than the differences in column inches are. Foreign papers differ widely in the amount of space they give to foreign news. They differ less in the number of items on civil-liberty incidents in the United States which they publish on any one day. Papers with small foreign news sections tend to print shorter rather than fewer items than papers which give larger space to foreign news.

The most startling fact in Table 2 is that the four Iron Curtain papers--Rude Pravo, Neues Deutschland, Trybunu Ludu and Izvestiia--almost ignored our civil-liberty incidents of 1954 and 1955. The pattern was set by Izvestiia, which published 22 items in 1953, none in the next two years, and only one in 1956. One plausible explanation is that Izvestiia pulled its punches during the period of the "Geneva spirit." This explanation is consistent with the data in Table 3 which shows the number of items and total column inches by stories. The four "Other Stories" and the one McCarthy item (columns 9 and 16) published by Izvestiia all appeared in 1953. Even in September 1956, when all other papers carried lengthy accounts of race riots in the South, Izvestiia printed only one short 9-inch item.

Other papers differed widely in their coverage of the various stories. In addition to the Winnipeg Free Press and El Universal, which as papers of neighboring countries naturally report U.S. news extensively, only The Times (London) covered all stories listed in Table 3.

Table 3

Number of Items and Column Inches Found for Each Story

	(1) U.N. Employees Dismissed Jan., June 1953 May, June 1954*		(2) Rosenbergs Jan. 1-15, 1953		(3) Rosenbergs June 3-11, 1953		(4) Rosenbergs (Basic Period) June 12-25 1953	
	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.
Neutral Papers								
La Nacion	5	21	2	6	3	12	10	121
New Times of Burma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Statesman	2	8	0	0	2	4	5	54
Times of Indonesia	6	41	2	8	1	20	5	69
Borba	2	37	0	0	0	0	2	3
Totals	15	107	4	14	6	36	22	247
Unfriendly Papers								
Rude Pravo	3	10	0	0	3	15	12	176
Egyptian Gazette	2	11	0	0	0	0	7	49
Neues Deutschland	1	5	25	351	-	-	35	509
Trybuna Ludu	1	4	2	54	6	70	22	611
Izvestiia	3	11	0	0	0	0	13	60
Total	10	41	27	405	9	85	89	1405
Friendly Papers								
Arbeiter Zeitung	3	32	3	10	2	28	7	49
Winnipeg Free Press	3	15	3	19	1	9	7	104
El Tiempo	1	6	5	32	5	33	16	171
The Times	5	91	2	17	3	9	9	80
Le Figaro	2	3	7	83	9	36	32	282
Frankfurter Allgemeine	1	1	4	29	2	5	4	17
Il Corriere della Sera	0	0	2	50	4	35	15	353
Mainichi Shimbum	0	0	2	6	6	20	11	60
El Universal	8	43	8	66	-	-	67	803
Dawn	8	33	7	30	6	15	15	131
Manila Times	4	12	1	4	-	-	13	102
Svenska Dagladet	2	6	0	0	-	-	14	106
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	7	40	2	3	0	0	8	69
Bangkok Post	2	6	1	8	-	-	10	70
L'Osservatore Romano	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	19
Haaretz	6	17	7	41	4	13	11	157
Total	52	305	54	398	42	203	242	2573
Grand total	77	453	85	817	57	324	353	4225

Note: - indicates that the period of the given story was not read.
*Jan. 1-15, June 12-25, 1953 and May 27-June 17, 1954.
**Jan. 1-15, June 3-25, 1953; May 18-25, June 29-July 6, Dec. 22-29, 1954.
***May 18-June 17, June 29-July 6, 1954.

Table 3 (continued)

	(5) Books in U.S.I.S. Libraries June 12-25, 1953		(6) Supreme Court Desegregation Decision May 18-June 17, 1954		(7) Army-McCarthy Hearings May 27-June 17, 1954		(8) McCarthy Censured Dec. 3-10 1954	
	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.
Neutral Papers								
La Nacion	0	0	3	17	3	32	2	9
New Times of Burma	-	-	2	48	4	44	-	-
The Statesman	4	29	4	38	3	33	4	61
Times of Indonesia	1	4	1	8	1	4	-	-
Borba	0	0	2	19	3	20	4	23
Totals	5	33	12	130	14	133	10	93
Unfriendly Papers								
Rude Pravo	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egyptian Gazette	0	0	5	49	11	76	3	26
Neues Deutschland	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trybuna Ludu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Izvestiia	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	11	5	49	11	76	3	26
Friendly Papers								
Arbeiter Zeitung	1	3	3	12	10	68	3	34
Winnipeg Free Press	4	73	7	67	10	143	8	104
El Tiempo	0	0	3	50	11	164	-	-
The Times	2	27	5	53	6	69	3	51
Le Figaro	0	0	1	19	8	32	5	79
Frankfurter Allgemeine	2	18	4	71	3	39	2	27
Il Corriere della Sera	0	0	1	22	1	3	1	3
Mainichi Shimbum	0	0	9	62	10	56	5	42
El Universal	2	8	15	299	24	483	-	-
Dawn	1	16	6	61	5	17	3	7
Manila Times	1	11	3	19	10	49	-	-
Svenska Dagbladet	6	37	6	21	-	-	-	-
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	4	27	5	48	11	99	2	42
Bangkok Post	2	14	2	23	8	73	-	-
L'Osservatore Romano	0	0	2	3	1	3	1	3
Haaretz	0	0	4	52	4	8	5	31
Total	25	234	76	882	122	1306	38	423
Grand total	34	278	93	1061	147	1515	51	542

Table 3 (continued)

	(9) McCarthy Misc. 1953-54**		(10) Oppenheimer vs. A.E.C. May-June-July 1954***		(11) Ladejinsky Case Dec. 22-29, 1954 Feb. 1 - 8, 1956	
	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.
Neutral Papers						
La Nacion	0	0	1	4	1	7
New Times of Burma	1	20	0	0	-	-
The Statesman	3	24	10	81	3	22
Times of Indonesia	0	0	1	3	0	0
Borba	0	0	2	16	0	0
Totals	4	44	14	104	4	29
Unfriendly Papers						
Rude Pravo	1	5	0	0	0	0
Egyptian Gazette	5	31	5	46	2	10
Neues Deutschland	2	4	1	35	0	0
Trybuna Ludu	0	0	0	0	0	0
Izvestiia	1	15	0	0	0	0
Totals	9	55	6	81	2	10
Friendly Papers						
Arbeiter Zeitung	6	51	8	30	0	0
Winnipeg Free Press	6	57	3	30	2	17
El Tiempo	7	111	5	42	-	-
The Times	3	30	12	188	1	9
Le Figaro	3	55	4	79	0	0
Frankfurter Allgemeine	5	23	6	70	1	4
Il Corriere della Sera	1	20	6	162	0	0
Mainichi Shimbum	10	82	12	82	9	53
El Universal	1	4	6	73	1	3
Dawn	3	27	0	0	1	6
Manila Times	0	0	1	9	-	-
Svenska Dagbladet	11	113	-	-	-	-
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	4	24	3	20	1	3
Bangkok Post	2	12	8	54	-	-
L'Osservatore Romano	0	0	1	3	0	0
Haaretz	1	24	4	21	2	6
Total	63	633	79	863	18	101
Grand total	76	732	99	1048	24	140

Table 3 (continued)

	(12) Supreme Court Implementation of Desegregation June 1-8, 1955		(13) Emmett Till Case Sept. 18-28, 1955		(14) Autherine Lucy Feb. 1-8, 1956	
	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.
Neutral Papers						
La Nacion	1	3	0	0	0	0
New Times of Burma	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Statesman	2	9	1	3	2	11
Times of Indonesia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Borba	0	0	0	0	1	2
Totals	3	12	1	3	3	13
Unfriendly Papers						
Rudo Pravo	0	0	1	4	1	1
Egyptian Gazette	1	8	1	6	2	10
Neues Deutschland	-	-	3	29	1	3
Trybuna Ludu	1	9	1	8	2	8
Izvestiia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	17	6	47	6	22
Friendly Papers						
Arbeiter Zeitung	2	3	3	23	2	6
Winnipeg Free Press	2	51	9	140	6	91
El Tiempo	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Times	6	46	2	11	3	19
Le Figaro	0	0	7	116	1	6
Frankfurter Allgemeine	1	4	3	26	0	0
Il Corriere della Sera	0	0	1	10	0	0
Mainichi Shimbum	2	11	8	54	5	49
El Universal	-	-	-	-	7	47
Dawn	2	9	0	0	0	0
Manila Times	-	-	-	-	-	-
Svenska Dagbladet	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	1	17	0	0	1	4
Bangkok Post	-	-	-	-	-	-
L'Osservatore Romano	1	3	0	0	0	0
Haaretz	1	3	0	0	0	0
Total	18	147	33	380	25	222
Grand total	23	176	40	430	34	257

Table 3 (continued

	(15) Race Riots Sept. 1-21, 1956		(16) Other Stories		(17) Totals		(18) Number of Periods Read
	No.	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.	
Neutral Papers							
La Nacion	-	-	3	9	34	241	11
New Times of Burma	-	-	2	23	9	135	4
The Statesman	5	35	19	151	69	563	12
Times of Indonesia	-	-	6	46	24	203	6
Borba	-	-	2	48	18	168	11
Totals	5	35	32	277	154	1310	
Unfriendly Papers							
Rude Pravo	-	-	10	80	33	297	11
Egyptian Gazette	-	-	4	20	48	342	11
Neues Deutschland	14	146	15	87	98	1171	10
Trybuna Ludu	9	47	13	168	57	979	12
Izvestiia	1	9	4	51	23	149	12
Totals	24	202	46	406	259	2938	
Friendly Papers							
Arbeiter Zeitung	11	88	12	110	76	547	12
Winnipeg Free Press	36	652	21	166	128	1738	12
El Tiempo	-	-	8	111	61	720	6
The Times	12	127	11	91	85	918	12
Le Figaro	7	28	7	29	93	847	12
Frankfurter Allgemeine	4	42	10	86	52	462	12
Il Corriere della Sera	-	-	3	87	35	745	11
Mainichi Shimbum	-	-	11	52	100	629	11
El Universal	46	555	13	141	198	2525	7
Dawn	-	-	4	16	61	368	11
Manila Times	13	77	9	64	55	347	5
Svenska Dagbladet	-	-	6	44	45	327	3
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	5	17	13	103	67	516	12
Bangkok Post	7	58	4	18	46	336	6
L'Osservatore Romano	8	73	0	0	17	107	11
Haaretz	-	-	5	19	54	392	11
Total	149	1717	137	1137	1173	11,524	
Grand total	178	1954	215	1820	1586	15,772	

Table 4

CIVIL LIBERTIES ISSUES NOT REPORTED**
(x indicates an issue not reported)

Papers***	U.N. Employees Dismissed	Books in U.S.I.S. Libraries	Supreme Court Desegregation Decision	McCarthy-Army Hearings	McCarthy Censure	Oppenheimer	Ladijinsky	Emmett Till	Autherine Lucy
Neutral									
La Nacion	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	x	x
The Statesman	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Times of Indonesia	.	.	.	.	*	.	x	*	*
Borba	.	x	.	.	.	.	x	x	.
Egyptian Gazette	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Unfriendly									
Rude Pravo	.	.	x	x	x	x	x	.	.
Neues Deutschland	.	.	x	x	x	.	x	.	.
Trybuna Ludu	.	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	.
Izvestiia	.	.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Friendly									
Arbeiter Zeitung	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.
Winnipeg Free Press	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
El Tiempe	.	x	.	.	*	.	*	*	*
The Times	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Le Figaro	.	x	.	.	.	.	x	.	.
Frankfurter Allgemeine	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
Il Corriere della Sera	x	x	.	.	.	.	x	.	x
Mainichi Shimbum	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
El Universal	.	.	.	.	*	.	.	*	.
Dawn	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	x	x
Manila Times	.	.	.	.	*	.	*	*	*
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.
Bangkok Post	.	.	.	.	*	.	*	*	*
L'Osservatore Romano	x	x	.	.	.	.	*	*	*
Haaretz	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	x	x

*Period not read.

**Since the execution of the Rosenbergs and the September 1956 race riots were reported by all papers read, they have not been included in this table.

***New Times of Burma and Svenska Dagbladet not included because of small number of periods read. The Egyptian Gazette has been grouped with the neutral papers in order to show the uniformity of the communist press.

The issues which received the widest coverage were the execution of the Rosenbergs (June 12-15, 1953), the Army-McCarthy hearings (May 27-June 17, 1954), and race riots in the South (September 1-21, 1956). If all 26 of our papers had been available for a check of the September 1956 period, it is quite possible that the September race riots would have had best coverage.

Issues not covered at all by the foreign papers appear in Table 4. This table supports what we have already stated: during 1954 and 1955 the Iron Curtain papers systematically avoided U.S. civil-liberty incidents. From the communist point of view, this policy was perhaps required by the "be nice to the United States" line of those years. In sharp contrast is the communist reporting of the Rosenberg case. Chapter III shows that the communist press was stymied until it became clear that the Rosenbergs would die before naming their associates. But when the Rosenbergs became martyrs to the communist cause, the communist press went all out. The Rosenbergs became "peace-fighters" and "victims of blood-thirsty imperialists." During its several weeks of reporting the Rosenberg case, Trybunu Ludu of Warsaw never once mentioned the crime for which the Rosenbergs were executed.

Table 5 shows the vocal areas for contrast with the silent areas in Table 4. This table says that the Rosenbergs case rated tops or close to tops for the neutral, unfriendly and friendly papers combined. The only other issue accorded comparable attention by the foreign papers of all three groups is the school segregation issue of September 1956.

Other issues of large interest to the neutral and friendly press were the Supreme Court desegregation decision, the McCarthy-Army hearings, and the censure of McCarthy. It is noteworthy that for three European papers--Arbeiter Zeitung, The Times and Le Figaro--the Supreme Court desegregation decision did not appear in the top five issues. The McCarthy censure pro-

Table 5

Relative Emphasis of Issues

Table shows the five issues on which each paper carried the most items. (The numbers from 1 to 5 mark the five issues in descending order.)

Papers**	(1) U.N. Employees Dismissed	(2) Books in U.S.I.S. Libraries	(3) Execution of the Rosenbergs June 12-25, 1953	(4) Supreme Court Desegregation Decision	(5) McCarthy-Army Hearings	(6) McCarthy Censure	(7) Oppenheimer	(8) Ladijinsky	(9) Emmett Till	(10) Autherine Lucy	(11) September 1956 Race Riots
Neutral Papers											
La Nacion	2	.	1	4	3	5	.	.	.	.	*
The Statesman	.	.	2	5	.	4	1	.	.	.	3
Times of Indonesia	1	5	2	3	4	*	.	.	*	*	*
Borda	3	.	.	4	2	1	5	.	.	.	*
Egyptian Gazette	.	.	2	3	1	5	4	.	.	.	*
Unfriendly											
Rude Pravo	2	3	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	5	*
Neues Deutschland	5	.	1	.	.	.	4	.	3	.	2
Trybuna Ludu	5	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	3	2
Izvestiia***	2	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Friendly											
Arbeiter Zeitung	.	.	4	.	2	5	3	.	.	.	1
Winnipeg Free Press	.	.	5	.	2	4	.	.	3	.	1
El Tiempo	5	.	1	4	2	*	3	*	*	*	*
The Times	5	.	3	.	4	.	1	.	.	.	2
Le Figaro	.	.	1	.	2	5	.	.	3	.	4
Frankfurter Allgemeine	.	.	4	2	5	.	1	.	.	.	3
Il Corriere della Sera	.	.	1	3	5	5	2	.	4	.	*
Mainichi Shimbum	.	.	2	4	3	.	1	5	.	.	*
El Universal	5	.	1	4	3	*	.	.	*	.	2
Dawn	2	.	1	3	4	5	.	.	.	.	*
Manila Times	4	.	1	5	3	*	.	*	*	*	2
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	3	.	2	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	5
Bangkok Post	.	.	1	5	2	*	3	*	*	*	4
L'Osservatore	.	.	2	3	5	5	5	.	.	.	1
Haaretz	2	.	1	4	.	3	5	.	.	.	*

*Period not read.

**New Times of Burma and Svenska Dagbladet not included because of small number of periods read. The Egyptian Gazette has been grouped with the neutral papers in order to show the uniformity of the communist press.

***Izvestiia only reported four of these issues.

ceedings were also below the salt. McCarthy ranked fifth in the Arbeiter Zeitung and Le Figaro and lower than fifth in The Times.

Since the Supreme Court desegregation decision and the censure of McCarthy were the only civil-liberty incidents in our sample which gave us plus marks in foreign opinion, a foreign newspaper's failure to report these incidents could indicate an unfriendly attitude toward the U.S.

An index of a foreign newspaper's friendliness. Slanting and the context in which any event is presented fairly indicate a foreign editor's attitude toward the United States. Of the two factors, slanting is the more obvious but may be misleading.

Chapter II explains how our "index of friendliness" was determined. Essentially the method is to assign plus-weights for favorable slanting and for events reported in official contexts; it gives minus-weights to unfavorable slanting and to the reporting of events in non-official contexts. Each item was given three weights: one for slanting of headlines, one for slanting of content, and one for selection of context. Where slanting was neutral and context was balanced, equal plus and minus weights were assigned to the item.

The ratios of the total plus weights and the total minus weights for all reports on any one civil-liberty incident constitute that paper's "ratio of friendliness" on the given issue. By comparing such ratios in any sample of papers one can rank the papers according to their relative friendliness toward the United States with reference to their reporting of any one issue. By combining the respective weights on several issues--preferably not all civil-liberty issues--we can index the friendliness toward the United States of any foreign newspaper in relation to other foreign newspapers.

Table 6 ranks 14 papers from the most friendly Manila Times (Philippines) to the most hostile Neues Deutschland (Soviet Germany). The ranks on the

Table 6

Papers ranked in order of decreasing friendliness towards the United States with reference to each of three issues and to the three issues combined.

Papers	Rankings in decreasing order of friendliness			
	Combined*	Rosenbergs (1953)	Oppenheimer (1954)	Race Riots (1956)
Manila Times	1	4	1	1
Bangkok Post	2	3	5	2
L'Osservatore Romano	3	2	1	5
Frankfurter Allgemeine	4	7	3	11
Neue Zurcher Zeitung	5	6	4	9
El Universal	6	9	10	3
Statesman	7	1	9	10
The Times	8	10	8	4
Winnipeg Free Press	9	8	7	6
Arbeiter Zeitung	10	5	11	7
Le Figaro	11	11	6	8
Izvestiia	12	12	14	14
Trybunu Ludu	13	14	14	12
Neues Deutschland	14	13	12	13

*Combined rankings were determined in part by giving weights to the number of items carried on any issue, not simply by averaging rankings for the three issues (Cf. Chapter II, pp. 00).

three issues are the most consistent for the least friendly papers--the three communist papers at the foot of the list. There are wide discrepancies in the middle of the list, notably El Universal (Mexico), The Statesman (India) and the (London) Times, but these discrepancies would be rounded off if the papers were indexed on a much larger number of issues.

In later chapters the foreign newspapers are scored by ratios between favorable and unfavorable weights, thereby revealing differences which the mere rank orders conceal. One fact thus concealed in Table 6 is that for the three communist papers the ratios of negative to positive are 5:1, 10:1 and 11:1 respectively. For the three friendliest papers at the top of the list, the ratios of positive to negative weights are respectively 4:1, 2:1 and 2:1. In short, the friendly papers are much less friendly than the hostile papers are hostile.

Also not shown by Table 6 is the fact that the papers are separated by unequal distances on the friendliness ranking. The papers tend to bunch together at the center. They are widely separated at the bottom and less widely separated at the top.

Differences in communist reporting. One of our most unexpected findings is that various communist papers differed sharply in the manner in which they treated U.S. civil-liberty incidents. We have already noted Borba (Yugoslavia) slanted news of U.S. civil-liberty incidents more favorably than any other foreign paper slanted them. But there is also a considerable difference between Izvestiia and the East-European satellite papers.

Neues Deutschland, the East German party paper which our reading showed to be the most venemous of any Iron Curtain paper toward the United States, may be doing us more good than harm. Its red-hot fulminations against the United States suggest a motor racing out of gear. We doubt that many adult

readers of Neues Deutschland (and we would give a lot to know how many adult Germans do read it) are taken in. The "news" is so obviously fabricated that it should nudge most adult readers to the other side, but it might fool the youngsters.

Izvestiia, the official Russian paper, is more restrained and probably carries more conviction. Its gears seem to mesh. Izvestiia was systematically compared with Pravda, the party organ, and no important differences were found.

Of the other two satellite papers read, Trybunu Ludu, the Polish party paper, behaved like Neues Deutschland until the Poznan riots; after that it became somewhat more restrained. Rude Pravo, the Czech party paper, was less extreme in its denunciations of the United States than either the Polish or Czech papers, but considerably more vehement than Izvestiia.

Sources of U.S. Civil-liberty news. Our study showed that the primary sources for all news of civil-liberty incidents in the United States are the American wire services, UP, AP and INS, in that order. Because some newspapers did not indicate the source of their information and others were in the habit of printing "wire-service round-ups," we cannot supply adequate statistical support for this statement. Our impression is that at least two-thirds of all news items came from U.S. wire services. Next in order of importance were Reuters and AFP (Agence France Presse). In general the two last-mentioned wire services presented news of U.S. civil-liberty incidents less favorably than did the U.S. wire services.

Tass was a major news source for communist papers. One of its favorite tricks is to open its dispatches with the words "according to Western wire-service reports...." This would then be followed by a quotation from a UP, AP or INS dispatch reporting the comments of some irresponsible and publicity-seeking individual.

The United States might have more friends abroad if Western news services could be dissuaded from reporting the type of irresponsible and sensational comments which may have a high news value at home, but merely serve to discredit the United States in foreign eyes and tend to spark foreign propaganda fires against the United States.

Relatively few items originated with a paper's own U.S. correspondent. Most of the papers we read had only one such correspondent who was obliged to cover all types of news. Nevertheless "own correspondents'" reports were often penetrating and showed a competent grasp of the issues involved. "Own correspondents'" reports were generally more critical and disapproving than wire-service reports.

Another source of civil-liberty news were American columnists whose columns were syndicated in some foreign English-language newspapers.

Editorials. Very few of the foreign papers we read distinguished factual reports from editorial comment. Hence it was not always clear whether a given item was best described as a news report, a feature, or an editorial.

On the whole editorials revealed a surprising knowledge of facts, a sign that U.S. wire-service reports were carefully read by the editors. But foreign newspapers rarely use the term "civil liberties" or its equivalent. Issues are generally discussed in terms of universal justice, human rights, or possible effects on the cold war.

Questions for further research. This overview concludes with a reference to the further research which is needed to develop our results.

1. One study proposed would exploit evidence in our files already coded but not processed for lack of funds. The point of the study would be to learn which papers tend to stress which aspects of civil-liberty issues and why. This

question has large theoretical importance for the study of our foreign relations, not merely in the civil-liberty context but in others as well.

To Americans it is normally clear which American minority is involved in a civil-liberty issue and which minority rights are endangered, but foreign papers do not view such issues as we view them. Rights may seem to be endangered for different reasons depending on an observer's point of view. For example four different views were expressed or implied by some foreign newspapers in the Rosenberg case:

--"The Rosenbergs were spies and justly convicted according to the laws of the United States." So expressed, the case involves no question of civil rights at all.

--"The Rosenbergs were spies and properly convicted but they were given a heavier penalty than they would have received had Americans not been obsessed by a fear of Russia." This is to say, the punishment did not fit the crime.

--"The Rosenbergs might not have been convicted on the kind of evidence presented if there had not been such fear of losing atomic secrets to Russia." This is to say that the Rosenbergs did not receive a fair trial.

--"The Rosenbergs would perhaps not have been convicted and would perhaps have received a lighter sentence if they had not been Jews." This is to say their civil rights were endangered because they belonged to a minority ethnic-religious group, Jews.

In similar fashion various foreign papers in discussing the Ralph Bunche investigation implied that his investigation was mainly due to the facts that (1) he was a U.N. employee, (2) he was a Negro, or (3) he had belonged to leftist organizations. The first implies a threat to civil liberties because of membership in the minority group of government employees; the second,

because of membership in a racial minority; the third, because of membership in a political minority.

Many papers gave certain aspects their entire attention, thereby seriously distorting the issues as presented by the more responsible American press. Some papers placed no undue stress on any of these aspects.

2. A second proposal is to test and refine our method for ranking papers according to friendliness toward the United States. The subject matter would not be confined to civil-liberty issues. Such additional tests would be based on a more adequate sample of foreign newspapers obtained by current subscription and not restricted to microfilm. The results of a tested scaling device would serve many practical purposes in international communication.

3. A third proposal is to determine the effects of selected and typical wire-service reports on the presentation of civil-liberty issues and other touchy issues in the foreign press. How can wire-service reports be modified in their own commercial interests, so as to invite less flagrant distortion of the issues by foreign editors?

December 4, 1957

Mr. Herbert Solow
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Solow:

Enclosed are copies of newspaper clippings that may be of some help to you in planning your case study. Also enclosed is the report on a survey of "Post-War Industrial Development in the South" prepared for us by Hammer and Company.

As soon as you have finished with the report, please return it to me. If we can be of help to you as your project progresses, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

VIA AIR MAIL

December 6, 1957

Mr. W. H. Ferry
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ping:

Thanks for your letters and for the copy of Carl Friedrich's book that you are sending me. I am pretty hardened to formidable looking tomes by now and will look forward to reading this one by Friedrich, whose work I know slightly and admire.

Herbert Solow called me the other day. I hake sent him some material from our files that may be helpful to him by way of background . If he comes down here, or if he would like some specific inquiry made on the ground, perhaps we can help further. His project strikes me as a very interesting and potentially productive one.

Ashmore was here for a speech right after the Fund's last board meeting, and I too was struck with how discouraged he feels. Certainly he has good reason, and maybe we are in for what Harris Wofford (who was also just here) has called a "season of suffering." But I remind myself that good breaks as well as bad ones can come quickly in complex and contested situations like this one. There is some evidence that the ominous look of things is making the religious leadership and some of the "moderates" more aware of the need for positive words and actions. The statement by the eighty Atlanta ministers, enclosed, is one of the straws in the wind.

I expect to be in New York again for a couple of days in about two weeks. Circumstances permitting, I will hope for a chance to say hello.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures. "In The Hearts Of Men"

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your usual thoughtful response. I passed it along, of course, to Elmo, and I suppose he has handed your letter on to Dean Griswold.

Ashmore was terribly depressed when he was here for our annual meeting. He doesn't see that there is much to be hoped for in Little Rock and he thinks the chances are 7 out of 10 there will be a similar calamity in Texas next semester.

I appreciate your offer to sound off as asked. We'll try not to bother you, for we appreciate how heaping your plate is right now. As a slight token of gratitude, I am sending you separately a recent book by Carl Friedrich. It looks and sounds forbidding, and it is forbidding. But I think you may find it useful, anyway. If the going in the middle chapter is too gooey, just pass on to the conclusion. The first and last chapters will tell you most but not all of how one ought to think of constitutional reasons of state.

With best regards,

W. H. Ferry

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter. I haven't had a chance to talk with others about your suggestions, but at first glance they seem to suggest a rather larger commitment than our Board has up to this time been disposed to make. But I will report reactions as soon as I have accumulated them.

This letter is mainly to introduce Herbert Solow, a Fortune editor now on leave of absence, who has undertaken a brief investigation for the Project on the Corporation. This is the story-behind-the-story of corporate decisions to move into or not to move into the South because of the race situation.

Solow will be getting in touch with you soon to get your suggestions about appropriate corporations for study. We are interested in corporations that have reached such decisions since the Supreme Court decisions, that is, in the last two or three years. I told Solow that if you didn't know the answer right off quick you would get it for him. Incidentally, I am writing notes of introduction to Ashmore and to Hodding Carter too.

Best regards,

W. H. Ferry

cc: Mr. Herbert Solow

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 11, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert M. Hutchins
cc: Messrs. Harry Ashmore, Harold Fleming, M. Albert Linton, J. Howard Marshall, Elmo Roper

FROM: W. H. Ferry

SUBJECT: Commission of Herbert Solow

Toward the end of November Herbert Solow, a Fortune editor, was retained to do a Mitgang-type case study in a corporation that had, since the Supreme Court school decisions, decided to expand into the South. The object was to discover to what extent non-economic factors entered the decision.

Solow was unsuccessful in locating a subject, despite strenuous efforts and suggestions by members of our Board and consultants to the Fund. We discussed with Solow other possible ways of producing this data, but were in the end unable to discover a satisfactory formula. He has relinquished the commission, and his summary report is attached.

M E M O R A N D U M

December 9, 1957

FROM: Herbert Solow

TO: W. H. Ferry

SUBJECT: Report on two weeks' study for the Corporation Project

My object was to identify a major corporation which, in making a decision concerning expansion of plant in the South since the 1954 school integration ruling, took into account non-economic factors, and to secure its cooperation in analyzing the decision-making process. As authorized, I offered always to keep the identity of the corporation confidential as among the Committee of Consultants.

My sources were as follows:

1. Reports from a string of correspondents on effects of the integration ruling on industrial movements. These originated from many major southern cities and northern industrial centers and were made on two occasions (early 1956 and late 1957).

2. Talks with Messrs. Ashmore, Fleming, and Carter.

3. Talks with three consulting firms concerned with plant location.

4. Exploratory interviews with a dozen officers of major and representative corporations (officers or high executives).

My experience, already reported verbally to you, was as follows:

1. Failure to identify a corporation fitting the description. If there is one, there seem to be business reasons for avoiding public identification. All executives stated that all decisions were made in business terms, that they knew of no reference to other factors. Some stated that the risk of interference with production is a business factor, whether arising from integration-induced tension or other sources.

2. Some sources agreed to talk even to the extent indicated here only on condition that their names not be disclosed by the reporter to anybody. In one such case, the executive made substantially the following statement: "If any participant in the decision-making process had any individual motives of a non-business nature, that could not have been a factor in the decision and I would advise him not to discuss it.

3. It was also stated while there is a basis for making confidential statements to a responsible journalist in certain situations, statements made by the same source to outlets not covered by the professional code of journalists must be regarded as potentially public statements.

It was this experience that caused me to voice discouragement and that led to our exchange of December 4 and 5.

Hold for Fleming
HH

JAMES STUART MONTGOMERY
10 Arthur Road
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

Please Return JF

Dear Mr. Ferry:

Thank you for your letter of Dec. 6 and also for passing my suggestion along to Mr. Fleming.

Here are some all too brief answers to the various points you raise, points which I am sure would be raised by many others.

The plan of diffusing the Negro population could be successful, if at all, only if backed by an extensive public relations campaign. The idea would have to be "sold" both to the communities which would be asked to co-operate, and to the Negroes themselves.

As to why the Negroes should be "uprooted" — they would not be uprooted any more than were the Jews at the time of the Exodus or the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. The Negroes would simply be offered an opportunity of bettering their condition — which they could accept or refuse as they pleased.

Admittedly the plan is a compromise and therefore will not be completely satisfactory to any of the various interests concerned. But a compromise is often the best and quickest way to settle a vexed question.

Admittedly, both as regards segregation (in schools and otherwise) and the right of franchise, the law is on the side of the Negroes. But the late unlamented 18th Amendment offers a glaring example of the difficulty of enforcing laws which are repugnant to the community — and the evils which can arise from attempts to enforce them.

I am afraid that the present situation bears a close resemblance to that obtaining prior to the Civil War. In the earlier years of the 19th Century there were a number of persons in the South who were not too happy about slavery. But slavery was a fact, involving many and complex questions, which might have been solved by a reasoned and realistic approach. The crusading spirit of the well meaning but shortsighted Abolitionists made such an approach impossible. The net result of their efforts was to alienate even the anti-slavery elements in the South and

JAMES STUART MONTGOMERY
10 Arthur Road
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

to close all ~~ave~~ avenues to a reasonable rapprochement.

I believe the present insistence on anti-segregation laws is building up a similar situation, to the detriment both of the Negro and the nation.

If we are seriously concerned for the welfare of either, it is high time we sought some solution which does not depend entirely on laws that are easier to write than to enforce, ~~a~~ and which, even if enforced, intensify rather than diminish racial prejudice.

Sincerely
James Stuart Montgomery

Dec. 12, 1957

December 16, 1957

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ping:

I think your response to Mr. Montgomery was exactly right. Next thing you know, somebody will propose that we diffuse the non-conformists, so that nobody will have to put up with too much of their yammering. If so, we can use a few more down here!

Sorry the Solow study didn't work out. Maybe his discovery that nobody will discuss the matter at all is as important a finding as any the study might have yielded.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

W. H. FERRY

RECEIVED DEC - 9 1957

Dear Harold —

I said thanks, but no interest. The idea seems immoral or evasive even though well-intentioned. Ok. return a

Best

Fry

December 31, 1957

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ping:

Thanks for letting me see the latest from the pen of Mr. Montgomery. To lift a phrase from the inimitable Grover Hall, who was speaking of the Southern Nieman program, "The idea is spinach, and to hell with it." Even an old spinach-fancier like me can't see this one.

All the best in the new year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl: N. Y. Times Reprint

The Fund for the Republic

announces the

Robert E. Sherwood Awards

for 1956-57

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD, a director of The Fund for the Republic at the time of his death, will be remembered for his contribution to the entertainment arts. He will be remembered just as long for his dedication to liberty and his service to freedom.

To honor the ideals for which he lived, The Fund for the Republic in 1955 established the Robert E. Sherwood Awards.

Like its former director, the Fund has sought means of advancing understanding and discussion of the liberties set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. When the commercial television industry turns its talents to the subjects of freedom and justice, it can make an unmatched contribution to their advancement and understanding. When television produces programs of great taste, distinction and courage in these areas, it should be honored. This is the intention of The Fund for the Republic in offering the Robert E. Sherwood Awards.

Three major awards for the best television programs dealing with freedom and justice:

$20,000
for a network drama

$20,000
for a network documentary

$15,000
for a production by an independent station in either the drama or the documentary class

Jurors

for the 1956-57
Robert E. Sherwood Awards:

Kermit Bloomgarden
Theatre Producer

Buell G. Gallagher
President, College of the City of New York

Robert M. Purcell
President, **KEVE**
Minneapolis, Minn.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

James J. Rorimer
Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Gilbert Seldes
Author and Critic

Robert Taft, Jr.
Attorney
Taft, Stettinius & Hollister

Harrison Tweed
Attorney
Milbank, Tweed, Hope & Hadley

Philip H. Willkie
President,
Rushville, Ind., National Bank

1955-56 Winners

of the
Robert E. Sherwood Awards:

"I Was Accused"
by Jerome Coopersmith.
Produced by David Susskind and directed by William Corrigan for the Armstrong Circle Theatre, National Broadcasting Company.

"Tragedy in a Temporary Town"
by Reginald Rose.
Produced by Herbert Brodkin and directed by Sidney Lumet for the Alcoa Hour, National Broadcasting Company.

"Desegregation: Baltimore Report"
by Mrs. Gray Johnson Poole.
Produced by Herbert B. Cahan and directed by Kennard Calfee, Station WAAM, Baltimore, Md.

The Fund for the Republic welcomes nominations of programs from anyone—preferably in advance of showing. All nominations and inquiries—either mail or phone—should be addressed to: Robert E. Sherwood Awards, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MUrray Hill 2-1250.

The following general rules govern the Robert E. Sherwood Awards:

1. All dramatic or documentary programs dealing with a topic related to freedom and justice telecast on commercial stations in the United States and its territories between October 1, 1956 and May 31, 1957 are eligible for consideration, with the exception of programs in which the Fund may be involved.
2. Any program using a dramatic format and treating its subject fictionally will be considered in the drama category.
3. Any program dealing with actual events, either historical or contemporary, treated in any form, will be considered in the documentary category. Proof of authenticity should be available if requested by the jury.
4. Kinescopes or films must be available for any programs nominated in the event the jurors are unable to see the telecasts. Scripts will not be sufficient.
5. Any program telecast over a station owned or operated by a network will be considered in the network category.
6. Any non-network program telecast over an independently owned or operated station, regardless of its network affiliations, will be considered in the independent-station category.
7. The producer, director and writer of a winning program will share in the award on a basis to be determined by the jurors. The winning network or station will receive a citation.
8. In the case of a tie, the award will be divided equally between the winning programs.
9. Citations of honorable mention may be given to programs or program series below the prize-winning category.
10. The decisions of the jury will be final.

Three major awards for the best television programs dealing with freedom and justice:

$20,000
for a network drama

$20,000
for a network documentary

$15,000
for a production by an independent station in either the drama or the documentary class

The Fund for the Republic, Inc. 60 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.
San Francisco, Calif.

March 31, 1958

The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us a copy of your booklet -- The American Tradition in 1957 -- which was advertised in the AFL-CIO Education News and Views for February 1958.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

FCL:s

File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

TWO-YEAR REPORT

GRANTEE	*Date authorized*	*Amount authorized*
NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YWCA *cont'd*		
Terminal grant for the College and University Division's educational program on race relations in the South and Southwest.	May, 1957	15,000
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.		
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations		
For educational work in race relations in the south and administrative assistance in the national office during 1958 and 1959.	September, 1957	30,000
United Church Women		
Terminal grant for educational program in race relations by the Department of Christian Social Relations.	May, 1957	20,000
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.		
To support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to assist the central office in Atlanta for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1957.	September, 1956	110,000
To support the Council's educational program in the South for the three-year period beginning October 1, 1957, or such longer period as the Council may determine.	May, 1957	200,000
To help defray the cost of the staff work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in its work in western Arkansas.	September, 1957	1,500
For work in the Little Rock area by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.	September and November, 1957	1,000
For the purchase of the booklet, "South Carolinians Speak," by the Southern Regional Council, to be distributed by the State Councils associated with the Council.	May, 1958	1,250
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON		
For a special research project for the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian.	July, 1957	15,487

BULLETIN · MAY 1958

for the Republic

The seventh number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties; and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FREE SOCIETY

"The Apostolic Power of Ideas"

"The principal reason why civil liberties as traditionally defined and defended do not interest the American is that they are inadequate to express the true dimensions of the problem of freedom and justice today," Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, declared recently in a talk at the tenth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington.

The Clearing House devoted the first of its two days of meetings to the subject of "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense," one of the areas the Fund for the Republic is studying in its program of defining and clarifying the basic issues underlying the Free Society today. Participants in the discussion, besides Mr. Hutchins, included Msgr. Francis J. Lally, Editor of *The Pilot,* Boston, Mass., and a Director of the Fund; Walter Millis, author of such books as *The Martial Spirit, The Road to War,* and *Arms and Men,* and staff administrator of the Fund's common defense project; John A. Johnson, General Counsel of the U.S. Department of the Air Force; and Harrison Brown, distinguished scientist of the California Institute of Technology and Member of the National Academy of Sciences.

"The true dimensions of the problem," Mr. Hutchins indicated, can be measured by comparing the institutions of society as they were when the Bill of Rights was written and as they are today. "The Bill of Rights," he pointed out, "was designed to protect the citizen against the government, against the organized majority. But government is not what it was in the pre-industrial age, or even in the industrial age before the world was polarized. The bureaucratic society is one in which the citizen is remote from the center of power and largely helpless in dealing with it . . . Since the adoption of the Constitution centers of private power have sprung up that are as bureaucratized as the government and that are as influential, perhaps even more influential, in the lives of the citizens. A. A. Berle, Jr., has raised the question whether the pension trusts that have crept up on us unaware may not turn out to be a menace to economic freedom. Clark Kerr has asked how the union member, who was to obtain freedom and justice *through* the union, may now obtain freedom and justice *in* it.

"The remorseless tendency of the industrial system, in which everything depends on smooth cooperation within large groups, appears to be to produce men who are not free in any real sense, and who may not even want to be free . . . The fact is that social actions affecting freedom and justice have so far outrun social thought about them that those who would do something about freedom and justice are compelled to try to bring thought about them up to date."

Msgr. Lally asked for a similar analysis of the "present realities and future possibilities" of "the new and emerging America." "We must do more than watch the world develop about us," Father Lally declared, "do

more than preside, as it were, over the expanding social institutions. We must, insofar as we can, set the democratic pattern of the future and produce a society which serves man and insures his freedom. Was this not the meaning of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution? These were not mere records of events, a list of things accomplished; these were ideological blueprints for the new society that would be America. 'The apostolic power of ideas'—in Jacques Maritain's compelling phrase – burned with a white flame through these documents and in its heat the future of our country was forged . . .

"The Americans of the mid-twentieth century must . . . know *where* they are going and they must know *why*. The passing surface of events is always moved by deeper currents and these must be analyzed and even, if necessary, re-directed. This is the chasm that separates us from the world that is slave, this conviction that man is master of history not its victim."

"Man's Conduct Is In His Own Power"

Harrison Brown, in talking about "Science, Technology and Individual Freedom," discussed both the necessity of individual freedom if science and scientists are to develop their full potential and the effects which science and technology are having on individual freedom. He cited three constraints which present-day society has placed upon the scientist's freedom. One is the sources from which the researcher receives his funds. The second "stems from the fact that scientists are individualists. They cannot work to best advantage in an atmosphere which is filled with FBI investigations, loyalty checks, loyalty oaths, public condemnation of their fellow-scientists, pressures for conformity, and accusations such as those which have been aired from time to time by both state and national investigating committees of various sorts."

The third constraint "involves communication, which is the lifeblood of inquiry." The major factors inhibiting the free exchange of ideas among scientists today are the classification for security reasons of scientific work and the restrictions placed upon their movements. Classification, Dr. Brown declared, "greatly impedes work, and in this respect it actually lessens our security." The difficulty some scientists have had in obtaining passports is part of the communications problem; more serious are "our formidable restrictions" on scientists abroad in securing visas for entrance to this country, with the result that "most international conferences of scientists are held abroad."

Like Mr. Hutchins and Msgr. Lally, Dr. Brown stressed the dangers implicit in our increasingly industrialized society and the need for recognizing and avoiding them. "As our population grows," Dr. Brown said, "as our reserves of high-grade raw materials diminish in abundance, we will be faced with the necessity of bringing ever-higher levels of organization into our lives. There will be less living space and less opportunity for movement. There will be cries for more efficiency . . . It is amply clear that man can in principle create a wonderful world—a world in which people can lead free and abundant lives. But I fear that so powerful are the forces which operate in favor of increased organization and integration that we ourselves may drift into a form of totalitarianism without realizing it. We can, if we don't watch ourselves, permit our country to become a glorified ant-hill. I do not, however, believe that this end result is inevitable. And here I take refuge in a statement which was once made by the great Disraeli. 'Circumstances,' he said, 'are beyond the control of man. But his conduct is in his own power.' "

Man's conduct also lay at the center of Walter Millis' talk, which he entitled "Reason of State." "The philosophers are unanimous," Mr. Millis said, "in holding that the state exists to protect, defend, and further the interests of its members . . . It must be preserved even at the expense of the conflicting interests of any one citizen or any small group of citizens. It must be free to wield whatever powers are necessary to ensure its own safety, survival, and (so far as the common interest is thereby served) aggrandizement. The reason of state becomes paramount. . . .

"No one has ever found a convincing rebuttal to the reason of state, except through extinguishing state sovereignty in some higher order—either that of the moral law, to which past philosophers appealed, or that of a world government, which interests contemporary political thinkers. Until either a world government or a world rule of morality has been established, we have to face the paradox that a state may be forced to bad and unjust means in order to preserve even a good and just society of which it is the guardian. . . .

"The authors of the American Constitution were well aware of the paradox inherent in reason of state . . . The Constitution, and especially its Bill of Rights, may

be regarded as in large part the conscious resolution by the Founding Fathers of this dilemma . . . They clearly intended that their new government should have all the powers it needed to defend itself . . . But they no less clearly tried to limit its exercise of reasons of state within bounds compatible with a just and free society."

Mr. Millis continued with a discussion of the defense and security measures adopted since 1945 and pointed out that "we have seen all these things defended for reasons of state—as essential to the preservation of the state and the Constitutional freedoms which it seeks to maintain." Mr. Millis declared that there was no theoretical resolution to the problem, but that "a practical answer is surely always available. It turns simply on the reality and gravity of the danger against which the measure is designed to secure us. . . . This is a purely pragmatic position. It says that the greater the peril to the Constitution the more one may stretch its prohibitions in order to preserve the Constitution . . . this is the position which the courts have taken . . . it helps greatly to ask: Is this necessary? Is there a real peril here? Is this measure or procedure in fact efficacious to meet the peril, or does it only pretend to do so? Finally, if the peril is real and the measure efficacious as a defense, is it as just and equitable as possible in its practical operation? Such are the questions which the courts have in fact been asking. . . . These are the questions it seems to me should be asked as we face the colossal modern structure of internal and external security."

Mr. Millis proceeded to ask the questions in relation to three areas — the utilization of our military manpower, the expansion of military and other forms of governmental secrecy in our affairs, and "the whole great apparatus" of law, regulation, and custom which has been built up to expose, disqualify, and punish Communists and pro-Communists and so to extirpate the Communist belief.

"Admitting that conditions could arise under which a heretical or non-conformist belief could imperil the state," Mr. Millis continued, "one must still ask whether the Communist belief as it today exists in the United States offers any real danger at all. I believe that it would then readily appear that the danger, whatever it may be, is ridiculously disproportionate to the immense defenses which have been erected against it. If we admit for the sake of argument that a dissident, conspiratorial sect *might* become so dangerous as to permit us to proceed against it by the unavoidable weapons of witch-hunting, then common sense is freed to make a much more rational judgment as to whether Communism in the United States represents any actual peril warranting the great breaches we have driven through the Constitutional limitations on witch-hunting, thought-control, the suppression of press, speech, and belief.

"The main desideratum," Mr. Millis concluded, "is not to carry the argument to unsupportable, theoretic extremes at the expense of the factual situation." Man should be capable of managing the factual situation "within the limits of reason and accommodation."

Speaking as General Counsel of the Air Force, John A. Johnson expressed the conviction that "the armed services, along with the Congress and the courts, are alive to the great questions of individual freedom and are doing something about them." He described four areas in which the military is acting to preserve the freedom of those under its control—religious and racial equality, the military justice system, voting rights, and freedom in political matters—and quoted John Locke's dictum: "The end of the law is not to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and enlarge freedom."

THE NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE is a voluntary association of independent national organizations for the promotion of knowledge and the exchange of factual information, educational materials, opinions, and ideas in the fields of civil liberties, civil rights, intellectual freedom, and other human rights. In its conferences, such as the one reported on here, it brings together representative citizens to discuss and analyze current issues, and to consider ways by which they may help to strengthen and preserve America's constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms. Herman Edelsberg, director of the Washington office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, is the present chairman of the Clearing House. Vice-chairmen are Kenneth Birkhead of the American Veterans Committee, Boris Shishkin of the AFL-CIO., Dr. Robert E. Van Deusen of the National Lutheran Council, and Virginia Kinnaird of the National Education Association Defense Commission. The tenth annual conference opened with a greeting from President Eisenhower, in which he said: "The exercise of our individual liberties—with freedom and responsibility—brings life to the soul of the Nation. It is fitting that representatives of our civic groups and religious faiths are together searching for ways to strengthen this basic American tradition. Best wishes for a memorable conference."

Can a Free Society Survive?

The American people have reason to be grateful to you and the organizations you represent for having led them through another battle to secure the blessings of liberty for them and their posterity. Even highly placed politicians and powerful engines of the press, persuaded partly by you and partly by the Supreme Court, now talk quite a different language from that which they were using two or three years ago. As Mr. Auden has it, thanks to you,

"Brisker smells abet us,
Cleaner clouds accost our vision
and honest sounds our ears."

In the perspective of the last thirty-five years, the American people have even more cause to be thankful to you. Largely as a result of your efforts the vast aggregations of underdogs who were the object of the solicitude of nineteenth-century liberalism have been elevated to a position where they are no worse off than the rest of the population.

But it must be admitted that you are a minority, or, I should prefer to say, an elite. If you want any evidence beyond the scars you bear, I would remind you that the total annual budget of the American Civil Liberties Union is only a little bit more than the amount that would be regarded as a modest annual stipend for a moderately successful executive in the major industries of the United States.

I think it fair to say that the American is seldom much interested in freedom and justice for other people, including other Americans. The Bill of Rights often appears to concern only those who find that they can make some personal use of it.

Editors, publishers, and broadcasters are interested in the First Amendment because under this banner they may be able to extort more news from the Defense Department and send reporters to China. I sympathize with these ambitions, but I cannot fail to note that with some honorable exceptions editors, publishers, and broadcasters have not been much interested in other amendments, or even in those parts of the First Amendment which do not mention them. They have customarily condemned those who plead the Fifth Amendment and have deprecated the suggestion that a fair trial might require the elimination of cameras from the courtroom.

Eccentric sects like Jehovah's Witnesses are interested in the freedom of religion, but they are not much interested in the freedom of the press or any of the rest of the Bill of Rights.

Communists and other people likely to be investigated by Congress are interested in the Fifth Amendment, but not in the freedom of the press, or freedom of religion, or any other amendment.

Criminals are interested in the Sixth Amendment, but not in the freedom of the press, or freedom of religion, or any other amendment. They are not even much interested in the Fifth. They know that when the object of the prosecution is to send a man to jail, rather than to blacken his reputation, it will not attempt to prove its case by the silence of the defendant, but by outside evidence.

Extreme states' righters are interested in the Tenth Amendment, but not in the First, Fifth, or Sixth.

People who are not or who do not expect to be publishers, members of eccentric sects, communists, criminals, or extreme states' righters are not likely to be much interested in civil liberties. In fact doubt has been expressed in the highest quarters as to whether the Bill of Rights could be adopted today.

It is not surprising that a feat of imagination and intelligence of which only you and the organizations you represent are capable is required if one is to interest oneself in the legal rights of others. The law is a difficult, technical subject. It is not always immediately intelligible even to those who have devoted their lives to its interpretation. Moreover, people who are in trouble with the law are likely to be unpopular, or even unattractive, and a feat of courage, as well as imagination and intelligence, is called for if one is to identify oneself with them. But I think the principal reason why civil liberties as traditionally defined and defended do not interest the American is that they are inadequate to express the true dimensions of the problem of freedom and justice today.

OLD WORDS FOR NEW CONDITIONS

In the first place, we have developed to a fine point in recent years the art of ruination by due process of law. Many teachers in New York and elsewhere, for example, are not teaching today because they refused to answer questions put to them by a board of education. They were not dropped because there was anything wrong with their teaching, or because there was anything proved wrong with their politics, but because they were "insubordinate." The process was due; the ruination was complete.

In the second place, even when the law is clear, the issues may remain. The example before our eyes is civil rights in the South. The question is not what the law is, but how to get it obeyed.

In the third place, we live in a new society, but we use the old words as though conditions were the same and all we had to do was to figure out the contemporary application of the old words in accordance with accepted canons of legal interpretation. But it is impossible, for example, to say what the Founding Fathers had in mind in fram-

ing the religious clauses of the First Amendment, and even if we knew, it might not help us much in deciding whether schools that did not then exist should be given assistance of a kind that was not then dreamed of.

Jefferson placed his hopes for the free society on education, self-employment, and local government. In last month's *Foreign Affairs,* Robert Oppenheimer correctly calls the American educational system a half-empty mockery. Seventy-five per cent of us now work for others. And anybody who seriously advanced the idea today that local government was a training ground for civic virtue would be instantly committed to an institution for the feeble-minded.

The Bill of Rights was designed to protect the citizen against the government, against the organized majority. But government is not what it was in the pre-industrial age, or even in the industrial age before the world was polarized. The bureaucratic society is one in which the citizen is remote from the center of power and largely helpless in dealing with it. It is a society characterized by the absence of personal responsibility, one in which, to paraphrase Mr. Truman, the buck never stops. The gravest decisions can be taken without anybody's knowing how it all happened. Foreign policy is the obvious case. Forces that may be let loose at any moment without any participation by the citizen are so enormous and so destructive that all he can do is to try to forget them.

At the same time that the state extends its powers on some fronts it seems to be withering away on others. The cumbersome and ineffective efforts of government to deal with institutions that it itself has chartered; the failure of government in a field like education; the doubts and hesitations of government that have followed the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the schools may be attributed in part at least to the unreasoning notion that the state should wither away as fast as possible. In the case of institutions chartered by the government, it is sometimes difficult to tell who is controlling whom. The infiltration of government by the institutions it should control has become an American commonplace.

Since the adoption of the Constitution centers of private power have sprung up that are as bureaucratized as the government and that are as influential, perhaps even more influential, in the lives of the citizens. A. A. Berle, Jr., has raised the question whether the pension trusts that have crept up on us unaware may not turn out to be a menace to economic freedom. Clark Kerr has asked how the union member, who was to obtain freedom and justice *through* the union, may now obtain freedom and justice *in* it.

THE INTERCHANGEABLE MAN

The remorseless tendency of an industrial system, in which everything depends on smooth cooperation within large groups, appears to be to produce men who are not free in any real sense, and who may not even want to be free. We may say that the aim of industrialization is to get rid of men altogether, except as consumers, and in the meantime to make them interchangeable parts of the industrial machine. This has certain advantages in the field of civil liberties as they have been traditionally understood. Who cares about the race, color, creed, or politics of an interchangeable part? It may be that the industrialization of the South will do more to end racial discrimination there than all the legislation and preaching of the last fifty years.

But the interchangeable man is not a man. Since he is not, freedom and justice are of little interest to him. His aim must be to achieve peace, security, and success by being interchangeable, that is, through conformity.

Robert M. Hutchins

Perhaps the most important reason why Americans are not interested in freedom and justice is that we are not altogether clear about what they are or how they can be invoked to illuminate our present situation. A generation ago the Michigan Supreme Court condemned the suggestion of Henry Ford that a corporation might have other motives than profit. Last year Walter Reuther condemned the automobile manufacturers because, he said, their only motive was profit. Gardiner Means has remarked that contemporary economic theory cannot account for any of the major phenomena of contemporary economic life. And on the most basic of all issues, what is America, what do we stand for, we are not doing much better. With the rest of the world looking for leadership to the United States we have not been able to make striking contributions on any but the economic and military levels. Ideas and ideals that we suppose were clear to our ancestors have tended to become forms of words that are useful as rhetorical flourishes or political weapons but that have little visible effect on our daily lives.

The severity of the shock to American public opinion administered by the announcement that a Russian satellite was circumnavigating the globe can be taken to mean that we had confidence only in our technological superiority, in our power and wealth, and, when that was shaken, we had nothing to fall back on. In particular, we could not fall back on the superiority of our theory of society, because we could not clearly remember whether we had a theory, or what it was, or why it was superior.

Last week here in Washington at the large meeting on foreign aid, we were repeatedly warned that Russia, in pursuit of world domination, was attempting to encircle the United States. We were urged to give other countries money as one means of repelling this threat. But almost all the speakers felt it necessary to end on a higher note: they said we must have faith. There was

some slight lack of clarity about what we were to have faith in. At times it seemed to be free enterprise. At other times it seemed to be the Declaration of Independence. Yet since many of the nations to be aided do not have free enterprise, or do not adhere to the Declaration of Independence, I may be mistaken about this.

One eminent speaker said that our superiority to the Russians consisted in this, that we were a nation that believed in God, a remark which would have come as a shock to James Madison and which caused some stir among the unbelievers in the room. He went on to add that our natural ally was Islam, because it also believed in God, a statement not enthusiastically welcomed by the Jewish members of the audience, with whom the unbelievers joined.

COMMON DENOMINATOR NEEDED

I hasten to say that I am in favor of foreign aid, of free enterprise, and of the Declaration of Independence. As to God I hope through Father Lally to establish my innocence by association. I am also in favor of accepting the challenge of Dr. A. J. M. van Dal of The Hague, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, who a year or two ago called for a simple set of fundamental principles expressing in a readily understandable way the common denominator of our legal-political beliefs. He said the democracies lacked definite purpose and clear conceptions of what they stood for and did not believe in any deep-rooted ideal. He said this situation often resulted in too much improvising, too much taking a stand on incidental issues, too much changing of ground, too much confusion, disagreement, and disappointment.

The fact is that social actions affecting freedom and justice have so far outrun social thought about them that those who would do something about freedom and justice are compelled to try to bring thought about them up to date. We should not be deceived by the present lull on the front on which you have been fighting or by your success in the battle you have just won. The latent know-nothingism in this country can rise to the surface at any time in response to any crisis, at the call of any sufficiently gifted or fortunate demagogue. The disease cannot be cured by dealing only with the symptoms. Nor can it be cured by incantation.

General Bradley has said that the central problem of our time is how to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind. The human intelligence that produced the hydrogen bomb should be equal to the task of saving us from it. So the intelligence that has given us our marvelously complex and productive civilization and that democracy which has been a light to the world for almost two hundred years should be equal to the task of creating the understanding and the dedication that the survival of the free society in the second half of the twentieth century requires. We may have enough faith in our fellow-citizens to believe that understanding and dedication will go hand in hand.

Basic Issues for Freedom

Surely one test of maturity, in both men and nations, is the willingness to indulge in self-analysis. From the time of the temple at Delphi to our own, and indeed into the foreseeable future, it is good advice, *gnothi sauton,* "Know thyself." Desirable as is self-knowledge, however, we all know how thoroughly difficult it is to arrive at an accurate self-appraisal no matter how good the intentions. While objectivity is always possible, it is never easy.

Sometimes we have opportunity to see ourselves through the eyes of others and this can be a rewarding experience for our own self-knowledge. One of the most intelligent and friendly observers of America and Americans over the last years has been the gentle French philosopher, Jacques Maritain. In a book published about a fortnight ago, among many luminous reflections, Mr. Maritain mentioned one full of implications for our meeting this evening. In speaking of the vast changes in the American social structure during the last half century, the philosopher says to us:

"You are advancing in the night, bearing torches toward which mankind would be glad to turn; but you leave them enveloped in the fog of a merely experiential approach and mere practical conceptualization, with no universal ideas to communicate. For lack of adequate ideology, your lights cannot be seen.

". . . This country should never, and will never, give up the experiential approach, which is a blessing for it; but it would be quite beneficial for it to develop, at the same time, an adequate ideological formulation, an explicit philosophy, expressing its own ideal in communicable terms.

"This does not mean, of course, that it would be advisable to manufacture an ideology for the sake of propaganda, God forbid! It means that the development of a greater general interest in ideas and universal verities is a presupposed condition without which no genuine possibilities of intellectual communication can emerge.

"For such a function in the community there is need for intellectuals. Here we see how necessary eggheads are—those who try to shed the light of an adequate philosophy and a proper rational formulation, the apostolic power of ideas —if not ahead of the movement of life, at least focused directly upon it, as was the case at the time of the Declaration of Independence and the writing of the Constitution.

"Let me insist that at that time America actively shared in the ideological movement which stirred the Western world. She even took the lead in those matters of political philosophy which relate to the Constitution of a free people."

WHERE AND WHY

There is a world of thought in these simple words and we may not lightly set them aside. The new and emerging America must, of course, be understood in some measure through the ideas in which it was born; but anything like a complete understanding of it requires also a knowledge of its present realities and future possibilities. New institutions have appeared since the days of the Founding Fathers and even the old ones have managed to change in significant fashion; national as well as international forces have appeared which could not have been foreseen a hundred and fifty years ago; the transformation of the economic and social life of modern man is bound to have some effects, favorable and unfavorable, upon the society in which he lives. We cannot be content then to live upon the legacy of days gone by, and to fail to make our special contribution to the creative thought of our own times.

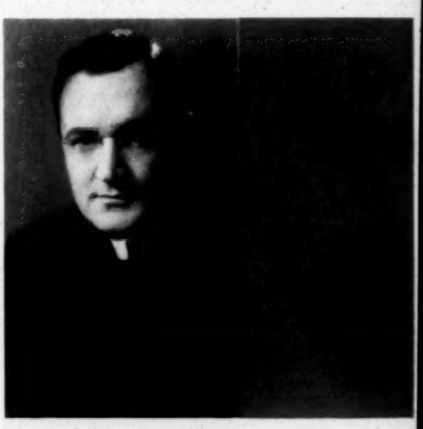
"The apostolic power of ideas"—in Maritain's compelling phrase—gives direction to the forces about us and in its manner shapes the movement of history. We must do more than watch the world develop about us, do more than preside, as it were, over the expanding social institutions. We must, insofar as we can, set the democratic pattern of the future and produce a society which serves man and insures his freedom. Was not this the meaning of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution? These were not mere records of events, a list of things accomplished; these were ideological blueprints for the new society that would be America. "The apostolic power of ideas" burned with a white flame through these documents and in its heat the future of our country was forged.

Following this glorious tradition, the Americans of the mid-twentieth century must do more than move gracefully from one situation to the next unaware of and indeed unconcerned with the forces that are shaping society; they must, insofar as it is possible, know *where* they are going and they must know *why*. The passing surface of events is always moved by deeper currents and these must be analyzed and understood and even, if necessary, redirected. This is the chasm that separates us from the world that is slave, this conviction that man is master of history not its victim.

THE FUND AND A TASK

To this vital concern the Fund for the Republic has now for more than a year directed its particular attention. It is possible, we feel, to analyze and to understand the role of the great institutions of modern society specifically as they affect the freedom of the individual person. We are not confident that we can arrive at final answers in this regard, for this is unlikely; the very institutions are changing as we study them. But we can arrive at new insights into their function in society, we can learn what they *are* doing and, even more important, we can learn, in some measure at least, what they *should* do. We can elaborate a philosophy of democratic society and its institutions for our own times and give the human mind a new expression of liberty around which free men will rejoice to rally.

If we understand the role of the corporation and the trade union in our economic and social life, the requirements of defense and security, the rights and duties of religious organizations and the effect of mass media—if we relate these to the nature of the democratic community and the freedom of the human person we can set the foundations for an ideology of man and society in which the greatest capacities of the human spirit will be realized. This is a great task, and, if we never see its end, it will still have been worthwhile beginning.



Msgr. Francis J. Lally

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC STUDY OF THE FREE SOCIETY

The Fund has undertaken as its major program a study of the basic issues underlying a free society. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice that emerge when the forms and principles developed by eighteenth century America meet the ideas and practices of today's highly developed industrial society.

The task of clarification is being undertaken by ten distinguished Americans acting as a Central Committee of Consultants to the Fund. These men are:

A. A. BERLE, JR.
Attorney, author, former Assistant Secretary of State

SCOTT BUCHANAN
Philosopher, author, former Dean of St. John's College

EUGENE BURDICK
Political scientist; University of California; novelist

ERIC F. GOLDMAN
Professor of history, Princeton; Bancroft Prize winner

CLARK KERR
President-elect, University of California; labor economist

HENRY R. LUCE
Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.
Theologian, Woodstock College; editor of Theological Studies

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Vice-president and graduate professor, Union Theological Seminary

ISIDOR I. RABI
Nobel Prize scientist; Higgins Professor of Physics, Columbia University

ROBERT REDFIELD
Professor of anthropology, University of Chicago;
former president, American Anthropological Association

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President of the Fund for the Republic, serves as Chairman of the Committee

The Fund has published the following pamphlets so far in connection with its study of the free society. Individual copies are available (prices on bulk orders provided on request):

"INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND THE COMMON DEFENSE"
by Walter Millis* (out of print)

"ECONOMIC POWER AND THE FREE SOCIETY:
A Preliminary Study of the Corporation"
by A. A. Berle, Jr.

"UNIONS AND UNION LEADERS OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING"
by Clark Kerr

"THE CORPORATION AND THE REPUBLIC"
by Scott Buchanan

In addition, the Fund has initiated a series of Occasional Papers, of which one has been issued so far:

"FREEDOM TO SEE: The Khrushchev Broadcast and its Meaning for Television" by Herbert Mitgang

*Single copies of Mr. Millis' talk on "Reason of State" to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House are available on request to the Fund for the Republic.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Effective September 1, 1959, the Fund for the Republic will move its main headquarters from 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. to Santa Barbara, California, where the mailing address will be:

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Inquiries about publications, projects, and program should be directed to Santa Barbara. Representatives of the press can obtain information about current Fund releases and activities either at the Santa Barbara address or at 133 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 3-1340, where a small office of the Fund will continue to be maintained.

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CENTRALIZATION

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

via air mail

November 6, 1959

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Ping:

Blessings on you for those kind words and your willingness to plug for SRC in any quarter. We have been in touch with Mrs. Eddy and Taconic; a good word from you there will be much appreciated, and I'll take you up on the generous invitation to use your name elsewhere.

I hope the new set-up there is as pleasant and as stimulating as it sounds. Please give my best to my other friends there, and a special greeting to old Comrade-in-Arms Ashmore.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 6/20/60

LWD ✓
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Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Report of the President 1958-59

via air mail

October 27, 1960

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Fund for the Republic
P. O. Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Cousin Harry:

What would become of us if your conscience weren't flexible enough to permit those letters to the philanthropoids? I'd be selling the Brittanica, I guess-- which maybe I ought to do anyway as a quid pro quo.

Anyhow, thanks as always. I'll let you know what the outcome is.

Have you been following our local whoop-de-do? Martin King was just sprung on bond, and Kennedy's stock is rising fast as a result of his personal intervention. M. L. King, Sr., for one, is expected to announce his switch from Nixon to Kennedy tonight. It beats Quemoy and Matsu.

Best always,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COUSIN HAROLD —
— WHAT HAVE YOU
DONE FOR ME LATELY?
HSA

bcc: Harold Fleming

October 21, 1960

Mr. Charles W. Cole
Office of the Vice-President
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Charlie:

I have kept in close touch with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council since I moved away from the South, and had a long visit with him in New York not long ago. I am, therefore, still familiar with the work of the Council, and still high in my praise of it.

In the days when the Fund was its principal support, the first impact of the integration crisis had pretty well paralyzed the human relations agencies in the region. The fact that the Council managed to survive that period, and to maintain its respectability under the most extreme attack of the Citizens Councils, bespeaks its durability and Fleming's remarkable skill and dedication.

Now that tensions are beginning to ease, in some places at least, the Council is once again able to play a real role in the sort of human engineering the delicate situation requires. I can recommend its support by the Rockefeller Foundation without reservation. If you would like a second opinion from someone close to the present situation, I would suggest that you write to Ralph McGill, publisher and editor of the Atlanta Constitution.

Thanks for your kind words about the EB appointment. We are all looking forward to seeing you

at the Board meeting in November.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor-in-chief

HSA:fct

November 23, 1960

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
P. O. Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Cousin Harry:

The VIPs having decamped, I have a chance at last to try to codify the ideas for Hampton we discussed in New York.

First, let me say that your letter itself was an essay of no mean quality. And I believe that a good part of the answer is inherent in your eloquent questioning.

There is a grievous lack of alert, skilled leadership in Negro communities across the South. We all know well the history of deprivations responsible for this condition. But the condition remains. Almost everyone would agree that programs are needed to increase the quality and supply of such leadership as rapidly as possible.

In view of all this, it's anomalous that no Negro college or university in the South offers any noteworthy program of adult education. However high the quality of undergraduate and graduate work (and it's not high enough), events won't wait for today's students to age into community leaders. So the remedy in the short run, which is crucial, must be found in some sort of "crash" effort to release more of the potential in the existing

adult Negro group. I believe that Hampton and the other major Negro institutions of higher learning are the logical instruments.

This thesis, incidentally, is supported pretty well by the influence the best Negro institutions have exercised, in informal ways, in the areas where they are located. It is conceded that Atlanta's relatively good race relations and relatively high level of Negro leadership are attributable in large part to the presence of Atlanta University and its affiliated colleges. Comparable effects can be credited to the other major Negro universities -- Tuskegee, Fisk, Dillard, and so on.

Yet their influence on the non-college communities has been almost accidental -- a matter of osmosis -- rather than a calculated effect. What could they accomplish if they undertook to become the best centers of practical adult education in the country? (Incidentally, this wouldn't be too hard, considering the state of adult education in the United States.)

There are some good practitioners in the political, economic, and community relations fields already on these faculties; more could be recruited, white as well as Negro. Such programs wouldn't have to be limited to on-campus offerings; extension courses could also be used to reach a larger area.

Of course, none of this would mean much unless it was practically oriented. But I'm assuming people and programs that would break out of the ivy towers and deal with the realities of the market-place, the voting booth, the sheriff's office, and the bargaining table.

If Hampton and its sister institutions achieved real distinction as centers of community education, white students (as well as faculty) would be attracted for other than eccentric reasons. This has been the case with the Atlanta University School of Social Work -- a highly regarded school and the only one of its kind in this area.

The adult education emphasis would be far better, I believe, than race relations. A Negro institution, in a sense, conforms to a stereotype when it specializes in purely racial matters. The whites attracted are likely to be the paternalists, the abolitionists, the odd-balls -- people who want to be there <u>because</u> it's a Negro institution, not because of its quality.

The proposed approach would have even greater relevance and appeal if it were related to the problems of underdevelopment elsewhere in the world. You may have seen Morris Abram's letter to the New York Times (copy enclosed) suggesting rapid training of Negro specialists for overseas, point-four-type service. Certainly, Hampton or any other first-rate Negro institution could win justified acclaim as a center of study and training in the problems of underdeveloped areas.

To bring this over-long letter to a close, if what I have said has any validity, the possible outlines of an inaugural program for Hampton are visible. Chester Bowles would be a well-nigh perfect choice for the major speech relating our domestic needs for rapid advance with the needs of the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia. Other appropriate participants wouldn't be hard to find; but there's no point in going into such details until the nature of the occasion is decided.

Let me know if I can supply further punditry or more concrete help of any sort.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

BC: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA
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Office of the Chairman
Box 4068
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November 8, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Cousin:

Bill Benton, among a vast number of other things, is a trustee of Hampton Institute and has asked me for advice. Since you know more about the problems of such an institution than anyone alive, or so I have been assuring foundation executives all these years, I'm leaning on you.

Bill notes that only a handful of white students have ever entered Hampton, and adds the perceptive note that "these are all queer in one way or another, like the first boys to enter a girl's school when it decides to become co-educational." He continues:

"Hampton Institute has an income of $800,000 from its endowment. It's the richest Negro college in the country and seemingly has the greatest tradition. What is it going to do? How is it going to desegregate? We have a new president to inaugurate next spring and seemingly a very distinguished Negro -- a Dr. Holland with a fine record in education and with one of the foundations -- and a former all-American football player at Cornell. He wants me to suggest some kind of 'program' to give intellectual vitality to his inauguration. Can you suggest a speaker or two, or a subject or two for a couple of seminars?"

I expect you know Dr. Holland, and I'm certain you are familiar with Hampton. Although Ben Mayes and some of his colleagues at Atlanta U. might object to Bill's description of the Institute as the best of its kind, it is certainly good and my impression has been that it has maintained its independence through the storms.

I hold to the view, expressed in The Other Side of Jordan in regard to the non-Southern Negro communities, that there is something very like a leadership vacuum at the local level. There certainly is a changing of the guard, with the old familiar figures of the NAACP under attack by younger men and women on the make. Some of these, as witnessed by the sit-ins, are people not only of dedication but of skill. But in my experience the number of really effective leaders is still small. In the spectacular show-down battles for "rights" the tide of passion is enough to carry the crusade along. But I see few signs of an effective approach to the knotty, practical civic problems of the Negro communities, North or South --- the kind of problems Oscar Handlin contends in The Newcomers can only be solved by Negroes acting on their own to produce a new, broad-based sense of social responsibility and community cohesion.

I believe this is a transient condition, and said so in Jordan. But it is going to be with us for a while, possibly for a generation, and it is critical. And it is a devil of a problem --- complicated by the special sensitivity of the Negro intellectuals; the withdrawal of many of those who have attained status on essentially white terms from contact with the poor, numerous devils who still fit the stereotype, or seem to; and the fierce personal jealousies of the socially insecure. Finally there is the psychological barrier of accepting a kind of voluntary segregation --- that is, a Negro leader has got to admit that there is a separate Negro community, and that it is more or less permanent, before he can do anything effective about improving conditions within it.

This is a lapse into sociological jargon, and I apologize for it. But do you agree that it is a fair analysis of the problem? If so, how do you figure Hampton and the other Negro universities should approach it?

Desegregation per se, as Bill Benton notes, isn't likely to provide an answer. The universities simply aren't going to attract a perceptible, or representative group

of white students for a long time to come, not certainly by offering standard academic fare. Is there any hope that they might do so, if they became centers of specialized training not available elsewhere? Could they, perhaps, make a mark in the kind of sociological, psychological, and economic research in race relations the University of North Carolina used to specialize in under Howard Odum, and do it so effectively they would attract white students and scholars? Beyond this is there any possibility of their mounting inter-racial seminars that would attract men of affairs as well as scholars to look for practical solutions to racial tensions somewhere within the emotional boundaries of both races? Finally, is there any prospect of their establishing close and effective working relationships with white institutions now that the state laws and, I hope, the white attitudes are softening across the South?

The lack of effective communication between whites and Negroes, North as well as South, lies at the heart of the problem, as we all agreed long ago. Surely, these institutions have some sort of role to play here --- delicate as it certainly will be in the beginning.

Tell me what you know, and believe.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor-in-chief

HSA:fct

Dr. Dan W. Dodson

Center for Human Relations Studies -

New York University - School of Educ.

Washington Square

New York, NY

Texan, outstanding figure in human relations; national reputation.

Dr. Miller A F Ritchie, Pres.

Univ. of the Pacific

, Oregon

native Virginian, former chmn Dept Hu. Rel - at Univ Miami (Fla)

Good Administrator, Gifted Educator

MA from Wm & Mary

Analysis

Seeds in NSA's etc. Build the best something to attract WS

Nobody (even SCC) doing crash work among depressed areas to overcome old deficiencies + speed adjustment to urban, industrial life. Students, sure. But never won't wait, here or abroad. Scientists, diplomats, social workers, housing specialists (urban renewal), etc. Adult education unknown

Ans: Adult Educ. for world in ferment. Threat + growth for community leadership + Nat'l + internat'l servants of democ. (peace corps) Stress internat'l, underdeveloped here + abroad. (NSA's OCS analogy)

Of seminars: (1) internat'l (2) Community Relations (3) Citizenship (voting + pol. process) (4) family life

Speakers + Idrs: Bowles himself, Bunche, Hastie, Scott Fletcher?, Whitney Young, N Coll pres's

October 8, 1962

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
133 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Lyford:

In Mr. Dunbar's absence we are sending you the enclosed materials on the Council and in defense of the Council. Please let us know if you need anything more. Mr. Dunbar will very likely write the Standard Times; however, we have little hope that any of us can appeal to the paper on the basis of reason and fact.

Sincerely yours,

PA:A

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

Enclosures

Defense material Monday

to/ Josephine Lyford
Center for the Study of
Hum. Inst, 133
E 54 St, NY 22

Margaret Price called
PR at Harald's
instructions & wishes
something sent Monday

PA –

I am more than ever bored by this kind of stuff! If you think we should respond please draft a letter. Obviously if it is done it should be done right soon

Agnes Ash

Miami News

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 1, 1962

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
~~Box 4068~~
~~Santa Barbara, California~~ NYC

Dear Joe:

We had occasion several years ago, while I was still with the Council, to rebut the Manning Johnson maunderings in the New Bedford Standard-Times. While I am perfectly willing to write a letter, I believe the job can be more effectively done by the present executive director or president of the Council. They have the appropriate files and records and are in the best position to refute thesesslanders authoritatively.

Accordingly, I am forwarding your letter and attachments to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Council, at 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta. I am sure he will deal with the matter effectively and will send you a copy of whatever reply is made.

If the thing continues to fester and you feel I can do something useful as former director, let me know.

Sincerely,

HCF

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:hh
cc: Dr. Dunbar (emc.)

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — WOodland 9-3281

New York Office
133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

September 26, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Harold:

Although you are no longer executive secretary of the Southern Regional Council, I wish you would write a letter to the Editor of the Sunday Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., to deal with the Southern Regional Council. This would be sensible since you were the executive secretary of the Council at the time it received Fund support.

If you don't think it suitable, would you please call this to the attention of the present executive secretary. I would like to have a copy of any response.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

Enclosures

SUNDAY STANDARD-TIMES

New Bedford, Mass.

September 23, 1962

Editorial Column

THE SOUTHERN COUNCIL

In his most recent defense of the motivations and purposes of the Fund for the Republic, Joseph P. Lyford referred to the Southern Regional Council, a race relations organization in the South.

Mr. Lyford, in a Letter to the Editor acknowledging the council had been supported by the Fund "for several years," accused another letter-writer, B. A. Prince of Westfield, of making the "ridiculous" charge that the council is a "Red front."

". . . It has never been charged as being even remotely subversive by any Government agency or responsible private citizen," wrote Mr. Lyford.

This newspaper had occasion to inquire into the Southern Regional Council in 1958, after the Fund had awarded the SRC grants of $445,000, and we offer a comment on Mr. Lyford's statement.

Mr. Prince did not charge that the council was a Red front. He said the late Manning Johnson had so charged. And the record shows that Johnson, a one-time Communist who co-operated with the U. S. Department of Justice, testified under oath on March 8, 1957, that the council was a Communist front.

The Communist Daily Worker, on Dec. 1, 1954, boasted that its chief Southern organizer, James E. Jackson, had "participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council . . ."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was dissolved in 1948 after twice being officially listed by the U. S. Government as a Communist front. In 1957, there were 14 directors of the Southern Regional Council who had been members and/or officials of the SCHW. The roster of former council directors included 12 who had been SCHW members.

Two of the five founders of the Southern Regional Council had been affiliated with the SCHW as well as 29 other officially designated Communist fronts.

In 1958, the president, vice-president, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council had been affiliated with the SCHW.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported in 1955 that a third organization dealing with race relations, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was "operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the SCHW." In 1958, there were 13 past and present Educational Fund members on the Regional Council's Board of Directors.

This network of interlocking directorships and affiliations does not mean the Regional Council is or ever was a Communist front. Nor has it been termed such by any Federal agency, and so Mr. Lyford states.

But it is a fact that an organization labeled a Communist front, and another of almost similar image, had supplied officers and directors for the Regional Council. Infiltration took over the SCHW, and there were legitimate grounds for questioning to what extent the Regional Council had been warped from within, especially when FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was warning of "intensified attempts" by Communists to gain control of other race relations agencies in the South.

In this period, the Fund for the Republic pumped thousands of dollars into the Southern Regional Council, an action that merits considerable more attention than the Fund's Mr. Lyford seems willing to grant it.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Were Its Funds Used to Aid Reds?

Attack on Fund Called Scurrilous

no copy

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

A letter in your Aug. 1 issue from B. A. Prince of Westfield, Mass., charges that the Fund for the Republic's money was "used to aid the Communists."

The statement is a scurrilous falsehood. I challenge Mr. Prince either to back up his statement with facts or to submit a public apology to your newspaper.

I have little confidence that Mr. Prince will do either. People accustomed to behaving like the local town slanderer are notoriously uncomfortable when they are asked to support their gossip.

However, if Mr. Prince wishes to respond, he can rest assured that he will be taken up point by point by this correspondent.

JOSEPH LYFORD
Fund for the Republic
New York

(Mr. Prince's reply appears below.)

Defends Statement On Fund for Republic

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

A Mr. Lyford, apparently a member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which is apparently a part of the Fund for the Republic, has characterized a statement of mine concerning the Fund for the Republic, as a "scurrilous falsehood" and challenges me to back up my statement, which I will do.

Probably one of the most widely-known of the fund's awards was the $5,000 check the fund gave the Library Committee of Plymouth Meeting, Pa. The evident purpose of the award was to praise the action of the Library Committee for "resisting outside pressure" to dismiss the librarian, a woman who had been identified by Herbert Philbrick as a member of the Communist Party.

She had appeared before a Senate Internal Security Committee and refused to answer questions. She had been secretary of the Samuel Adams School of Boston, which has been classed as an adjunct of the Communist Party. She later was a librarian in a Massachusetts town, until her Communist affiliations became known and she was discharged. The case has been widely publicized, due to an editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer. I quote part of that editorial. It began:

"Some years ago there was a play called 'A Guest in the House,' which showed how one girl, quietly, but insidiously, managed to wreck a whole happy household. The hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee have shown us what one defiant woman plus $5,000 from the Fund for the Republic, can do to an entire community."

Furthermore it attracted the attention of the House committee, and on July 10, 1956 it held a public hearing, endeavoring to learn why the fund happened to make the award. Mr. Lyford can learn a lot if he will take an hour and read the 57 pages of testimony in the report. From it all, it will at least be clear that the $5,000 was given to aid the Communist Party.

There has been other evidence that the fund was not a loyal friend of the United States.

Manning Johnson, (a Negro believed to have been murdered) identified the Southern Regional Council as a Southern Red front. It received $445,000 from the fund.

At a Nebraska meeting in June 1956, the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches adopted resolutions which attacked provisions of both Federal and State internal security programs. The fund approved their actions to the extent of $20,000.

That the fund has some friends, I offer the following. Representative Gordon Scherer (R.-Ohio), a member of the committee, received a letter from a Dr. Ray Gibbons saying that a number of religious agencies "are prepared to take vigorous action against the committee unless it halted its investigation of the Fund for the Republic." Mr. Sherer replied in part, "You advance no reason why the committee should halt its investigation, except that the groups you represent have a financial interest at stake by reason of the fact that grants by the Fund for the Republic favor their projects. It is obvious that in adopting these resolutions attempting to discredit the Internal Security Committee, those responsible were acting as puppets of the Fund for the Republic."

Perhaps this is as good a time as any to ask Mr. Lyford what republic the fund is for?

That the honesty of the fund is questioned, I offer a statement by Representative Walter, committee chairman, referring to the fund's projects: "The majority of its operations are based on biased investigation, and result in findings which fail to give both sides of a given question, but even further actually conceal facts necessary for an honest understanding of the subject matter."

Among other of its patriotic activities, the fund joined with the subversive Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the New York Post and the Nation in attacking the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover.

SUNDAY STANDARD-TIMES

New Bedford, Mass.

When the California Facts-Finding Committee undertook to make some inquiries about subversive infiltration at the University of California, there was a storm of faculty protest. Three years later, the Fund for the Republic undertook a completely unofficial and gratuitous investigation of the same identical field. In the first instance, the House committee and the then president of the university were made objects of a tirade of abuse by innuendo and unsupported accusations. There were attacks from all quarters, including the Left-Wing element.

When the Fund for the Republic set up shop to investigate civil liberties and loyalty subversion, there was not a whisper of protest. The fund sent out questionnaires to the faculty. Have you ever read them, Mr. Lyford, all 28 pages of them?

B. A. PRINCE

Westfield

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Calls Letter on Fund A Chowder of Gossip

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

Some time ago I asked B. A. Prince of Westfield, Mass., either to produce facts to support his charges that the Fund for the Republic has "aided Communists" or submit a public apology to your newspaper. I predicted he would do neither. Examination of his letter of response to you supports the prediction. His letter cites just two or three things the fund is alleged to have done in its 10 years of existence, and even these citations are garbled or false. The rest of the letter is a chowder of gossip, hearsay, half truths, and quotations of third parties with no reference to the record.

As an example of how the Fund allegedly aided the Communists, Prince refers to an award of $5,000 by the Fund to a Quaker organization in Philadelphia for refusing to fire its librarian because some townspeople (led by a woman who was not a Quaker) objected to the librarian's refusal to take a loyalty oath.

The Fund made the award to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends for sticking by its collective conscience in refusing to knuckle under to pressure from various self-appointed loyalty investigators and private censors. The Quakers were well aware of the librarian's past and her present attitudes after they interviewed her for the job. Many hours of interviewing, during which the librarian discussed her past candidly and fully, plus a trial period of employment, convinced her prospective employers that she was a good citizen and a competent librarian—an assumption completely justified by her subsequent record—and she was hired with the unanimous consent of the Quaker meeting.

The money the Fund bestowed on the Plymouth meeting was used by the Quakers to support their library, the facilities of which are used by the whole community. Prince may or may not approve of the Quakers' wisdom in retaining the librarian, or the Fund's award, but he has no entitlement whatsoever to charge that the Quakers were using their money to advance Communism. Prince's tendency to call people Communists just because he doesn't approve of what they think is rather reminiscent of the trade-school Communist who calls everybody he doesn't like a Nazi or a Fascist.

Prince's charge that the Southern Regional Council, supported by the Fund for several years as part of its program of education in better race relations, is a Red front is ridiculous. If he had bothered to investigate the matter for himself instead of repeating the remarks of an irresponsible gossip, he would have discovered that the council was founded by leading clergymen—Catholic and Protestant—educators and professional men throughout the South and that it has never been charged as being even remotely subversive by any government agency, or responsible private individual.

Prince cites as evidence that the fund is pro-Communist the alleged fact that it "joined" in "attacking the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover." The statement is false. The Fund has never taken any such stand. Perhaps he refers to a speech in which a Fund vice-president, W. H. Ferry, speaking as a private individual, criticized Mr. Hoover's estimate of the strength of Communism in the United States. He did not criticize the FBI. Then let me ask: Since when does criticism of Mr. Hoover's opinion constitute a pro-Communist act? Again, Prince's mind seems to operate in the same fashion as that of the hard-core Communist—either you're on my side or you're an enemy of democracy.

The most significant thing about Prince's letter is that, once the misrepresentation and unsubstantiated nonsense is swept aside, there is almost no discussion of anything the Fund has done or published since its founding. The Fund's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, its principal activity now, has published nearly 100 pamphlets. Prince mentions not one. Apparently he has either not read them or he finds that they are unsuitable material for slander. Since Prince does not want to bring them up, let me suggest that Standard-Times readers write for a list of our publications to our office at 133 East 54th Street, New York City, obtain free copies of the ones that interest them, and make up their own minds about what we are doing.

SUNDAY STANDARD-TIMES

New Bedford, Mass.

September 17, 1962

Letters From Our Readers

The readers of your newspaper might also be interested in obtaining at their bookstores one or all of the several volumes on the history of Communism in American Life, financed by the Fund and produced under the direction of one of the country's distinguished historians, Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University. The volumes have received the highest praise in reviews in the nation's press, and are being used, incidentally, by government agencies and committees concerned with the subject.

A final word. For a man who is so quick to call names and pass on people's loyalty to their country, Prince is strangely silent when it comes to identifying the people who direct the activities of the Fund. Let me provide the names of some of our members of our Board of Directors, past and present, and our Committee of Consultants. They include Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president of Union Theological Seminary; Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston Pilot; former Senator Lehman; George N. Shuster, former president of Hunter College and now a member of the Notre Dame faculty; J. Howard Marshall, president of the Union Texas Natural Gas Company; A. A. Berle; Clark Kerr, president of the University of California; Arthur Goldberg, now a member of the U. S. Supreme Court; the Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., of Woodstock College, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

Does Prince seriously suggest that such people approve projects that are designed to aid the Communists?

JOSEPH F. LYFORD
Fund for the Republic

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SUNDAY STANDARD-TIMES

New Bedford, Mass.

September 23, 1962

Letters From Our Readers

Ford Quoted on 'Dubious' Activities of the Fund

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

I would like to reply to Joseph Lyford's letter—a rather surprising letter for a man attached to an organization like the Fund for the Republic to write.

The letter brushed off facts as mere gossip, labeled my letter as a mess of chowder and ended up, like a small boy, by calling names. I guess I must have put more truth in that chowder than Mr. Lyford could stomach.

I would like to refer Mr. Lyford to remarks made by the man whose family supplied the original funds for the Fund for the Republic—Henry Ford 2d. The fund is financing a number of activities that have aroused criticism and doubt on the part of congressmen, prominent patriotic organizations and individuals, among them Mr. Ford.

He described some of these activities as "being dubious in character," and he went on to say, "No public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to intelligent and constructive criticism."

B. A. PRINCE

Westfield

BULLETIN
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
NOVEMBER 1963

The Record, the Program, and the Prospects of the Fund for the Republic and its Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Here are answers to the questions most commonly asked about the Fund for the Republic and its Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions:

What is the Fund for the Republic? The Fund for the Republic is an educational corporation, chartered under the laws of New York "to defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution." It was incorporated in 1952, began operations in 1953.

How was it established? As a result of two years of study and consultation with more than a thousand leaders in private and public life, the Ford Foundation identified a number of areas of human needs to which it proposed to devote its resources. One of these was "the need to help to remove restrictions and infringements on freedom of speech and press, freedom of religion, freedom of inquiry, and freedom of thought." This area was assigned to the Fund for the Republic.

Who organized the Fund? The Fund's first president was Sen. Clifford P. Case (Rep., N. J.), who resigned in 1954 to run for the U.S. Senate. He was succeeded by Robert Maynard Hutchins. Paul G. Hoffman, then chairman of the board of Studebaker-Packard, and now director of the United Nations Special Fund, was the first chairman of the Board of Directors. Along with Mr. Hoffman, these original Board members still serve on the Fund's policy-making body: George N. Shuster, assistant to the president, Notre Dame University; M. Albert Linton, former chairman of the board of Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company and chairman of the executive committee of Curtis Publishing Company; Jubal R. Parten, independent oil and gas producer; and Elmo Roper, public opinion and marketing analyst. Members of the original Board whose service has been terminated by death or retirement include: Ambassador Chester Bowles; Russell L. Dearmont, president of the Missouri-Pacific Railroad; Oscar Hammerstein II; Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart Schaffner & Marx; Ambassador James D. Zellerbach; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of Harvard University Law School; William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman of Joyce Shoe Company; and Mrs. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson.

What is the present relationship to the Ford Foundation? There is none. The Fund for the Republic was established as an autonomous body, with its own Board of Directors made solely responsible for its policies. The founding grant of $15,000,000 was considered terminal.

The Grant-Making Period

What were the Fund's initial areas of interest? *1)* Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom, *2)* Due process and equal protection of the laws, *3)* The protection of the rights of minorities, *4)* Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups, and *5)* The principle and application of guilt by association.

How was the Fund's program organized? For the first five years, the Fund operated as a grant-making foundation. It provided financial support for organizations engaged in essentially educational activities (as required by its charter) and in some instances provided the means to initiate such activities in critical, neglected areas.

How were organizations and activities selected for support? The Fund came into being in a period of crisis for American civil rights and civil liberties. This was the era of the Washington witch hunt, and the beginning of the period of acute racial tension in the South. In that disturbed atmosphere, organizations active in the affected areas were usually regarded as controversial and often cut off from conventional sources of philanthropic support. The Fund's policy permitted it to move quickly to aid these organizations.

Where did the money go? The largest cumulative expenditure was in the field of race relations. Grants of more than half a million dollars preserved the Southern Regional Council, the most effective of the human relations agencies in the South. Substantial grants went to the American Friends Service Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the National Council of Churches. Grants were also made to sustain the interracial programs of the major denominations, Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, and Disciples of Christ, and of the YMCA and YWCA. The total of grants in the field of race relations in this period was two million dollars.

These organizations engage primarily in direct educational activities. Was this typical of the entire Fund program? No. A great need was found for original research to provide facts as the basis of education, and of action. Typical of this activity was the creation of the Commission on Race and Housing, headed by Earl B. Schwulst, president of the Bowery Savings Bank. The Commission examined all aspects of segregation in housing, as it affected Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, and recommended private and public reforms in real estate and lending practices. The six detailed reports by the Commission, published by the University of California Press, remain the definitive works on this subject, and are still used by all those concerned with it.

These activities concern the civil rights of minorities. How did the Fund deal with the civil liberties of all Americans? The Fund supported a broadly based program of education in the meaning and application of the Bill of Rights. The largest single grant, administered through the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, provided materials and guidance for a continuing program pursued by such organizations as the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Education Association, the Campfire Girls, the Junior League, and the American Jewish Congress. In all, the Fund made more than thirty-five substantial educational grants to organizations ranging in interests from the AMVETS to the YMCA and YWCA.

Was there a research program in this area? Yes. The largest appropriation for any single project went to finance a study to determine the facts of Communist infiltration in the United States. Under the direction of Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, leading authorities were assigned, with complete scholarly independence, to examine the extent to which Communists had controlled or influenced the churches, schools, labor unions, communications media, and other vital institutions of American life. Nine volumes in this series have been published, and each is accepted as the definitive work in its field. A variety of other research projects were aimed at establishing the contemporary facts on communism in the United States and its effect on our free institutions.

These are more or less long-range projects. Did the Fund take immediate action to bring relief to victims of the civil rights and civil liberties crisis? Yes, within the limits of its educational mission. It was able to move quickly to establish the facts where they were urgently needed. A prime example was John Cogley's study of blacklisting in industry, with chief emphasis on the theatre, movies, and television, where the abuses were most spectacular. Publication of the Cogley report brought about major corrective action. So did publication of reports by Adam Yarmolinsky on the loyalty-security program of the federal government, and by Paul Lazarsfeld, Wagner Thielens, Jr., and David Riesman on the intimidation of teachers. Emergency grants to meet other critical situations were made to such agencies as the American Bar Foundation, and to local Bar Associations for referral services in security cases and civil liberties matters.

Was the Fund's grant-making program a success? On balance, yes. It is doubtful, for example, that the Southern Regional Council would have survived without the Fund's support, and the race crisis in the South would have deteriorated still further without the agency's moderating influence. Important reforms, which ended some of the most flagrant abuses, can be traced directly to the impact of the reports on blacklisting and the federal security-loyalty program, and other publications and activities of the Fund. Cumulatively, the Fund's program was a major factor in restoring calm and perspective in a time when the individual rights of all Americans were threatened.

The Basic Issues Program

Does the Fund now maintain its grant-making function? No. From the outset the Fund had spent its capital to meet the emergency, and by 1957 more than two-thirds of its resources were exhausted. In considering the future of the organization, the Board and a group of distinguished consultants concluded that the activities in which it had engaged, critical though they were, dealt only with disturbing *symptoms* rather than with the basic issues affecting the whole of American society. The program thus was redirected into an effort "to clarify the issues involved in maintaining a free and just society under the strikingly new political, social, economic, and technological conditions of the second half of the twentieth century, and to advance the understanding of those issues by promoting discussion of them." The Basic Issues Program has become the core activity of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

What is the relationship of the Fund for the Republic and the Center? For practical purposes the two organizations are one. The Fund for the Republic remains the legal entity, but its activities are now wholly concentrated in the Center. The entire operation is housed in Santa Barbara, except for a small office in New York concerned primarily with the administrative details of publication distribution and public relations.

The Move to California

Why did the Fund locate the Center in Santa Barbara and transfer its activity there? There were two reasons, one of economy and the other of function. The old location in an office building in mid-town Manhattan was expensive, and was no longer needed once the grant-making activity was terminated. The Basic Issues Program required an operation that has been likened to that of a small university without students. A location that permitted the assembly of a diverse group of persons specially qualified to deal with these issues, and to facilitate their working together without undue distraction, was clearly indicated.

But why Santa Barbara? California supporters of the Fund had offered to make a substantial contribution toward the purchase of a suitable facility if the Center were located in the state. The Hale estate in Santa Barbara was on the market, and at little cost could be adapted to provide the office space and conference facilities the Center required. The location made possible an informal working relationship with the University of California through its Santa Barbara campus, and other library and research facilities were within easy reach. Santa Barbara has fifty-eight independent research centers.

Has the move in fact proved an economic advantage? Decidedly. The Center uses the two buildings of the old estate, which more than doubled the amount of floor space in the New York headquarters. The net investment in the property, including remodeling, was approximately $300,000, considerably less than the current value of the surplus acreage, which is being held for future sale. Operating overhead has been considerably reduced.

How is the Center now administered? The Center functions under the direction of the president, Mr. Hutchins, according to policies set by the Board of the Fund. Harry S. Ashmore, Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and author, and chairman of the Board's executive committee, is actively associated with

Mr. Hutchins. Officers of the Fund who made the move from New York are W. H. Ferry and Frank K. Kelly, vice-presidents; Hallock Hoffman, secretary and treasurer; and Edward Reed, director of publications. The supporting secretarial and clerical staff numbers twenty-four.

The Present Operation

Who develops the Basic Issues Program? Those listed above participate in the program in addition to their administrative duties. There are usually eight to ten Consultants or Fellows in residence at the Center, selected for their particular competence in the various areas of study. These are listed on the last page.

Who else is associated with the Center? The deliberately small resident staff is supported by a variety of permanent and special consultants. This makes possible the active if intermittent participation of leading authorities who are not available on a full-time basis. The Board of Consultants (listed on page 8) originally assisted in the development of the Basic Issues Program, and meets regularly to appraise progress and results. Many of these also help in the development of specific studies, and other individuals in this country and abroad are retained for varying periods to join in the Center's deliberations, or to prepare papers for discussion and possible publication under the imprint of the Center.

How is this activity organized? All those in residence at the Center meet daily for a two-hour discussion related to studies under examination. This is a key activity, since the Center is based on a premise that requires continuous interdisciplinary criticism and cross-fertilization, and the exposure of academic and other specialists to examination by non-specialists. Consultants and other visitors participate fully in these sessions. The proceedings are recorded and transcribed in whole or in part. In the past twelve months the visiting list included 246 persons from forty-two countries all over the world.

The Means of Communication

What comes of all this? The Center's program is based on a continuous dialogue directed toward the development of statements, analyses, and arguments on those aspects of contemporary issues which are usually neglected, misunderstood, or obscured by the smoke of controversy. Papers prepared for discussion, and refined by it, are published – often with dissenting comment. To date 140 publications have been issued, with a distribution in this country and abroad of more than 5,000,000 copies. (A list of the Center's current publications is available.)

Who receives these publications? Normally, single copies of the Center's publications are sent without charge to anyone who requests them; a modest charge is made for multiple copies. The Center's mailing list is composed almost entirely of those who have specifically asked to be on it, and it is regularly policed to see that the publications are in actual use. The usual publication is sent on this basis to about 25,000 interested persons–including leading editorial writers and columnists, television and radio commentators, political leaders and government officials, businessmen and union leaders, teachers, clergymen, students, lawyers, and a wide variety of other interested citizens. Requests for some individual publications have reached 100,000. They are in regular use in classrooms and in business, union, and church educational programs; are often reproduced in whole or in part in newspapers and magazines of general circulation; and have been used as the basis of network radio and television programs. Most publications promote sustained discussion in editorial columns and elsewhere.

If the publications program is so successful, why is a charge not made for the publications? The question often has been debated by the Board, and the decision always has been to maintain single-copy free distribution. There are several reasons. The Center is in no sense a commercial venture, and a price tag on its product would probably cause the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and

other publications that regularly review each publication at length in their news columns to abandon the present practice of noting that copies can be obtained by writing to the Center at Post Office Box 4068. Analyses of the mailing list, and of a large amount of unsolicited correspondence, reveal that a substantial number of copies go to students and teachers who cannot afford even a small charge. Finally, the publications are usually of pamphlet length, a size that does not lend itself to the usual magazine or book standards of pricing and distribution.

Is this the whole of the Center's publication program? No. Material developed for the Center of conventional book or periodical length is frequently published by trade-book publishers and magazines, without cost and sometimes with a modest return to the Center. To date more than seventy-five books, and hundreds of magazine articles, have been developed out of the Center's materials or as products of Fund grants. Many textbooks use extended excerpts. Mr. Hutchins writes a weekly column of comment on the Center's deliberations which is syndicated by the *Los Angeles Times* to twenty-two newspapers.

Does the Center use any other means of communication? Starting a little over a year ago, major use is being made of radio. Under a working relationship with the Pacifica Foundation stations in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York, tape transcripts of Center discussions are broadcast, and many special interviews with Center visitors are arranged. More than 1,800 tapes of sixty-two programs have been sold to other educational and commercial stations, and to universities and adult education groups. The tape program is expanding. (A list of the tape programs is available.)

Do the Center's activities have any other regular exposure? Because of the seminar format, it is possible to accommodate only a few auditors at the Center's regular sessions, although Founding Members are encouraged to visit and participate, and often do so. However, the Center arranges programs and provides speakers for the Adult Education Program of the Santa Barbara school system, for special sessions at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and for the past three years has provided all programming for the Modern Forum in Los Angeles, out of which has developed a new series called the Center Seminar. Mr. Hutchins conducts a monthly television discussion program on KNBC in Los Angeles, which is under consideration for national network use. In this tenth anniversary year of the Fund, major conferences on the Basic Issues, with internationally prominent speakers, have been staged in New York and Chicago, and a similar event is scheduled for Los Angeles December 7-8. The Center also staged a week-long international conference in Athens at the invitation of the Greek government, and many of its members later were official guests of the Israeli government. Lack of finances has forced the rejection of a number of similar invitations.

The Reach of the Program

Are these Center programs largely intellectual exercises, or do they have practical application to contemporary issues? Under its educational charter the Center cannot engage in political action in the conventional sense. Nor is it staffed, or disposed, to engage in research that would duplicate the work of the universities and applied research centers. Its effort is to bring together a variety of informed, and frequently conflicting, viewpoints, and to focus them on the basic social, economic, political, and cultural issues that are emerging in the world, or can reasonably be anticipated. It is in this sense that the institution is unique.

How does this work in practice? The democratic institutions that seemed to deserve immediate attention under the Basic Issues Program were initially identified as: the corporation, the trade union, religious institutions, the common defense, the mass media, and the political process. All of these have been affected markedly, and in some instances drastically, by the pressures of rapid technological change and the cold war. In each of these areas the program has been shaped and altered by contemporary events.

For example? The study of religious institutions, under the direction of John Cogley and supported by a group of prominent theologians and laymen, began with the problem of inter-faith tension

among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. The resulting conferences and publications have been hailed by the religious press as having had a profound and lasting effect. This accomplishment was recognized two years ago when the National Conference of Christians and Jews took over the program as the basis for its own continuing activity. At that point the Center recast its interest in this field to focus on moral and ethical issues beyond the formal activities of religious institutions. The result has been the study of the American character which, among other things, undertook twenty extensive interviews with leading lawyers, doctors, editors, clerics, businessmen, and the like, dealing with the special moral and ethical problems they encounter in their daily lives, and their responses to them. The published versions of these interviews continue to promote a widening circle of discussion in the lay and religious press.

Can other direct results be traced to the program? The trade union study provides another example. Under the general direction of President Clark Kerr of the University of California, one of the Center's permanent consultants, and a staff headed by Paul Jacobs, seventeen books dealing with various aspects of the trade union movement have been published by trade publishers. A number of Center publications, and magazine articles, also have been produced, and it is fair to say that these provide the primary basis for contemporary discussion of trade union problems in the United States. A conference at the Center attended by Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg (a former member of the Board of the Fund) just prior to his taking office as Secretary of Labor, and by the present Secretary, Willard Wirtz (who was associated from the outset with the Kerr-Jacobs study), brought together a group of leading management and labor leaders, and professional arbitrators. Out of this grew the permanent labor-management advisory body now associated with the U.S. Department of Labor.

Does the Center continue its association with this official body? No. However, the Center is frequently called upon to provide its resources and facilities in other critical situations involving labor and management. This past summer, major newspaper publishers and the heads of the printing unions requested the Center's good offices to arrange a conference to consider the long-range problems dramatized by the costly New York newspaper strike. This was done in September, under the chairmanship of President Kerr. The trade publication, *Editor & Publisher*, reported that the conference was "considered by all to be a successful beginning." Both management and union representatives have recommended that continuation of the conference be considered, and comparable proposals have come from other industries and unions.

Are there similar developments in the other areas that the Center is studying? Yes, a number could be cited. One that provides a good example of the manner in which the various studies tend to converge on common problems is the past summer's activity under the general rubric of Law, Jurisprudence, and the Bill of Rights. Several legal scholars and practicing lawyers from this country and abroad joined the resident staff, and the Fund's co-chairman, Associate Justice William O. Douglas, was present for some sessions. The inevitable focus here became the race crisis in the United States, and out of the sessions will soon come several publications and tape recordings dealing with issues that are certain to be before the courts and the legislatures as a result of the Negro protest movement and its demonstrations. It seems clear that new definitions of private property may be required, and new standards of protection of the person. Beyond immediate questions of law, the sessions dealt with the critical economic problems related to unemployment and job opportunities for Negroes, and a range of social and educational issues that may be beyond legal resolution.

Will this terminate the program in the area of race relations? Obviously not – any more than the Center could expect to see an end to consideration of the issues of peace, war, and those involving the developing nations. Just as the Fund found itself heavily committed to the racial issue in the early days, so must the Center assume that this great unresolved moral, social, legal, and political problem will continue to be a matter of major concern. But this will not divert the Center from moving on into other areas that may flow from it, or point to it. For example, in response to a number of semi-official requests, the Center has just agreed to launch a new study directed toward the evolution of a national policy for education, in which the race problem will have to be taken into account. Since the trade union study, having served its function as a catalyst, now demands less priority, President Kerr has agreed to assume direction of this work in education.

The Political Aspect

These activities involve some degree of association with public agencies. Is this a proper relationship for a private educational institution? The Center does not participate in official action, nor does it make specific recommendations for such action, although, as private individuals, many of those associated with the enterprise offer policy proposals and these are often noted and discussed in Center publications. The Center examines all political views, including those that are militantly partisan, and appraises them in terms of the basic issues. Its findings are made available to any agency, public or private, that may find them useful.

If the Center takes no position on public matters, and offers no recommendations for political action, does it really serve any useful purpose for the political leaders on the front line of contemporary affairs? Yes, perhaps because it appears to be the only institution offering these leaders perspective on the underlying conflicts that produce the day's headlines. Thus, Governor Brown of California brought top members of his staff to the Center for two days of discussion of basic trends in his state, and has found the results useful enough to suggest a return engagement. Governor Scranton, the Republican governor of Pennsylvania, has indicated interest in a similar session. Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis brought his concern over fundamental long-range metropolitan problems to the Center for discussion in terms of what has been called "practical philosophy."

The Center's Future

Does the Center have any guarantee of continuity? No. Within a little more than a year the Fund will have exhausted its initial resources, and the Center has no endowment.

What is being done about this? Twelve months ago a two-pronged fund-raising effort was launched. The Center is seeking a national "constituency" of Founding Members, pledged to a minimum of $1,000 a year for five years, in order to meet current operating expenses. At the same time it is seeking major gifts or bequests for a permanent endowment fund.

What is the goal of the fund-raising campaign? The Center's operating budget is roughly one million dollars a year; the projected endowment has been set at ten million dollars. The largest single item of fixed expense is the cost of printing and distribution for the publications program – and here success creates new financial problems, since the larger the audience the higher the cost. The next item is for salaries of staff, fellows, and consultants; these are based on prevailing standards in academic institutions; a typical arrangement is to replace a university professor's income for a sabbatical year at the Center. The remainder of the budget goes for the cost of conferences, including per diem payment on the usual academic scale for occasional consultants.

Are there not other possible sources of revenue, aside from gifts and contributions? Yes. The Center has been offered research contracts by private industry, unions, and government. Only one of these has been accepted so far, from Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., for assistance in developing editorial procedures designed to keep the Encyclopaedia's content abreast of the rapid changes in the areas of concern it naturally shares with the Center. However, experience demonstrates that all such research projects are in some degree diversionary, tend to limit the scope of the Center's unique program, and deny the flexibility that permits quick adaptation to changing conditions. Only substantial financial support, freely offered without strings or the expectation of specific and predictable results, can guarantee the absolute intellectual independence which is, in the end, the Center's reason for being.

This is the fourteenth number of a bulletin designed to promote discussion of significant issues involved in the maintenance of a free society; and sometimes to describe the purposes and operations of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field. Additional copies of this bulletin are available without charge.

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California, and 133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York

See Hutchins and Herblock's letters in this week's time

Fund for Republic And Its Critics

By Marquis Childs

THE TWO adjectives invariably applied to the president of the Fund for the Republic are brilliant and provocative. Robert Maynard Hutchins has the habit of speaking his brilliant mind freely and thereby he has provoked a great many people.

Childs

His friends and even his more kindly critics have often said that if he could only be a little more restrained and tactful, he would have more success in promoting the causes he believes in passionately.

But Hutchins has continued on his outspoken course, convinced that plain speaking is vital even though the prejudices and the sensibilities of many groups are offended. He also has not hesitated to name to the staff certain "controversial" figures. One consequence has been the barrage of criticism directed at the Fund in the field of civil liberties with the charge that it has a left-wing bias.

The Ford Foundation has given $15 million to the Fund, which is incorporated as an independent agency functioning without connection with the Foundation. The first president was Clifford P. Case, a member of Congress from New Jersey. Although Case was not under such intensive fire, his connection with the Fund was used by opponents in the Republican Party when he ran for the Senate a year ago.

ON THE FUND'S board of directors and on the various study and supervisory committees are men of a wide range of occupation and political outlook. Chairman of the Board is Paul Hoffman, one of President Eisenhower's leading supporters and close friends and head of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation. Vice chairman is George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College and a leading Catholic layman in New York.

Among the board members are Russell L. Dearmont, St. Louis attorney and chairman of the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart Schaffner & Marx in Chicago; Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard University Law School; James D. Zellerbach, head of a large paper corporation in San Francisco; the playwright, Robert Sherwood; Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst College, and Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut and Ambassador to India.

The board, which includes men of responsibility in so many fields, passes on even the smallest grants made by the Fund. At the same time Hutchins has considerable autonomy in policy and staff appointments. One of the consultants to the Fund named by Hutchins is Elmer Davis, the noted commentator who has himself been the subject of prolonged attack from the extreme right.

To a commission to inquire into racial discrimination in housing the Fund has named, among others, the Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation; Henry R. Luce, publisher of *Time* and *Life;* Elliott V. Bell, editor of *Business Week;* and Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University in Tennessee. On a committee to

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IN THIS diversity of interests and outlook, Hutchins believes, is the insurance that the whole field of civil liberties will be explored with courage and candor. He believes it is also insurance that there will be no fixed bias in the Fund's approach to the central problem of preserving freedom in the face of the continuing threat of Communist aggression and against the background of incalculable forces released by atomic fission and fusion.

If one word could describe the Fund's function it would be educational. As part of this mission books and articles in the field of civil liberties are given wider circulation than they might otherwise have.

It is not alone the question of freedom versus security that the Fund seeks to put before a wider public. There is also the question of conformity versus nonconformity—the inherent right to dissent that is an ancient part of the American tradition. In a time of trouble dissenters tend to be suppressed by one means or another. And yet, as history shows, dissenters more often than not have been the yeast which has made for progress and enlightenment.

In a totalitarian state the dissenter is swiftly purged. Brilliant, provocative men such as Hutchins are not tolerated for a moment. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to the belief that freedom—for the individual, for minorities—is the basis of a free society. And in trying to gain a larger voice for that view it is embattled with those who seem to feel our present danger is so great that freedom must be sacrificed or curtailed.

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The Fund for the Republic

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1.

AIMS and ORGANIZATION

60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- **Purpose:** To advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence
- **Office Addresses:** 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

  1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California
- **Chairman of the Board:** Paul G. Hoffman
- **President:** Robert M. Hutchins
- **Original Assets:** $15,000,000

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC is a nonprofit educational corporation, established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation with grants totalling $15,000,000. Its purpose is to eliminate restrictions on freedom of thought and inquiry and to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Since its establishment, the Fund has been an independent entity. It has no connection with any other foundation. The policies of the Fund are determined by its Board of Directors.

The Fund does its work in a variety of ways. It carries on educational activities through the distribution of books, pamphlets, films, reprints of notable speeches, and other materials. It makes outright grants to individuals and organizations to enable them to conduct studies and programs in the field of civil liberties. Organizations which have received this kind of assistance include the YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, American Bar Foundation, the Institute of Social Order of the Society of Jesus, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Columbia University, Stanford University, Southern Regional Council, Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., American Friends Service Committee, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Virginia.

The Fund also sponsors research projects which are carried out by individuals appointed by the foundation. The directors of these projects reach their own conclusions independently, and are responsible for the results of their work. Examples of such projects are: a survey of attitudes in U. S. colleges and universities, directed by Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University; a study of blacklisting in the entertainment industry by John Cogley; and a study of the influence of Communism in American life under the supervision of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

The Fund gives a restricted number of grants-in-aid to individuals for research and writing on civil liberties topics related to other programs of the Fund. Studies authorized cover such topics as interference with religious freedom in California, race discrimination in federal government employment, discharges other than honorable from the U.S. armed services on the basis of associations prior to induction, and the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

As of May 1, 1956, the amount expended or committed by the Fund totalled approximately $6,500,000. Roughly one-third of this sum was devoted to educational activities in race relations in both the North and South. Another substantial proportion of the Fund's appropriations is devoted to educational programs designed to further understanding of basic documents of American history. A third major area of Fund interest is the study of problems that have arisen

as a result of Communism's threat to democratic values. The Fund's largest appropriation in this latter category has been $325,000 for the study of Communism, under Prof. Rossiter and his staff.

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The Fund for the Republic

FACTS

5.

DISTRIBUTION of PUBLICATIONS

60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Chairman of the Board—Elmo Roper President—Robert M. Hutchins

A PRIMARY AIM of the Fund for the Republic since its founding in 1952 has been to encourage widespread discussion of the freedoms guaranteed all Americans by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As part of this effort the Fund has spent $125,000 for distribution of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and articles, already published elsewhere, which deal with important issues of civil liberties.

The distribution of these materials has been generally limited to religious, educational, civic and professional leaders. Circulation of each piece must be authorized by specific action of the Board of Directors of the Fund. The Board ordinarily gives such approval only to materials which have not already been widely circulated.

Distribution of a piece does not constitute Fund endorsement of its point of view. On some controversial and involved subjects, such as the meaning and use of the Fifth Amendment, the Fund has circulated different articles, each reflecting varying approaches.

Within the limits of its interests, the Fund endeavors to select publications on the basis of their significance, honesty, and objectivity. With such criteria in mind, "balanced" selection is not always feasible. For instance, the Fund has distributed items which advocate racial tolerance: obviously it could not, as an educational corporation devoted to advancing the principles of the Bill of Rights, "balance" such distribution by circulating articles promoting racial intolerance.

Materials receiving the widest circulation under the distribution program have been: *Who are Communists and Why?*, a pamphlet published by the Department of Defense, 61,000 copies; *Literature and Censorship*, an address by Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., 50,000 copies; *Famous Words of Freedom*, a booklet published by Freedom House, 50,000 copies; *The Landy Case* by George Sokolsky, 50,000 copies; *The Fifth Amendment Today*, a book by Erwin N. Griswold, 36,500 copies; and *The Law and the Future*, an article by Chief Justice Earl Warren, 35,000 copies.

The Fund ordinarily restricts its free distribution of books to a much smaller audience. Examples are *The Blessings of Liberty* by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., 479 copies; *Government by Investigation* by Alan Barth, 850 copies; and *A Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation* by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg, 160 copies. The Fund also undertakes a limited circulation of films and records.

This distribution program is separate from the dissemination of the Fund's own publications such as its 1955 Report, its Three-Year Report of activities which was published this year, its periodic Bulletins, and its fact sheets. Circulation of these items averages 100,000 each.

Whenever possible, the Fund has made materials available to those who request them. The following is a list of items distributed by the Fund including its own publications, with those still available printed in bold face type:

TITLE	NUMBER
Current History (Special Issue)	5,000
National Security and Individual Freedom by John Lord O'Brian (Book)	1,250
To Make Our Security System Secure by Vannevar Bush (N. Y. Times Reprint)	10,000
The Landy Case by George E. Sokolsky (Saturday Review Reprint)	50,000
The Way to Be Safe Is Never to Be Secure by Charles P. Curtis (Saturday Review Reprint)	5,000
A Report on the Security Problem by Hubert H. Humphrey (Congressional Record Reprint)	4,500
The Fifth Amendment Today by Erwin N. Griswold (Book)	36,500
Problems of the Fifth Amendment by C. Dickerman Williams (Fordham Law Review Reprint)	1,100
The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954 by Samuel H. Hofstadter (Paper)	10,000
The Law and the Future by Chief Justice Earl Warren (Fortune Reprint)	35,000
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (Special Issue)	25,000
The Oppenheimer Case by Charles P. Curtis (Book)	500
Government by Investigation by Alan Barth (Book)	850
Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor (Book)	450
If You Are Arrested, by Assn. of the Bar of the City of N. Y. and N. Y. Civil Liberties Union (Pamphlet)	270
The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1761 by Robert Allen Rutland (Book)	260
The Challenge of Law Reform by Arthur T. Vanderbilt (Book)	1,000
Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority; Some Legal Aspects by Joseph O'Meara (Lecture)	25,000
Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution by Samuel Eliot Morison (Speech)	3,000
Faceless Informers and Our Schools (Denver Post Reprint)	25,000
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Open Occupancy Housing (House and Home Reprint)	15,000
Memorandum on School Integration by Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House	2,000
Prejudice and Your Child by Kenneth B. Clark (Book)	290
The Strange Career of Jim Crow by C. Vann Woodward (Book)	200
The Fears Men Live By by Selma Hirsh (Book)	280
Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg (Book)	160
Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing by Wilner, Walkley and Cook (Book)	125
Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut by Conn. Commission on Civil Rights (Booklet)	1,000
Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science (Special Issue)	2,500
The Segregation Decisions—speeches by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims (Booklet)	10,000
Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight (Book)	2,100
An Exhibition of Books Which Have Survived Fire, the Sword and the Censors by Univ. of Kans. Library (Catalogue)	20,000

(continued on back page)

Obscenity and the Arts (Special Issue of Law and Contemporary Problems) Duke University Law School	930
Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence by Henry Steele Commager (Saturday Review Reprint)	10,000
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The Freedom Reader by Edwin S. Newman (Book)	5,000
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Freedom's Fetters by James Morton Smith (Book)	300
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Case Studies in Personnel Security by Adam Yarmolinsky	10,000
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Prelude to Independence by Dag Hammarskjold (Reprint)	10,000
Tolerance and the Law by A. L. Goodhart (Booklet)	100
Integration North and South by David Loth and Harold Fleming (Booklet). 40 cents per single copy: prices on bulk orders provided on request.	
Report on Blacklisting by John Cogley. Vol. I, Movies; Vol. II, Radio-Television. $1.25 each. Order through Meridian Books, 17 Union Square West, New York 3, N. Y.	

DISTRIBUTION ITEMS FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION

The Fund for the Republic Report May 31, 1955	50,000
The Fund for the Republic Report May 31, 1956 (Three Yr.)	108,000
The Fund for the Republic Bulletin, May 1956 (Civil Liberties and Race Relations)	100,000
The Fund for the Republic Bulletin, June 1956 (Civil Liberties: A Three-Year Effort)	100,000
The Fund for the Republic Bulletin, September 1956 (Congressman Walter Investigates)	100,000
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The Fund for the Republic, Facts No. 2 (Three-Part Study: The Communist Record in the U. S.)	100,000
The Fund for the Republic, Facts No. 3 (Grants to Religious Organizations)	100,000
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The Fund for the Republic by Albert Fowler (Reprint from Congressional Record)	100,000
The Bill of Rights Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow by Robert M. Hutchins (Booklet)	10,300
The Administrator Reconsidered by Robert M. Hutchins (Booklet)	4,000

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A Mike Wallace
interview with

Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr.

Produced by the American Broadcasting Company
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WHO OWNS THE AIR?

Testimony before the Federal Communications Commission

FRANK K. KELLY

An Occasional Paper on the Role of the Mass Media in the Free Society
Published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Rec'd 3/24/60

TO PAY OR NOT TO PAY

A Report on Subscription Television

ROBERT W. HORTON

An Occasional Paper on the Role of the Mass Media in the Free Society
Published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

FFR

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Roosevelt, Mrs. F. D.
Senator Herbert Lehman

REGARDING:

Corresp. between Mrs. FDR, Sen. Lehman and Joe Wilkins relative to further financial support for SRC from Fund for the Republic/

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Board - Josephine Wilkins

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Christian Life Bulletin (January-February - 1958-1)
(Published by Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention - Nashville, Tenn.)

REGARDING:

Refuting charges made against Christian Life Commission
and the Fund for the Republic

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT
Religious Organizations -
Southern Baptist Convention - Dr. A. C. Miller

Schedule of expenditures by state organizations

	Spent	Balance in fund
Alabama	$ 1,740.01	$ 11,459.99
Georgia	4,260.38	8,939.62
Kentucky	500.00	12,700.00
Louisiana	4,083.01	9,116.99
North Carolina	2,350.00	10,850.00
South Carolina	1,275.00	11,925.00
Tennessee	107.46	13,092.52
Texas	1,487.48	11,712.52
	15,803.34	
Virginia		13,200.00
Florida		13,200.00
Mississippi		13,200.00
Arkansas		13,200.00
		142,596.66

Amounts raised by states as per reports

Alabama	4.50
Georgia	1420.42
Kentucky	64.00
Louisiana	102.75
N. C.	35.50
S. C.	None reported
Texas	None reported
Arkansas	$ 200.00

	Spent	Balance
Alabama -	$1,740.01	11,459.99
Georgia -	4260.38	8,939.62
Kentucky	500.00	12,700.00
Louisiana -	4083.01	9,116.99
N.C.	2350.00	10,850.00
S.C.	1275.00	11,925.00
Tenn -	107.46	13,092.54
Texas -	1487.48	11,712.52
	15 803.34	89,796.66
Va -		13,200.00
Fla -		13,200.00
Miss		13,200.00
Ark		13,200.00
		142,596.66

Bal -

amounts raised

	Balonhand	Raised
Alabama –	605.75	4.50
Georgia –	$ ~~1420.42~~	$1,420.42
Kentucky –	120.00	64.00
La –	$1000.00	102.75
N.C.	659.02	35.50
S.C.	None	
Texas	None	

Fund for the Republic

SUMMERTIME AMONG THE STATE AFFILIATES

The old adage that August is the month-of-danger in Southern race relations no longer seems valid; for the past decade it has been a month of clamness. It would seem that since 1954, September, the "schools are open" month, with all the implications of new desegregation and protests against it, has replaced August as the month to watch with care.

Generally speaking the summer was a period of calm both for the opposition and for the state affiliated organizations. No startling events took place in either camp. Some significant developments have taken place in both camps, though. In the Deep South and even in several of the so-called "moderate" states the organs of government have been quick to make ugly sounds about any move toward compliance with the Supreme Court decisions on integration. On the basis of preliminary findings from field research efforts it would seem that the White Citizens Council movement has lost some of its steam. In parts of South Carolina the WCC and the Negro communities are entering a stage of accommodation or modus vivendi. In other areas, including some in South Carolina, the opposition has stiffened and the KKK and other extremist groups have been active.

A brief summary of the more important activities of the affiliated state organizations will indicate what they have been about during the summer.

ALABAMA: The Council has been working quietly with campus-religious leaders at the University to prepare the way for the peaceful admission of any qualified Negro students who might apply this fall. After some preliminary "digging" in the Tuscaloosa area the Council notified the Governor's office of impending danger when registration begins. The office of the Alabama Council is being moved from Montgomery to Birmingham. The night after the Rev.Robert Graetz received publicity as our Montgomery chapter program chairman his house was bombed. At the August meeting in Birmingham a group of "Ace" Carter's men attempted to disrupt our local group but failed.

ARKANSAS: One staff member attended the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. Both have been active in working with existing organisations in the state. The Director has been concentrating on ministerial groups; the Associate Director has been working with the state Bar Association and local groups of lawyers. Contact has been maintained with the state Board for Economic and Industrial Development. Staff and Board members have been working with educational groups and P.T.A.'s.

FLORIDA: One staff member attended the Fisk Institute. The Florida Council has been building "locals" with considerable success. The most important of these brought 400 members into the Florida Council, most of whom will become full members of the Council as their dues become do; this was the Dade County Council on Community Relations. The staff was instrumental in bringing Negro and white community leaders together in Delray; this meeting led to an end of the city's plan to re-boundary the city so as to exclude the Negro district. Staff has been active all over the state with local groups, P.T.A.'s, school officials, etc.

GEORGIA: A good deal of effort has gobe into the resurrection of the "local" in the Atlanta area, renamed The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. This group is becoming cohesive and should prove effective in the future. The consultants have been in a number of Georgia's major cities working with local groups. The Executive Director continues to speak before status groups and to work with acquaintances in key positions. Georgia looks much more hopeful now.

KENTUCKY: The Kentucky Council has been pushing "employment on merit" for teachers with considerable success and good publicity. The state office of education has used some of their findings. The staff has been working with local school authorities. The Consultants have been helping plan desegregation moves. Increased support from organised labor has been obtained. Financial problem in Kentucky largely based on feeling that things are going so well, why bother ? Sturgis may change this.

LOUISIANA: Council publishing "RESEARCH IN ACTION" monthly; a summary of important items about the state. One on Negro police in Louisiana received favorable comments from several chirfs-of-police. The New Orleans chapter has new officers, is becoming more active, more ready to stand up and be counted.

Gleason Union Shop
MADE IN U.S.A.

MISSISSIPPI: This is the heartbreaker. The Mississippi Council has never really gotten off the ground with an effective program nor a cohesive board. The organization has been put on provisional status by SRC and unless great improvement is shown when the two assistant directors visit Jacksnon, September 14th, other plans will have to be made to serve Mississippi from the Central office.

NORTH CAROLINA: The North Carolina Council has spent considerable effort in building a strong Charlotte Council on Human Relations; this they have done and it is beginning to pay off. The Director has been working with the new field man with AFSC, John Alexander. The Board needs strengthening and a broader base of representation. Work with school people continues: officials, P.T.A.'s. Hard to say why exactly but the N.C. Council has not caught fire.

SOUTH CAROLINA: The South Carolina Council has been concentrating on getting the story out of economic reprisal against Negro people who sought to register their children in non-segregated schools. The staff has been busy working with church groups and civic groups across the state to build an atmosphere where a calm approach to the problem of desegregation would be possible. The group is considering publishing a series of tracts which would be distributed free of charge in bus stations and other public places.

TENNESSEE: The Tennessee Council has not yet really pulled itself together into a cohesive group. In spite of this the consultants of the Tennessee Council continue to do significant work, particularly in the eastern and central sections of the state. One of their consultants has been observing the Clinton situation since it inception. A group of consultants interviewed key people in the Nashville area, seeking to determine how rapidly that city was willing to move toward desegregation. The Tennessee Council under new leadership is seeking an Executive Director, and this task should be fulfilled by early fall.

TEXAS: The Texas Commission has been active doing research and preparing a publication entitled, Texas Schools in Transition. They have discovered that the figure of 65 desegregated school areas is short of the true total of 98. There is indication from this study that between 150 to 200 school districts will have commenced the process of desegregation this fall. The Texas Commission has taken on new purpose and new direction under its new Executive Director.

VIRGINIA: The Virginia Council has proposed a counter plan to that of the Governor of the State who has advocated a school give-away program. They have asked for local option to determine the solution to the problems faced. This has won the admiration and adherence of an increasing number of supporters. The staff has been active creating local units. The most significant of these at the moment is the one in Charlottesville, for that community soon faces the problem and challenge of desegregating its schools. That local has already met the onslaught of the man Kasper, who was sentenced to jail for comtempt of court in Clinton, Tennessee. Things look hopeful in Virginia.

Gleason Union Shop

✓ 1. Apportionment - Voting - Democratization

✓ 2. Police Administration and training.

3. Negroes in fire departments.

✓ 4. Representation for all.

✓ 5. School committees.

6. Employment opportunities (training, industrialization, persuasion)

7. Desegregation of common carriers

✓ 8. Race in the News.

✓ 9. Agricultural -- land tenure, rural opportunities

✓ 10. Justice -- Commission on Equal Penalties

✓ 11. Human Relations in the schools.

✓ 12. Self-survey

RESEARCH AND ACTION ?

FBR

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for renewal of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

Our letter of March 15, 1954 envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956 of $22,847.50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to the financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder, but the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions. of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis-period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April 1954, and the crucial decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, but barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pary for the leadership, detailed insturction, and implementing guidance which the state orgaizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it". We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independent of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

~~the state organizations urgently need.~~ An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it". We are committed ~~xxxxxx~~ already to rasing by our own efforts, independent~~ly~~ of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the ~~coming twlev m nths from October 1st~~ second grant period, and ~~we are convinced~~ that ~~that~~ is quite as much as we can ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ realistically undertake.

The added training program which we want will cost $.

It provides for the services of

and this added staff, with its travel, works out at the figure of .

~~Of this amount, we will entrive to carry within our regular central office budget the sum of~~ , There ~~xxx~~ will/remain unspent and uncommitted from the crrent year's all ocation to the States $.

Leaves already strained our central office budget.

We suggest that we be given permission to apply this unallocated balance from the expiring fiscal year to ward the trining program. The needed total of $ is therefor e reduced by ~~these two~~ this proposal~~s~~ to $, and this is the sum that we ask for as an allocation to the central office (solely for guidance to the State~~x~~ programs), being a request over and above the grant of $ for the central office, forecast in the oirginal letter of grant.

In summary, we request, therefore:

As forecast in the April ?, 1954 letter of grant

For the States $

For the Central office $

Additionally for the central office (for guidance to state programs) $

Total, .

October 26, 1954

Mr. Gordon Lovejoy
P. O. Box 578
Guilford College
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

At some meetings in New York last week various people who have served curatively (they hoped) in connection with the Milford and Baltimore and Washington disturbances, said that it was a useful thing to have in advance names and addresses of people who had some experience and good education in human relations.

Oscar Lee, for instance, with the National Council of Churches of Christ, said that it took him fourteen hours of time on the long distance phone to run down the names of people who could help at Milford. That idea grew in my mind into a hope that I could compile a list of people and addresses in the South who had had some training in intergroup relations.

As I solemly undertake not to get them to become members of the Southern Regional Council, but just to keep their names in a single "no copy" list here in this office for emergency use only, do you think you would be justified in sending me names and addresses of the people you have trained at Lexington or, significantly, elsewhere? Or, if some modification of this seems wise, say so!

I am concerned only with the thirteen states which SRC considers Southern as follows: Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Oklahoma.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Herman Long
Helen Amerman

October 26, 1954

Mr. Dan Dodson
New York University
Washington Square College
New York, New York

Dear Dan:

I am trying to follow through and make up a private-no-membership-appeals-no-begging-letters-only-for emergencies-list of people who are now residing in the South and are known to have had significant training in intergroup relations.

If I promise not to bother the people until it seems to me that their attention should be called to some emergency problem in their vicinity, do you think you could conscientiously send me the names of the people whom you know who are living in the South? I am hitting other agencies also, so it is not just poor Dan alone. The combined list may be helpful to you or other people who have a need to deal with some emergency situation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Helen Amerman

October 26, 1954

Mr. Herman Long
Institute for Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

Can you give me names of the people whom you and the Institute have trained? I do solemly swear, and so on, that I won't beg them for anything except in time of need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 27, 1954

To: AH

Would you make up a list from the files of people suitable to be added to this index "good eggibus."

October 27, 1954

Mr. Stewart Meacham
1500 Fifteenth Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Stewart:

I saw Oscar Lee in New York and talked with him a good deal about getting someone -- probably you -- to do the job of travelling in the South. I also talked with him about people who had the means and could pick it up, and Oscar talked on what he could do on obtaining the means.

I am more than ever convinced that the travel method is the way to get things moving.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

1500 15th ave so.
Birmingham Ala.
Oct. 19 1954

ltr.

RECEIVED
10/20/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George,

I talked with Oscar Lee in New York and he said that he was going to talk to you soon about a more direct and active role for the National Council in the school desegregation campaign. His thoughts are entirely along the line of cooperating with and working through the Council of course. I don't know whether you have seen him yet but I shall be interested if you get something lined out.

I talked with our Methodist people and there was a mixed reaction. Some feared that the Southern Bishops were not ready yet to move ahead. But others felt that it could be possible to set up some sort of program out of the New York secretariate that would not be directly under a bishop. That would mean that the bishops could cooperate a little better because they would not be held responsible. There is some mulling around on the thing but nothing very definite yet.

I also talked with Lewis Hoskins and intend to stop off in Philadelphia when I am up that way a month from now and see some of the other AFSC folks. They are sold on your program as you know.

Let me know if you should be coming over this way, - and if there are any new developments in your program, - or if you get any additional ideas as to what the Methodists or the National Council could be doing, which I might try to peddle.

We have our own apartment here now and could put you up if you are stopping over.

Regards,

Stewart Meacham

October 29, 1954

Dictated October 28

Mr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
The National Conference of Christians
and Jews, Inc.
P. O. Box 578
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

Many thanks for your letter of October 23rd. I am mighty sorry I wasn't here when you came. The Council is anxious to have only the most friendly and cordial working relationship with NCCJ, and I will constantly exert myself to that end.

The letter I wrote you the other day is an action independent of the matter of the twenty-five communities. The other day's letter covers all the states of the Southern Region, and is just an extension for the whole South of the idea about the twenty-five communities.

Now as to the twenty-five communities. Frank Loescher and I had opportunity to clarify that purpose in later conversation with David Freeman, whose idea the matter largely was at the beginning. I detailed as areas in which friction is likely to occur earliest, the following:

Southern Maryland and the eastern shore of Maryland, specifically, Maryland south of the Patapsco River, and Maryland south of Elkton.

Kent and Sussex Counties in Delaware.

Virginia south of the James River, inclusive of and east of Campbell and Pittsylvania Counties, specifically, including Accomack and Northampton Counties.

In Kentucky, the following counties: Christian, Trigg, Lyon, and the counties in western Kentucky, being Marshall, Graves, Calloway, McCracken, Ballard, Carlyle, Hickman, and Fulton, and generally what is called The Purchase.

Arkansas, southeast of the line from Little River County to Mississippi County.

East central Oklahoma and Choctaw and McCurtain Counties.

Texas, east of the line from Grayson County to Guadalupe County to Refugio County.

Central and western Tennessee.

Northwest third of Louisiana.

My listing at this stage is the sheerest guess work. We don't know what the Supreme Court decrees will be, and nearly everything depends on their exact language. But these seem to me to be areas at which the problem is likely to come earliest to the fore, and in which contention is likely to be severe.

I am quite clear from conversations with Freeman and Loescher that nobody proposes to put together a detailed list of people in local communities in these or other areas. All that is wanted is a list of the principal official persons -- volunteer or paid -- who, for the several cooperating agencies, share a responsibility for the agency in these areas. That means you wouldn't have to list, and shouldn't list, local contacts in those areas, but should merely list the head people having jurisdiction over those areas. In your case, I think that is your affected state officers. In my case, I will list my affected state officers. I assume that other agencies will do similarly.

Frank Loescher is responsible for getting the list together. So you should, if you will be so kind, arrange for NCCJ's list to go forward to Frank Loescher, the Fund for the Republic, One East Fifty-Fourth Street, New York City.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Frank Loescher

The NATIONAL CONFERENCE of CHRISTIANS & JEWS, Inc.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
BENSON FORD
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HERBERT J. OSBORNE

FOUNDED 1928

"—to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." *(NCCJ By-laws)*

P. O. BOX 578, GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANT
GORDON W. LOVEJOY

RECEIVED
10/26/54
Southern Regional Council

October 23, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
62 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I was sorry to miss you when I was in Atlanta the other day, but I presume Dr. Flemming has discussed with you the "olive branch" which I was carrying.

In a letter from Herb Seamans, he refers to the private luncheon meeting held by the Herald-Tribune Forum. He says the group present agreed that you would select twenty-five communities in the South where integration is imminent or where trouble might develop. If you will let me know the communities you have chosen, I will do my best to find you the names of any former workshoppers or other leaders we might have in those areas.

Please let me know in what ways I can be of assistance, both along the lines of the New York discussions and as your plans develop.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon

Gordon W. Lovejoy

GWL/m

cc: Dr. Herbert L. Seamans

Dictated October 28

October 29, 1954

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

For the areas I have listed in the attached letter to Gordon Lovejoy, the following are the SRC personnel who should be first reached.

Virginia. The Reverend Emerson C. Smith, 109 West Grace Street, Department of Christian Social Relations, the Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia. Telephone, Richmond 3-0274. Emerson Smith's group is independent but affiliated with the SRC, but by arrangement for the time being acts in close cooperation with the SRC.

Kentucky. Mr. Hugh Brimm, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. Telephone, not immediately available to me. Brimm is the newly elected unpaid president of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, which is SRC's affiliate for Kentucky. They will shortly employ paid staff, but have not yet done so. Meanwhile, Brimm is the man to be in touch with.

Tennessee. SRC's affiliate in that state is not yet organized, though it will be in a matter of a few weeks. In the meantime, for central Tennessee, agencies should be in touch with Herman Long, Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Telephone, Nashville 42-3396. For the eastern Tennessee area, the best person to contact would be Reverend F. Woods Beckman, 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville.

Arkansas. As this affiliate is not yet fully organized, agencies should be in touch with either the Little Rock Urban League or, for quite serious matters, with Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock.

Louisiana. For Louisiana the SRC affiliate is managed by Milton H. Vigo, Louisiana Council on Human Relations, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, New Orleans, Louisiana, Telephone MAin 4295.

Texas. The contact for the time being is Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston, Texas, telephone Keystone 8986. She is chairman of the Texas Commission on Race Relations. Paid staff will be employed shortly.

For Southern Maryland, it will be well for agencies to be in touch with Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, 104 "C" Street, Washington, D. C., telephone, Lincoln 3-2773.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 29, 1954

Dictated October 28

Mr. Dan W. Dodson
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

It so happened, largely at the instance of ADL, that a luncheon had been arranged just after the morning meeting on Tuesday, October 19, at which meeting you were charged with a coordinating responsibility. Epstein, Lukas, Maslow, Loescher, Mitchell, Lovecky (my guest from the John Hay Whitney Foundation), somebody from NCCJ, Ken Clark, and some more. Out of that, I think, there came an agreement that there should be a luncheon once a quarter of six, eight, or a dozen people who operate programs in this field. Sometimes in New York, sometimes at other spots, more accessible to particular individuals. I think everybody liked that idea and Lukas and Loescher would more than likely be prepared to move ahead with it.

In addition to that, maybe a gathering once a year of that luncheon group committee with pretty much the people who were present at the Tuib morning meeting; many of whom were only on the fringes of the central problem. Why not work along that channel?

The agency would be able to pay the way of the people to the luncheon meeting, so there shouldn't be any expense, and they could review program and make plans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

CENTER FOR COMMUNITY AND FIELD SERVICES

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

October 25, 1954

RECEIVED
10/27/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

This is a follow-up of that assignment you gave me at the Herald-Tribune Forum session last Thursday. I am a little buffaloed as to how to begin with this undertaking. The thing I want to be sure of is that whatever is done doesn't get in the way of what you and N.A.I.R.O. and the National Social Welfare Assembly are attempting to do.

I have a vague notion of your program and your plans. I don't know how concretized you have made them to the present time. As I understand what was called for, it was that with these national agencies and their responsibilities which they face, there should be some coordinating clearing agency or instrumentality which would provide them with the necessary information before they took action and which might call them together on occasion to jointly plan strategy so far as such national efforst were being undertaken. Does this get in the way of what you are attempting to do? Does it get in the way of N.A.I.R.O.? Does it get in the way of anything else that you know of that is being attempted at the present time?

I do not see this as an operating agency if it should be set up, which may never happen, of course. I do not see it as anything other than something of an informal clearing house for what I would call, relatively speaking, national social agencies.

Would you write me a letter and give me your thoughts on it, for I'll need them badly before I call a group together.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson
Director

TELEPHONE FINANCIAL 6-2000

STATE OF ILLINOIS

WILLIAM G. STRATTON, GOVERNOR

ILLINOIS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

160 NORTH LA SALLE STREET

CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

CHAIRMAN
ERWIN W. ROEMER
CHICAGO

VICE-CHAIRMAN
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DANVILLE

SECRETARY
MRS. ORVILLE N. FOREMAN
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DR. RILEY H. PITTMAN

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
OLIVE M. DIGGS

INFORMATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE
HELEN E. AMERMAN

LUTHER FENDERSON
EAST ST. LOUIS

DR. CLINTON L. FOLSE
CHAMPAIGN

PATRICK GORMAN
CHICAGO

REV. RICHARD PAUL GRAEBEL
SPRINGFIELD

ROBERT S. HAMMOND
CHICAGO

DR. CHARLES E. HOWELL
DE KALB

MRS. ROBERT S. JOHN
WAUKEGAN

DR. PERCY L. JULIAN
CHICAGO

HENRY L. KOHN
CHICAGO

ELIZABETH J. KUCK
CHICAGO

GRAHAM K. McCORKLE
CHICAGO

DR. E. G. ROBERTS
ROCKFORD

EMANUEL ROSENBERG
DECATUR

WILLIAM D. SALTIEL
CHICAGO

RABBI JACOB J. WEINSTEIN
CHICAGO

JOHN L. YANCEY
CHICAGO

November 4, 1954

RECEIVED
11/6/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In reply to your letter of October 26, I have talked to my colleagues in the office, and aside from people in agencies in the larger cities--whom you undoubtedly know already--I can suggest only one person, whom I have not been in personal touch with since the early '40's.

My former school mate, now Mrs. Larned Randolph, lives at Linden Farm, North Garden, Virginia, near Lynchburg. While a student at Vassar she was active in the program of the Dutchess County Day Nursery (an interracial project which attracted Mrs. Roosevelt's attention), and after graduation she did ghost-writing and other volunteer work for Walter White and the NAACP.

I shall continue to try to think of resource people for you.

Looking forward to seeing you in Boston,

Sincerely yours,

Helen

(Miss) Helen E. Amerman
Informational Representative

October 26, 1954

Mrs. Helen Amerman
5439 South Kimbark
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Helen:

What could you do to strengthen these lists for me? Surely you or your other friends could supply the dope on the guys who are now living in this part of the world! Can you shed many of them for me?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

December 16, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSM
FROM: GTH

Additions which should be made to the "List of Key People in Southern and Border-State Communities" prepared by Frank Loescher:

Alabama:

Rev. Dan Whitsett, Chrmn.
The First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Mr. J.T. Brooks, Ex.Off. SRC
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Room 206, Moore Building
South Court Street
Montgomery

2-0450

Arkansas:

Mr. Fred Darragh, Chrmn.
1401 E. Sixth Street
Little Rock

Rev. Chas. Walker, Vice-Chrmn.
1216 Chester Street
Little Rock

~~Mrs. E.B. Dawson, Sec.~~
~~P.O. Box 912~~
~~Pine Bluff,~~

~~Rev. C.S. Cartwright, Treas.~~
~~P.O. Box 912~~
~~1701 N. Taylor St.~~
~~Little Rock~~

Florida:

Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn.
Barnett National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville

Georgia:

Rev. G.E. Clary, Chrmn.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta

Dr. B.R. Brazeal, V-Chrmn,
Morehouse College
Atlanta

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Ex. Sec.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta

Kentucky:

Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Mem.Bd.
1350 ~~Lead~~ Fontaine Road
Lexington,

Mr. J.M. Tydings, Treas.
Lincoln Foundation
808 Starks Building
Louisville

Dr. C.H. Parrish, Staff Consultant
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Louisiana:

Rev. Albert D'Orlando, Chrmn.
First Unitarian Church
New Orleans,

Mrs. Nouma J. Rousseve, V-Chrmn.
4636 Willow Street
New Orleans 15

Louisiana: Rabbi David Fichman, Sec.
1626 Pine Street
New Orlenas

Mrs. Constant C. DeJoie, Jr., Treas.
601 Dryades Street
New Orleans

Mississippi: Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chrmn.
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg

North Carolina:

Rev. Leon Russell, Chrmn.
First Methodist Church
Rocky Mount, N.C.

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Ex.Sec.
121 East Third St., Rm. 209
Charlotte

Mr. John H. Wheeler, Chrmn. Pers. Com.
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham

South Carolina:

Mr. Richard J. Foster, Chrmn.
Curb Market Building
Greenville

Mrs. E.H. Spearman, Ex. Sec.
3315 Colin Kelly Drive
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. A.J. Clement, Mem.Bd., Ex.Of.
Station A, Box 36
Charleston

Tennessee: Miss Elsie M. Lewis, Sec.
1724 14th Avenue, N.
Nashville

Mr. Dan May, Treas.
425 Chestnut Street
Nashville

Mr. Roane Waring, Jr., Mem.Bd.
2410 Sterick Building
Memphis

Mr. Lucius Burch, Mem.Bd.
Burch, Porter & Johnson
Court Square Building
128 N. Court Avenue
Memphis

Texas:

Mrs. Eugene Jud, Treas.
2504 Herring Street
Waco

Mr. Thos. S. Sutherland, Ex. Sec.
309 West 21st Street
Austin

Mrs. Nanie Belle Aycox, Ex.Of.SRC
Texas Southern University
3201 Wheeler Street
Houston

Dr. W.R. Banks, V-Chrmn.
Prairie View College
Prairie View,

Texas: Dr. J.L. Clark, V-Chrmn.
1421 14th Street
Huntsville, Tex.

Mr. D.A. Rowe, Sec.
Jasper, Tex.

Mr. J.D. McLeod - Historian
805 19½ Street
Huntsville

Virginia: Rev. W. Carrol Brooke, Ex.Of., Mem.Bd.
Box 208
Staunton, Va.

12/13

HCF
GTH
FBR

Please look through this for suitable corrections and let me know the changes you think should be made.

I observe already that Guy Wells' name is not on the list under Georgia.

Encl: List of key people in Southern and Border-state communities sent in by Frank Loescher.

LIST OF KEY PEOPLE IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER-STATE COMMUNITIES

Prepared by Frank Loescher
December 10, 1954

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AJC	American Jewish Committee
ADL	Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
CCW	Council of Church Women
CSR	Department of Christian Social Relations of the Council of Church Women
NCCJ	National Conference of Christians and Jews
NCCCA	National Council of the Churches of Christ in America
NUL	National Urban League
SRC	Southern Regional Council

ALABAMA

Rabbi J. S. Gallinger
ADL
Temple Beth-L
P. O. Box 9
Bessemer

Mrs. L. S. Evins
State Pres., Alabama CCW
216 Princeton Ave.
Birmingham

Mrs. Candler Tatum
St. Chmn., CSR, Ala. CCW
2422 - 15th Ave., South
Birmingham 5

Mr. D. E. Price
Exec. Secy, Birmingham Sunday School
Council of Religious Education
NCCCA
511 Title Guarantee Bldg.
Birmingham 3

Stanley Rosenbaum
ADL
Muscle Shoals Theatres
P. O. Box 406
Florence

Hugo Hecht
ADL
Box 244
Gadsen

Milton Levy
ADL
1 South Royal St.
Mobile

Rev. Dan Whitsett
Chmn., Ala. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga

Mr. J. T. Brooks
Ala. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
Ala. State College
Montgomery

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Ala. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
Room 206 Moore Bldg.
South Court St.
Montgomery
Montgomery 2-0450

ALABAMA (Contd.)

Dr. Wilbur L. Walton
Pres., Mobile Council of Churches
NCCCA
251 Island Court
Mobile

Dr. David Monsky
ADL
748 Adams St.
Montgomery 5

Seymour Cohen
ADL
532 Third Ave.
Selma

William P. Bloom
ADL
P. O. Box 226
Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS

Mrs. E. D. Galloway
State Pres., Arkansas CCW
820 Prospect
Hot Springs

Ben Klugose
ADL
422 East Markham
Little Rock

Mrs. Earl Cotton
State Chmn., CSR, Arkansas CCW
2023 Schiller St.
Little Rock

Harry Ashmore
SRC
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock
delete

Mr. Fred Darragh
Chmn., Ark. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
140 E. Sixth St.
~~1216 Chester St~~
Little Rock

Rev. Chas. Walker,
V-Chmn., Ark. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
1216 Chester ST.
Little Rock

DELAWARE

Judge Daniel Hermann
ADL
700 West 24th St.
Wilmington

Theodore Radamaker
Delaware Director, NCCJ
918 Orange Street
Wilmington

Mr. E. Melvin Jewett
Exec. Secy., Wilmington and New
Castle County Council of Churches
NCCCA
1015 Tatnall St.
Wilmington

FLORIDA

Mrs. Cecil Davis
State Pres., Fla. CCW
216 River View Blvd.
Daytona Beach

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Exec. Secy., Fla. Council of Churches
NCCCA
820 Oak St.
Jacksonville

Gilbert J. Balkin
Director ADL
330 Seybold Bldg.
Miami 32

Reverend Wilfred P. Harman
Exec. Secy., Greater Miami
Council of Churches, NCCCA
711 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Miami 32

George Talianoff
ADL
420 Lincoln Road
Miami Beach

Mrs. L. S. Ashley
State Chmn., CSR, Fla. CCW
1611 Drake
Ocala

Reverend Ben F. Wyland
Exec. Secy., United Churches of
St. Petersburg, NCCCA
First Federal Bldg., 4th & Central
St. Petersburg

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Chmn., Fla. Cncl for Human Rel. (SRC)
Barnett National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville

Hollis Rinehart,
Pres., Dade County Council
on Community Relations
Ingraham Bldg.
Miami

Prof. Donald Sprague
Dept. of Human Relations
Univ. of Miami
Coral Gables

Seymour Samet
Dir., A.J.C.
213 NE 2nd Ave.
Miami

GEORGIA

Milton Lesser
ADL
1198 S. Milledge Ave.
Athens

Arthur J. Levin
Director, ADL
41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta

Mrs. L. L. Austin
St. Pres., Ga., CCW
1174 Zimmer Drive, N. E.
Atlanta

Reverend Edward A. Driscoll
Exec. Secy., Ga. Council of
Churches, NCCCA
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
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Reverend Robert B. Giffen
Exec. Secy. Christian Council of
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167 Walton St., N. W.
Atlanta

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ADL
Baxley

Rabbi Alfred L. Goodman
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Dr. Guy H. Wells
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63 Auburn Ave. NE
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Alpine 4063

GEORGIA (contd.)

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ADL
Paul's Dept. Store
Dalton

Mrs. Dean King
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132 West Hill St.
Decatur

Alvin Koplin
ADL
Macon Iron & Paper Co.
Macon

Hyman Esserman
ADL
425 Broad St.
Rome

Dr. William Wexler
ADL
141 Bull St.
Savannah

Joe Rosolio
ADL
135 S. Broad St.
Thomasville

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Saul Kaplan
ADL
P. O. Box 184
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Reverend Jesse L. Murrell
Exec. Secy. Kenton County
Protestant Assn., NCCCA
411 Coppin Building
Covington

Mrs. J. S. Van Winkle
State Pres., Kentucky CCW
143 St. Mildred's Court
Danville

Jack Friedman
ADL
307 Main St.
Harlan

Dr. Franklin Moosnick
ADL
184 North Mill St.
Lexington

Reverend John S. Chambers
Exec. Secy. Ky Council of Churches
NCCCA
152 East High St.
Lexington

Charles Morris
ADL
M. E. Taylor Bldg.
Louisville

KENTUCKY (contd.)

John T. Kenna
Ky. Director, NCCJ
201 Realty Bldg.
Louisville

Reverend John W. Meloy
Exec. Secy., Louisville Area Council
of Churches, NCCCA
210 Y. M. C. A. Bldg.
Louisville 2

Joseph D. Scholtz, Esq.
Pres., Louisville Urban League
NUL
Federal Bldg., Sixth & Broadway
Louisville

Charles T. Steele
Exec. Secy. Louisville Urban League
NUL
608 Walnut St.
Louisville 2

Hugh Brimm
Pres., Ky. Council on Human Relations
SRC
Carver School of Missions
~~Southern Baptist Theological Seminary~~
Louisville

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Staff Consultant, S.R.C.
926 South Sixth St.
Louisville

C. Robert Kaplan
ADL
122 West Second St.
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State Chmn., CSR, Ky. CCW
516 Lone Oak Rd.
Paducah

LOUISIANA

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State Pres., Louisiana CCW
1742 Ingleside Drive
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Bernard Iscoe
Director ADL
606 Common St., 4th floor
New Orleans 12

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Louisiana Director NCCJ
513 Pan American Bldg.
New Orleans 12

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State Chmn., CSR, La. CCW
6101 Louisville
New Orleans

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Exec. Secy., New Orleans
Council of Churches, NCCCA
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Milton H. Vigo
La. Council on Human Relations (SRC)
303 Board of Trade Annex Bldg.
New Orleans
MAine 4295

A. B. Freyer
AJC
410 First National Bldg.
Shreveport

Rev. Albert D'Orlando,
Chmn., La. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
First Unitarian Church
New Orleans

Mr. Nouma J. Rousseve
V. Chmn, La. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
4636 Willow St.
New Orleans 15

MARYLAND

Mrs. D. Elwood Williams, Jr.
State Chmn., CSR
Maryland CCW
RFD #3
Annapolis

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State Pres., Md. CCW
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Dr. Ross Clinchy
Maryland Director, NCCJ
1322 Mathieson Bldg.
Baltimore 2

Reverend Willis R. Ford
Exec. Secy. Council of Churches
& Christian Education of Md.-Del.
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Baltimore 1

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Pres., Baltimore Urban League (NUL)
Waverly Press
Guilford and Mt. Royal Ave.
Baltimore 2

Furman L. Templeton
Exec. Secy. Baltimore Urban League (NUL)
2404 Pennsylvania Ave.
Baltimore 17

Philip E. Lerman
Director, ADL
1003 "K" St.
Washington, D. C.

MARYLAND (contd.)

Irene Osborne
AFSC (SRC)
104 "C" St.
Washington, D. C.
Lincoln 3-2773

MISSISSIPPI

Mrs. C. R. Noble
St. Pres., Miss. CCW
State College

Mrs. Hodding Carter
St. Chmn., CSR, Miss. CCW
Greenville

Rabbi. Chas. Mantinband
Chmn., Miss. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
808 Mamie St.
Hattiesburg

MISSOURI

Mrs. Henry Detherage
St. Chmn., CSR, Mo. CCW
148 Bonnville Rd.
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Reverend A. Greig Ritchie
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P. O. Box 839
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St. Pres., Mo. CCW
416 West 70th St.
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Reverend J. Allan Watson
Gen. Secy. Council of Churches
of Greater Kansas City
NCCCA
210 East 10th St.
Kansas City 6

Dr. E. L. Hobbs
Pres., Council of Churches of
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NCCCA
Y. M. C. A. Building
St. Joseph

Dr. O. Walter Wagner
Exec. Dir., Metropolitan Church
Federation of Greater St. Louis
NCCCA
1528 Locust St.
St. Louis 3

NORTH CAROLINA

Leon Feldman
ADL
Flat Iron Bldg.
Asheville

Rabbi Ephraim Rosenzweig
ADL
Hillel Foundation
Chapel Hill

Alfred E. Smith
ADL
104 North Tryon St.
Charlotte

Mr. E. J. Evans
ADL
114 E. Chapel Hill St.
Durham

Mr. Morton R. Kurtz
Exec. Dir., N. C. Council of
Churches, NCCCA
Box 6637, College Station
Durham

Jules Witten
ADL
Gastonia Combed Yarns
Gastonia

Mrs. John E. F. Hicks
St. Chmn., CSR, N. C. CCW
304 North George St.
Goldsboro

Mrs. T. S. Newbold
St. Pres., N. C. CCW
Box 1296
Rocky Mount

Rev. Leon Russell
Chmn. N.C. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Rocky Mount

Mr. John H. Wheeler,
N.C. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham

Mr. Harry S. Jones.
Ex-Sec., N.C. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
121 E. 3rd St.
Charlotte
Franklin 6-6833

NORTH CAROLINA (contd.)

Joe Hanchrow
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Wilson

Al Schwartz
ADL
813 Miller St.
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA

Mrs. Harry L. Adams
State Pres., Oklahoma CCW
445 North 14th St.
Enid

John Horwitz
ADL
304 N. W. 41st St.
Oklahoma City

T. H. McDowell
Oklahoma Director, NCCJ
310 Community Exchange Bldg.
Oklahoma City 2

Mrs. E. R. Reno
Exec. Secy., Oklahoma City Council
of Churches
NCCCA
516 Braniff Bldg.
Oklahoma City

Reverend Frank O. Holmes
President, Oklahoma City
NUL
600 N. W. 13th St.
Oklahoma City

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson
Exec. Secy., Oklahoma City
Urban League (NUL)
213 North Walnut
Oklahoma City 4

Louis Horwitz
ADL
1512 South 9th St.
Ponca City

OKLAHOMA (contd.)

Samuel A. Boorstein
ADL
Pythian Bldg.
Tulsa

Mrs. F. C. Swindell
State Chmn., CRS, Oklahoma CCW
404 N. Santa Fe
Tulsa

Dr. Guy C. Tetirick
Exec. Sec., Tulsa Council of
Churchss, NCCCA
17 West 10th St.
Tulsa 3

Judge James P. Malone
Pres., Tulsa Urban League, NUL
411 Drew Bldg.
Tulsa

Marion M. Taylor
Exec. Secy. Tulsa Urban League
107-1/2 North Greenwood Ave.
Tulsa

SOUTH CAROLINA

Reverend McKay Brabham
Pres., S. C. Fellowship of Churches
NCCCA
St. Johns Methodist Church
Aiken

Dr. Sol Neidich
ADL
Beaufort

Arthur Rittenberg
ADL
88 Broad St.
Charleston

Jules Bank
ADL
1009 Geruais St.
Columbia

Jack L. Bloom
ADL
Box 503
Greenville

Miss Carolina Gillespie
St. Chmn., CSR, S. C. CCW
Rt. #1
Hartsville

Mrs. James M. Dabbs
St. Pres., S. C. CCW
Mayesville

Mr. A. R. Suritz
ADL
Barry's, Inc.
101 West Main St.
Rock Hill

SOUTH CAROLINA (contd.)

Rabbi Samuel Wrubel
ADL
Temple B'nai Israel
Union and Dean Sts.
Spartanburg

Mr. J. Lawrence Goldsmith
ADL
Dixie Life Bldg.
Sumter

Mr. Richard J. Foster.
Chmn. S.C. Dvsn. of SRC.
Curb Market Bldg.
Greenville

Mr. A.J. Clement.
S.C. Dvsn. of S.R.C.
Station A, Box 36
Charleston

Mrs. E.H. Spearman
Ex. Sec., S.C. Dvsn. of SRC
3315 Colin Kelly Drive
Columbia.

TENNESEE

Rabbi Isadore Franzblau
ADL
820 Southside
Bristol

Mr. A. J. Koblentz
ADL
812 Market St.
Chattanooga

Dr. W. R. Levy
ADL
506 First Natl. Bank Bldg.
Jackson

Mrs. M. E. Canter
ADL
Piney Grove Park
Johnson City

Reverend Freeman Wright
Pres., Kingsport Council of
Churches, NCCCA
2603 Bristol Highway
Kingsport

Mr. David Blumberg
ADL
1222 Lakeland Drive
Knoxville

Mrs. Albert Lyons, Jr.
State Pres., Tenn. CCW
3456 Kingston Park Drive
Knoxville

~~F. Woods Beckman~~
~~Chmn., Tenn. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)~~
~~5908 Magazine Rd.~~
~~Knoxville~~ [redacted]

Miss. Elne M. Lewis
Tenn. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
1724 14th Ave. N.
Nashville

TENNESSEE (contd.)

Leonard F. Hurley
Pres., Knoxville Council of Churches
NCCCA
411-1/2 Henly St., S. W.
Knoxville

Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Chmn, ~~SRC~~ Tenn. Cncl. on Human Rel. (SRC)
5908 Magazine Rd.
Knoxville

Jack Lieberman
AJC
93 Porter Bldg.
Memphis

Sam A. Myar, Jr.
ADL
1224 Commerce Title Bldg.
Memphis

Mrs. Mattye B. Wilroy
Tenn. Director, NCCJ
418-19 Commerce Title Bldg.
Memphis

Dr. Marshall Wingfield
Pres., Memphis Council of Churches
NCCCA
246 South Watkins St.
Memphis

Edwin Dalstrom
Pres., Memphis Urban League
NUL
P. O. Box 2827, De Soto Station
Memphis 2

TENNESSEE (contd.)

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Exec. Secy., Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Ave.
Memphis

Mortimer May
ADL
436 Houston St.
Nashville

Miss Elizabeth W. Nairn
St. Chmn., CSR, Tenn. CCW
1005 Battlefield
Nashville

Dr. John W. Rustin
Pres., Nashville Assn. of Churches
NCCCA
Belmont Methodist Church
Nashville

Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University (SRC)
Nashville
Nashville 42-3396

Sidney Katz
ADL
127 Princeton Ave.
Oak Ridge

Mr. Therman B. Duckworth
Pres., Rockwood Council of Churches
NCCCA
314 Rockwood Ave.
Rockwood

TEXAS

Reverend A. Bertram Miller
Exec. Secy., Austin Council of Churches
NCCCA
408 West 23rd Street
Austin

Mr. Harold C. Kilpatrick
Exec. Secy., Texas Council of Churches
NCCCA
504 West 24th St.
Austin 5

Fred Baker
AJC
814 Fidelity Bldg.
Dallas

Jack Goren
AJC
6254 Northwood St.
Dallas

Mrs. Alfred Sallinger
ADL
3809 Beverly Drive
Dallas 5

Mr. J. J. McConnell, Jr.
Exec. Secy., Greater Dallas Council
of Churches, NCCCA
406 Gibraltar Life Bldg.
Dallas 1

Mrs. Lacy Goostree
State Pres., Texas CCW
4200 Clayton Road
Fort Worth

TEXAS (contd.)

Carroll Jacob
AJC
8716 Link Terrace Lane
Houston

Theodore Freedman
Director, ADL
1101 Bladgett St.
Houston 4

Mr. E. R. McWilliams
Texas Director, NCCJ
1110 Scanlon Bldg.
Houston 2

Reverend Virgil E. Lowder
Exec. Dir., Council of Churches
of Greater Houston, NCCCA
6265 South Main St.
Houston 25

Mrs. James S. Crate
Chmn., Texas Commission on
Race Relations, SRC
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston

Mrs. N. B. Ayrcor
Texas Comm. on R.R. (SRC)
Texas Sou. Univ.
3201 Wheeler St.
Houston

Louis J. Riklin
ADL
P. O. Box 2641
San Antonio

Mr. Thos. S. Sutherland
Ex-Sec., Texas Comm. on R.R. (SRC)
309 W. 21st St
Austin
Austin 7-8819

Reverend J. T. Morrow
Exec. Secy., San Antonio Council
of Churches, NCCCA
311 East Martin St.
San Antonio 5

TEXAS (contd.)

Mrs. Tommy Stroud
State Chmn., CSR, Texas CCW
3225 Maple Ave.
Waco

VIRGINIA

Mr. Max Barish
ADL
4201 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Arlington

Mrs. F. R. Crawford
State Pres., Virginia CCW
906 High St.
Farmville

Harry H. Sager
ADL
209 George St.
Fredericksburg

Mrs. Joe Goldstein
ADL
Box 148
Galax

Emanuel Falk
ADL
2308 Chesapeake Ave.
Hampton

Leon Globman
ADL
c/o Globman's Dept. Store
Martinsville

Charles Olshansky
AJC
98 - 26th St.
Newport News

Morton J. Gaba
AJC
700 Spotswood Ave.
Norfolk

VIRGINIA (Contd.)

Stanley L. Spero
ADL
109 N. Sycamore
Petersburg

Murray Friedman
Director, ADL
402 East Franklin St.
Richmond

Mrs. E. M. Doggett
State Chmn., CSR, Va. CCW
4612 Government Rd.
Richmond

Dr. Peter Mellette
Virginia Director, NCCJ
Room 312
222 East Broad St.
Richmond 19

Reverend C. Emerson Smith
Asst. Exec. Secy., Va. Council
of Churches, NCCCA (also SRC)
109 West Grace St.
Richmond 20

David C. Deans, Jr.
Pres., Richmond Urban League
NUL
10 West Leigh St.
Richmond 20

Wiley A. Hall
Exec. Secy., Richmond Urban League
NUL
900 St. James St.
Richmond 20

VIRGINIA (contd.)

Mr. Julius Fisher
ADL
603 State & City Bldg.
Roanoke

Dr. Murray Kantor
ADL
317 Highland Ave.
Suffolk

Mr. A. J. Novick
ADL
Novick Transfer Co.
Winchester

WEST VIRGINIA

Nathan Platnick
ADL
1918 Walton Ave.
Bluefield

Harry N. Barton
ADL
Charleston Natl. Bank Bldg.
Charleston

Mrs. Don Freeman
St. Chmn. CSR, W. Va. CCW
2108 MacCorkle Ave., S. E.
Charleston

Reverend Jarrett T. Chandler
Exec. Secy. W. Va. Council of
Churches, NCCCA
503 44th St., S. E.
Charleston 1

Maxwell Samuel
ADL
606 Joseph St.
Clarksburg

Mrs. J. Floyd Cole
St. Pres., W. Va. CCW
1776 Morgantown Ave.
Fairmont

Mr. Budd L. Moser
ADL
1542 Holderby Rd.
Huntington

WEST VIRGINIA (contd.)

Mrs. A. B. Stenger
Exec. Secy., Greater Wheeling
Council of Churches
NCCCA
209 Methodist Bldg.
Wheeling

December 22, 1954

Mr. Dan W. Dodson
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

I still like the business of a quarterly luncheon conference. But it ought to be supplemented by, say, a half-day of further exchange of information. The luncheon isn't enough.

Also, somebody should bell the cat and talk frankly with NAIRO and the National Civil Liberties Clearing House -- more particularly with the latter -- so that we are not all participating in three efforts at coordination.

I nominate you as cat-beller.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

CENTER FOR COMMUNITY AND FIELD SERVICES

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

RECEIVED
12/20/54
Southern Regional Council

December 17, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You will recall that one of the tasks assigned me at the meeting on December 15 at the luncheon was to drop you a note to ask you to put into writing any ideas you had as to what should be done by this group in attempts to find a way of better servicing these national agencies as they wrestle with the desegregation problem.

If you would be kind enough to jot these down and have them in my hands before Christmas, I would appreciate it tremendously for it would give the little committee you created a chance to work on it over the holidays.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson

December 28, 1954

Mrs. Sheila C. Kislik
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Kislik:

Many thanks for your letter of November 10th with its accompanying list of key people in Southern and border state communities.

I offer the enclosed additions to the list.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

ALABAMA

Reverend Dan Whitsett
Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga

Mr. T. T. Brooks
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Secretary
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC
Room 206, Moore Building
South Court Street
Montgomery (Montgomery 2-0450)

ARKANSAS

Delete entry re Harry Ashmore

Mr. Fred Darragh
Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock,

Reverend Charles Walker
Vice-Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1216 Chester Street
Little Rock

FLORIDA

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville

Hollis Rinehart
President
Dade County Council on Community Relations
Ingraham Building
Miami

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Professor Donald Sprague
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables

Seymour Samet
Director
American Jewish Committee
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami

GEORGIA

Reverend G. E. Clary
Chairman
Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation (SRC)
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3 (ALpine 4063)

KENTUCKY

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Staff Consultant (SRC)
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville

Hugh Brimm
President
Kentucky Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Carver School of Missions
Louisville

LOUISIANA

Reverend Albert D'Orlando
Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations (SRC)
First Unitarian Church
New Orleans

Mr. Nouma J. Rousseve
Vice-Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations (SRC)
4636 Willow Street
New Orleans 15

MISSISSIPPI

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Chairman
Mississippi Council on Human Relations (SRC)
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg

NORTH CAROLINA

Reverend Leon Russell
Chairman
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Rocky Mount

Mr. John H. Wheeler
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
131 East Third Street
Charlotte (FRanklin 6-6833

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Richard J. Foster
Chairman
South Carolina Division of SRC
Curb Market Building
Greenville

Mr. A. J. Clement
South Carolina Division of SRC
Station A, Box 36
Charleston

Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Executive Secretary
South Carolina Division of SRC
3315 Colin Kelly Drive
Columbia

TENNESSEE

Miss Elsie M. Lewis
Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1724 Fourteenth Avenue, North
Nashville

Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Chairman, Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)
5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville

TEXAS

Mrs. N. B. Aycox
Texas Commission on Race Relations (SRC)
Texas Southern University
3201 Wheeler Street
Houston

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland
Executive Secretary
Texas Commission on Race Relations (SRC)
309 West Twenty-First Street
Austin (Austin 7-8819)

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

December 10, 1954

Mr. George B. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED 12/13/54 Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

At the request of Frank Loescher, I am enclosing the list of key people in southern and border-state communities. This master list was compiled from lists of names received from the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the National Urban League and the Southern Regional Council.

The lists are arranged alphabetically by cities and towns within each state. You will note the key to abbreviations in the front of the list.

We have not yet heard from the Catholic Committee of the South, the National Association for the advancement of Colored People, the Synagogue Council of America, the National Community Relations Advisory Council and the Joint Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Therefore the lists have been set up with space on the right hand side of the page for names to be added. As additional replies are received we will send you copies for insertion in your master list.

As it was agreed that the lists would be kept confidential, we trust that you will use them with discretion.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Sheila C. Kislik

Sheila C Kislik

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York
Plaza 1 3170

From: Frank Loescher

MAR 9 1955

Subject: Additional list of key people in South

Enclosed is a supplementary list of key people in Southern and Border States to be added to the original list which was compiled several months ago.

These names were sent by the Synagogue Council of America, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council.

We have now received lists from all those organizations that were originally asked to contribute except the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Catholic Committee of the South.

Additional List of Key People in the Southern and Border States

American Friends Service Committee

FLORIDA

V. C. Johnson
Dinsmore Dairy Corporation
Jacksonville

James W. Bond
6831 Morgana Road
Jacksonville

Ben Stalvey
University of Miami
Miami

Professor Clyde Allee
University of Florida
1080 S.W. 11th Terrace
Gainesville

Ray Sheline
Route #4, Box 419
Tallahassee

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. David Stanfield
Worth Street
Asheboro

Mrs. Donald Shoemaker
6 Plymouth Circle
Asheville

Rev. Douglas Moore
130 South Henry Street
Leaksville

Mrs. Charles G. Doak
120 Woodburn Road
Raleigh

Rev. Julian Lindsay
Main Street Methodist Church
Statesville

Rev. Joseph
Devonshire
Winston-Salem

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

Alexander and Juanita Morisey
1823 East Third Street
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Wilmer and Mildred Young
Abbeyville

Rev. Howard McClain
2506 Preston Street
Columbia

Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore

Rev. Maxie Collins
RFD #1, Box 25
Ridgeway

TENNESSEE

Joseph Parker
Crosville

TEXAS

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Brannin
5614 Ridgedale
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. Ross Forney
2705 Hawes
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. L. H. Lacy
7030 Tokalon
Dallas

Mrs. Cordye Hall
5835 Ellsworth
Dallas

American Friends Service Committee (continued)

TEXAS (continued)

Mrs. John Hanna
3307 Drexel
Dallas

Rev. & Mrs. Robert Raible
3620 Dartmouth
Dallas

Mrs. Jeanette Tilton
3435 McFarlin
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. Bill Witte
6014 Norway
Dallas

Mrs. S. V. Tallal
5831 Mercedes
Dallas

Dr. Erie Darnell
2504 Welborn
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Harkey
6338 Mimosa
Dallas

Lewis Lefkowitz
3215 Jacotte
Dallas

Ned Linegar
3012 Maple
Dallas

J. Howard Payne
4332 Edmondson
Dallas

Rev. Luther Holcombe
6732 Lakeshore Drive
Dallas

Rev. Dr. Thompson Shannon
3705 Euclid
Dallas

Mr. M. J. Norrell
6025 Mercedes
Dallas

TEXAS (continued)

Harry Koenigsberg
6025 Dickason
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. Don Ellinger
2906 Cleveland
Dallas

Rev. Robert E. Goodrich, Jr.
6738 Lakewood
Dallas

Mr. Louis J. Hexter
Route #4, Box 400
Dallas

Mr. J. T. Loughney
4017 Commerce Street
Dallas

Mr. and Mrs. William Cage
5809 Lakehurst
Dallas

Dr. Louis Smith
5919 Meletio Lane
Dallas

Mrs. Alex W. Spence
3620 Overbrook
Dallas

Mr. & Mrs. Brownie Jones
7030 Vivian
Dallas

Mr. Andy Hardesty
Irwin Keasler Building
Houston

VIRGINIA

Rev. Allan Stanger
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg

Miss Constance Rumbough
276 Franklin Street
Harrisonburg

American Friends Service Committee (continued)

VIRGINIA (continued)

Rev. Samuel L. Gandy
Chaplain, Virginia State College
Petersburg

VIRGINIA (continued)

Emerson Smith, Secretary
Virginia Council of Churches
Richmond

Jewish War Veterans

FLORIDA

Lou Phillips
930 Seybold Building
Miami

Mayor Harold Shapiro
927 Lincoln Road
Miami Beach

GEORGIA

Paul Ginsberg, PNC
Suite 1310
Atlanta Federal Savings Bldg.
22 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta

Meyer Rhodes
1748 Helen Dr., N.E.
Atlanta

Edward Charnovitz
P.O. Box 861
Savannah

KENTUCKY

Percy Friedlander
217 Tyler Building
Louisville

LOUISIANA

Rabbi David Lefkowitz
902 Cotton
Shreveport

NORTH CAROLINA

Harold Gutterman
P.O. Box 549
High Point

VIRGINIA

Jack Greene
613 - 33rd St.
Newport News

Irving Krukin
280 Brewer St.
Norfolk

Sidney Spirn
908 Pepper Ave.
Richmond

United Synagogue of America (Conservative)

KENTUCKY

Rabbi Albert Pappenheim
10 Preston Court
Lexington

Rabbi Jacob J. Gittleman
2348 Ingleside Drive
Louisville

MARYLAND

Rabbi Jacob B. Agus
3601 Rosedale Road
Baltimore

Mr. Fred L. Fingerote
216 Lexington St. East
(Room 300)
Baltimore 2

Rabbi Israel M. Goldman
2444 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 17

OKLAHOMA

Rabbi Israel Chodos
P.O. Box 277
Oklahoma City
(Home: 1105 N.W. 34th St.)

TENNESSEE

Rabbi Isadore Goodman
1740 Vollintine Ave.
Memphis 7

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg
114 Mockingbird Road
Nashville

TEXAS

Rabbi Hillel E. Silverman
Cong. Shearith Israel
Park at Eakin
Dallas

Rabbi William S. Malev
3424 Ozark
Houston

VIRGINIA

Rabbi Paul Reich
1500 Colonial Avenue
Norfolk

American Jewish Congress

ALABAMA

Max Hurvich
Birmingham Vending Co.
21-17 3rd Ave. N.
Birmingham

GEORGIA

Frank Garson
845 Spring St., N.W.
Atlanta

VIRGINIA

Theodore Beskin
4175 First Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Newport News

DELAWARE

Jewish Federation of Delaware
Mr. A. Roke Lieberman, Exec. Director
100 E. 7th St.
Wilmington

MARYLAND

Baltimore Jewish Council
Mr. Leon Sachs, Exec. Director
1732 O'Sullivan Building
Baltimore

MISSOURI

Community Relations Bureau Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City
Mr. Sidney Lawrence, Exec. Director
20 W. 9th St. Bldg.
Kansas City

MISSOURI (continued)

Jewish Community Relations Council of St. Louis
Mr. Myron Schwartz, Exec. Director
602 Fullerton Bldg.
St. Louis

TEXAS

Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council
Mr. S. Thomas Friedman, Exec. Director
1110 Bissonnet
Houston

VIRGINIA

Norfolk Jewish Community Council, Inc.
Mr. Morton J. Gaba, Exec. Director
700 Spotswood Avenue
Norfolk

Jewish Labor Committee (Workmen's Circle)

ALABAMA

Nathan Sokol
2835 Berwick Rd., So.
Birmingham

Harry Sokol
2860 Southwood Rd.
Birmingham

DELAWARE

Morris Schenkman
104 Fulton St.
Wilmington

FLORIDA

Louis Katz
403 W. Bay St.
Jacksonville

Morris Chonin
2887 Sydney St.
Jacksonville

J. Duntov
2008 Alton Rd.
Miami

Harry Shuldiner
2484 S.W. 19th St.
Miami

Evelyn Weiner
1243 S.W. 6th St.
Miami

Jewish Labor Committee (Workmen's Circle)
(Continued)

GEORGIA

M. J. Merlin
1821 N. Rock Spring Rd., N.E.
Atlanta

Harold Bauman
315 Connally Bldg.
Atlanta

Joe Jacobs
664 Elmwood Drive, N.E.
Atlanta

Joseph Fiszman
P.O. Box 1085, Emory University
Atlanta

William Scheer
1327 E. 40th St.
Savannah

H. Applebaum
33 Drayton St.
Savannah

TENNESSEE

G. Press
523 Pine St.
Chattanooga

Alex Parker
261 Glenwood Drive
Chattanooga

Al Page
361 Derby Road
Chattanooga

Sam Shymlock
1117 Jefferson St.
Nashville

GEORGIA (continued)

J. Scheinberg
1217 McLemore Ave.
Memphis

Louis Kramer
c/o J. Scheinberg
1217 McLemore Ave.
Memphis

TEXAS

Mrs. Freda Weiner
3001 Avenue P
Galveston

W. B. Bell
3766 Purdue
Houston

Boris Bell
5239 Dewberry Street
Houston

Helen Bell Kapilow
3766 Purdue
Houston

Louis Gerson
1504 Live Oak St.
Waco

VIRGINIA

Mrs. Ellenson
633 - 25th St.
Newport News

Nathan Weisberg
725 Church St.
Norfolk

Leo Gordon
2224 Park Ave.
Richmond

National Conference of Christians and Jews

FLORIDA

Dr. Jacob H. Cunningham, Fla. Dir., NCCJ
323-24 Calumet Building, Miami 32

NO. CAROLINA

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
P.O. Box 578
Guilford College

Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform)

ARKANSAS

Rabbi Alfred Vise
Temple Israel
1501 Hearn St.
Blytheville

Rabbi Albert H. Friedlander
United Hebrew Cong.
422 N. 11th St.
Ft. Smith

Rabbi William B. Schwartz
Temple Beth El
Perry Street
Helena

Rabbi Samson Shain
Cong. House of Israel
Market & Quapaw Sts.
Hot Springs

Rabbi Ira E. Sanders
Cong. B'nai Israel
421 Broadway
Little Rock

DELAWARE

Rabbi Herbert E. Drooz
Cong. Beth Emeth
911 Washington St.
Wilmington 1

KENTUCKY

Rabbi Maurice Davis
Temple Adath Israel
124 N. Ashland Ave.
Lexington

Rabbi Joseph Rauch
Temple Adath Israel
834 S. 3rd St.
Louisville

KENTUCKY (continued)

Rabbi Martin M. Perley
Cong. B'rith Sholom
1649 Cowling
Louisville

Rabbi Max Kaufman
Temple Israel
Broadway at 7th St.
Paducah

LOUISIANA

Rabbi Robert J. Schur
Cong. Gemiluth Chassodim
P.O. Box 863
Alexandria

Rabbi Walter G. Peiser
Cong. B'nai Israel
627 Park Blvd.
Baton Rouge

Rabbi Marvin M. Reznikoff
Liberal Synagogue
260 Oakwood
Baton Rouge

Rabbi Jerome Mark
Temple Sinai
713 Hodges St.
Lake Charles

Rabbi Ferdinand K. Hirsch
B'nai Israel Cong.
400 Jackson St.
Monroe

Rabbi Nathaniel S. Share
Gates of Prayer Cong.
1139 Napoleon Ave.
New Orleans

Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman
Temple Sinai
1631 Calhoun St.
New Orleans

Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform)
(continued)

LOUISIANA (continued)

Rabbi Leo A. Bergman
Touro Synagogue
1501 General Pershing St.
New Orleans

Rabbi David Lefkowitz, Jr.
Temple B'nai Zion
802 Cotton St.
Shreveport

MARYLAND

Rabbi Morris Lieberman
Baltimore Hebrew Cong.
7401 Park Heights Ave.
Baltimore 8

Rabbi Abraham Shusterman
Har Sinai Cong.
6300 Park Heights Ave.
Baltimore 15

Rabbi Abraham D. Shaw
Oheb Shalom Cong.
1307 Eutaw Pl.
Baltimore 17

Rabbi Daniel Lowy
B'er Chayim Cong.
107 Union St.
Cumberland

Rabbi Samuel Glasner
Temple B'nai Sholom
407 Eastern Avenue
Essex 21

Rabbi David Schwartz
B'nai Abraham Cong.
53 E. Baltimore St.
Hagerstown

Rabbi Leon M. Adler
Temple Emanuel of Montgomery County
9419 Georgia Ave.
Silver Spring

OKLAHOMA

Rabbi Joseph Utschen
Temple Emeth
421 Stanley Ave.
Ardmore

Rabbi Joseph Levenson
B'nai Israel Cong.
443½ N.W. 23rd St.
Oklahoma City

Rabbi Norbert L. Rosenthal
Temple Israel
1602 S. Rockford Ave.
Tulsa

TENNESSEE

Rabbi Abraham Feinstein
Mizpah Cong.
McCallie & Fairview
Chattanooga

Rabbi Meyer H. Marx
Temple Beth El
619 W. Vine St.
Knoxville

Rabbi James A. Wax
Temple Israel
1255 Poplar Ave.
Memphis

Rabbi William B. Silverman
Vine St. Temple
136 7th Ave., N.
Nashville

TEXAS

Rabbi Harold I. Krantzler
Temple Beth Israel
1101 San Jacinto St.
Austin

Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform)
(continued)

TEXAS (continued)

Rabbi Samuel Rosinger
Temple Emanuel
1120 Broadway
Beaumont

Rabbi Sidney Wolf
Temple Beth El
P.O. Box 3214
Corpus Christi

Rabbi Israel J. Sarasohn
Temple Beth El
P.O. Box 238
Corsicana

Rabbi Levi A. Olan
Temple Emanu-El
1900 S. Blvd.
Dallas

Rabbi Floyd S. Fierman
Mt. Sinai Cong.
900 N. Oregon St.
El Paso

Rabbi Milton Rosenbaum
Beth El Cong.
207 W. Broadway
Ft. Worth

Rabbi Leo J. Stillpass
Temple B'nai Israel
2128 Sealy
Galveston

Rabbi Hyman J. Schachtel
Temple Beth Israel
3517 Austin St.
Houston

Rabbi Robert I. Kahn
Cong. Emanu El
1500 Sunset Blvd.
Houston

Rabbi Adolf Philippsborn
Cong. Shaareth Israel
1708 23rd St.
Lubbock

TEXAS (continued)

Rabbi Pizer W. Jacobs
Temple Moses Montefiore
309 W. Burleson
Marshall

Rabbi Lothar Lubasch
Cong. Rodef Shalom
3939 Third St.
Port Arthur

Rabbi David Jacobson
Temple Beth-El
211 Belknap Pl.
San Antonio

Rabbi Harvey E. Wessel
Temple Beth El
1102 S. Augusta Ave.
Tyler

Rabbi Charles B. Lesser
623 N. 32nd St.
Cong. Rodef Sholom
Waco

VIRGINIA

Rabbi Emmet Frank
Cong. Beth El
2929 View Point Dr.
Alexandria

Mr. Isaac Walters, Pres.
Temple Beth Israel
Park St.
Charlottesville

Rabbi Arnold M. Shevlin
Beth Sholom Cong.
Sutherlin Ave.
Danville

Rabbi Israel L. Kaplan
Hebrew Friendship Cong.
250 N. Main St.
Harrisonburg

Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform)
(continued)

VIRGINIA (continued)

Rabbi Malcolm H. Stern
Ohef Sholom Temple
Stockley Gardens & Raleigh
Norfolk

Rabbi Stanley Kaplan
Temple Sinai
103 Crocker Ave.
Portsmouth

VIRGINIA (continued)

Rabbi Ariel L. Goldburg
Cong. Beth Ahabah
1117 W. Franklin St.
Richmond

Rabbi Samuel R. Shillman
Temple Emanuel
McClanahan St. & Rosalind Ave., S.W.
Roanoke

Synagogue Council of America

ARKANSAS

Rabbi William B. Schwartz
Temple Beth El
Helena

Rabbi Samson A. Shain
401 Market St.
Hot Springs Nat'l Park

Rabbi Ira E. Sanders
421 Broadway
Little Rock

DELAWARE

Rabbi Tibor Fabian
P.O. Box 694
Dover

KENTUCKY

Rabbi Max Kaufman
Temple Israel
Paducah

LOUISIANA

Rabbi David Lefkowitz, Jr.
802 Cotton St.
Shreveport

MARYLAND

Rabbi Morris Rosenblatt
137 Charles St.
Annapolis

Rabbi Joseph Schimelman
121 Tilghman St.
Cumberland

OKLAHOMA

Rabbi Joseph Levenson
50 Broadway Circle
Oklahoma City

TENNESSEE

Rabbi Isidore Goodman
251 Washington Ave.
Memphis

Rabbi Harry Ettelson
Poplar and Montgomery
Memphis

TEXAS

Rabbi Joseph Brandriss
1706 Newfield Lane
Austin

Synagogue Council of America
(continued)

TEXAS (continued)

Rabbi Samuel Rosinger
Forrest and Broadway
Beaumont

Rabbi Levi Olan
1900 Southern Blvd.
Dallas

Rabbi Hillel Silverman
Park at Eakin
Dallas

Rabbi Louis Feigon
2401 Avenue K
Galveston

Rabbi William S. Malev
3501 Southmore
Houston

Rabbi Hyman Judah Schachtel
Holman and LaBranch St.
Houston

Rabbi Lothar Lubasch
548 Mobile Ave.
Port Arthur

Rabbi Charles B. Lesser
623 N. 32nd St.
Waco

VIRGINIA

Rabbi Arnold M. Shevlin
Cong. Beth Sholom
Danville

Rabbi Allan Mirvis
51 Victoria Ave.
Hampton

Rabbi Jesse J. Finkle
32nd and Huntington
Newport News

Rabbi Paul Reich
15th and Colonial
Norfolk

Rabbi A. David Arzt
509 Country St.
Portsmouth

Rabbi Tobias Tothenberg
Highland and Franklin Aves.
Roanoke

Rabbi Ariel Goldburg
1117 W. Franklin St.
Richmond

Southern Regional Council

ALABAMA

Reverend Dan Whitsett
Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga

ALABAMA (continued)

Mr. T. T. Brooks
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Southern Regional Council (continued)

ALABAMA (continued)

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Secretary
Alabama Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Room 206, Moore Building
South Court Street
Montgomery (Montgomery 2-0450)

ARKANSAS

Delete entry re Harry Ashmore

Mr. Fred Darragh
Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock

Reverend Charles Walker
Vice-Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1216 Chester Street
Little Rock

FLORIDA

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville

Hollis Rinehart
President
Dade County Council on Community Relations
Ingrahm Building
Miami

Professor Donald Sprague
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables

Seymour Samet
Director
American Jewish Committee
213 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami

GEORGIA

Reverend G. E. Clary
Chairman
Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation (SRC)
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3 (ALpine 4063)

KENTUCKY

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Staff Consultant (SRC)
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville

Hugh Brimm
President
Kentucky Council on Human Relations(SRC)
Carver School of Missions
Louisville

LOUISIANA

Reverend Albert D'Orlando
Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations(SRC)
First Unitarian Church
New Orleans

Mr. Nouma J. Rousseve
Vice-Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations(SRC)
4636 Willow Street
New Orleans 15

MISSISSIPPI

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Chairman
Mississippi Council on Human Relations (SRC)
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg

Southern Regional Council (continued)

NORTH CAROLINA

Reverend Leon Russell
Chairman
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
First Methodist Church
Rocky Mount

Mr. John H. Wheeler
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)
131 East Third Street
Charlotte (FRanklin 6-6833)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Richard J. Foster
Chairman
South Carolina Division of SRC
Curb Market Building
Greenville

Mr. A. J. Clement
South Carolina Division of SRC
Station A, Box 36
Charleston

Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Executive Secretary
South Carolina Division of SRC
3315 Colin Kelly Drive
Columbia

TENNESSEE

Miss Elsie M. Lewis
Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)
1724 Fourteenth Avenue, North
Nashville

Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Chairman
Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)
5908 Magazine Road
Knoxville

TEXAS

Mrs. N. B. Aycox
Texas Commission on Race Relations (SRC)
Texas Southern University
3201 Wheeler Street
Houston

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland
Executive Secretary
Texas Commission on Race Relations (SRC)
309 West Twenty-First Street
Austin (Austin 7-8819)

Staff
Then File - News Releases
F. for R.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: 7 P.M.
Tuesday, January 31, 1956

The following is the text of an address by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, to be delivered at a dinner given in his honor at which he received an award from the Business and Professional Associates of the American Jewish Congress, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, Tuesday, January 31, 7 p.m.:

I am deeply touched by the honor you have done me, and somewhat embarrassed, too. Here in this room, and all over the world, there are countless people who have suffered for their convictions. I have never suffered for mine. I am being rewarded for holding principles that I inherited and for acting as I was brought up to act. I have never taken any risks worth mentioning. When, almost thirty years ago, I wrote as a law teacher on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, I lived in Connecticut, not, like Felix Frankfurter, in Massachusetts. When I went to Chicago, the tradition of the University and the composition of its Board of Trustees were such that a President who did not stand up for freedom of teaching, inquiry, and discussion and for the independence of the

University would have been regarded as a monster. Now I am an officer of a foundation that was established to defend and advance the principles of liberty as they are set forth in the basic documents of this country. If I did not join in this effort, I would lose my job.

I was brought up to believe that you were not entitled to credit for anything unless it cost you something. So I do not deserve this award. But I have associates who do. The members of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic are called upon to make sacrifices and to run risks. They must face the possibility that in the present atmosphere in this country their defense of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights may reduce their income, their prestige, and the number of their friends.

I must acknowledge, too, your courage, as well as your generosity. Into the dossier of each one of you and into the files of the countless organizations that have a little list may henceforth appear after your names the grim notation: "Attended dinner January 31, 1956, in honor of Robert M. Hutchins."

There is an air of unreality about the present atmosphere. It seems fantastic to say that men who defend the Declaration of Independence the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights could face any loss of any kind. An old Southern senator used to say that he had succeeded because he had always been for what everybody else was for. You would think that if an American wanted to pick what everybody else was for his first

choice would have to fall where that of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic has fallen. Yet we know that when the Declaration was passed around at the Wisconsin State Fair a couple of years ago the overwhelming majority of those to whom it was shown refused to sign it. The Chief Justice of the United States has expressed some doubt as to whether the Bill of Rights could be adopted today. The Trustees of the Ford Foundation knew when they established the Fund for the Republic that it was unlikely to increase their popularity; and the members of the Board of Directors of the Fund knew when they joined it that they were bound to get into trouble.

This is something out of Kafka or Alice-through-the-Looking Glass. How can it be possible to get into trouble in the United States by defending and advancing the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights? The United States is these documents. Without them this country is merely a piece of land between Canada and Mexico; it is not America.

The spirit of these documents was summed up by Jefferson when he said, "I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility against any form of tyranny over the mind of man."

We are a volatile people, capable of swinging from the depths of apathy to the verge of hysteria and back again in a short time and without notice. At some times we appear to be sunk in impenetrable indifference; at others we are scared out of our wits. We have gone to both extremes in facing the greatest totalitarian power the world has

ever seen, Soviet Russia and the nations and organizations allied with her. Hence it has been possible, in one phase or another of our emotional vibrations, for men patently devoted to the American idea to be accused of underestimating the threat of Communism or even of being favorable to it.

I am opposed to Communism because it is a form of tyranny over the mind of man. It is a system that uses a pseudo-religion to cloak old-fashioned imperialist expansionism, that sanctions the lie as an instrument of policy, that is based on the proposition that it is right and proper for a few of the people to push the rest of the people around, and that denies the essential elements of the American idea, which are freedom and justice.

I do not underestimate the threat of Communism. But I sometimes think that some people are so neurotically preoccupied with Communism that they underestimate America. Communism has failed in the United States. I hope you will not think me unsophisticated if I say that it was bound to fail. In spite of our mercurial character, there are certain truths inscribed on our hearts that I believe it would be impossible to erase. When we know the facts and have time to think about them and discuss them, we are unlikely to lend ourselves to the support of any form of tyranny over the mind of man, at home or abroad.

The way to defeat an idea is to have a better idea. We have a better idea. The American idea is freedom and justice.

We cannot permit an enemy to use our dedication to freedom and justice in order to destroy them. We do not have to lay ourselves open to military attack, to espionage and sabotage, or to the operations of those who would change our form of government by unconstitutional means. But we might remember the words of Russell Wiggins of The Washington Post and Times-Herald to a congressional committee: he expressed the hope that "the time will never come when the situation in the world is so desperate that the only way we can prevent the Communists from destroying our free institutions will be to destroy them first ourselves."

In our pursuit of security, we can't give up the pursuit of happiness--nor life, nor liberty, either. The other day a syndicated columnist ridiculed the notion that in America individual rights are sacrosanct. The atmosphere in this country, he said, has been poisoned by the idea of inalienable rights. Then he added, "as if any individual rights could ever supersede the right of the state to protect itself against subversion, sabotage or treason!"

If I understand the basic documents of American democracy, the rights of the individual remain perpetually sacrosanct. They may not be subverted under any circumstances, least of all in the name of safeguarding the Republic. The preservation of these rights is the

purpose of the state. This is what the shouting is about--the difference between democracy and totalitarianism, between democracy and fascism, between democracy and communism is precisely here. We believe that individual rights are inalienable; they don't. We believe in freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press: they don't. We believe that the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects cannot be violated by the government; they don't. We believe we should be secure in order to be free. They believe they must be tyrannical in order to be secure. We cannot defeat totalitarianism by becoming totalitarian ourselves, and if we could it would hardly be worth while.

Our success in combating Communism may depend on our ability to rally the rest of the world to our cause. It seems doubtful that this can be accomplished by military and economic aid alone. Such aid will also be forthcoming from the other side. What the other side cannot offer is freedom and justice. It cannot offer the American Dream, which has charmed the world for almost 200 years. The decision of the Supreme Court holding segregation in the schools unconstitutional has done as much to reawaken faith in America as all the money and guns we have given other countries since the War. For the purpose of gaining the adherence of the people of the earth in the struggle with Communism the moral force of America is as important as her military and economic power.

How do we stand on freedom and justice today? Certainly we are better off than we were a year or two ago. We may especially congratulate ourselves on the noble efforts of the Federal courts to end racial discrimination and to uphold the rights of the people against the arbitrary exercise of the powers of government. But we are not out of the woods yet. When the Chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives says that he doesn't see why the Washington Bar Association should want to study the passport regulations and their administration because there have been only thirteen cases in which the right to travel has been denied, he displays the kind of indifference which, if persisted in, could lead to the total abrogation of that right. We appear to be still at the point at which an objective study by an impartial body, conducted not to show that freedom and justice have been flouted but to find out whether they have been, can be interpreted as an attempt to undermine the national security. Yet as Arthur Krock put it two weeks ago, "One passport arbitrarily or unfairly denied to a United States citizen counts more in evaluating the State Department's respect for the Constitution than 100 that are granted."

Elmer Davis has lately made a plea for courage and common sense. I would echo his appeal. But I would add a plea for righteous indignation. We have seen a few flashes of it of late and we have seen what it can do. The righteous indignation of three or four reporters

and lawyers got justice for Chasanow, Radulovich, Ladejinsky, and Landy. Similar sentiments in the breasts of a few senators obtained a revision of the security practices of the Defense Department and the establishment of the bi-partisan commission to review the whole loyalty-security program. A recent flash of righteous indignation in The New York Times about the investigation of newspapermen by a Senate committee has rejuvenated the First Amendment.

The Directors of the Fund for the Republic are committed to defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. The Fund is an educational foundation that promotes the discussion of these principles and underwrites studies conducted by qualified and responsible persons and organizations. These persons and organizations are free to reach their own conclusions without regard to the views of the Directors or Officers of the Fund.

The studies have fallen under three main headings: finding out all about Communism in this country, so that we may know how to combat it effectively; finding out about the measures that have been used to combat it, in order to discover how successful they have been and how they have affected the traditional liberties of the people; and finding out where we are with reference to equality of opportunity, which is perhaps the most important corollary of freedom and justice.

For these activities the Fund has been accused by a few

individuals and groups, whose vociferousness exceeds their influence and their intelligence, of everything from ignorance to treason. I think the Directors are entitled to a small outburst of righteous indignation. Can it be that we are afraid to face the facts about how freedom and justice are faring in this country?

Can it be that we are afraid of education? Sometimes it seems so. Take the prescription for the foundations written by the ineffable Reece Committee. It was, "They should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts, and opinion-forming material which runs counter to what the public currently wishes, approves, and likes." This statement presents us with a new definition of education. It is no longer enlightenment. An educational institution, in order to qualify for tax exemption, would have to operate within the limits of popular prejudices. The prejudices might not even be popular. They might be, as they were in the report published by Mr. Reece, simply the prejudices of the majority of a congressional committee or its staff--or its Chairman.

Can it be that we are afraid of discussion? If we are, we can never have the kind of community contemplated by the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment does not suggest that it is necessary, or even desirable, for us to agree; still less that it is constitutional for us to try to force our opinions on those who disagree. The provisions for free speech and a free press state as clearly as any legal provision

could that we are to regard discussion as the indispensable means by which national policies are to be formulated.

If there had ever been any doubt that the Fund for the Republic was needed, it would be removed by the hysterical misrepresentations to which the Fund's modest efforts have been subjected. These misrepresentations can be explained only by supposing that those who make them do not understand what this country is all about. We can hope that the Fund can make some contribution to their education. In any event, their number is small, and is growing smaller. I am grateful to you, who do not need the Fund for the Republic, for recognizing that the country needs it and for manifesting your support of the principles for which it stands.

RECEIVED MAR 13 1956

F. for R. file

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

HCP

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Good stuff
CM

ADDRESS BY ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President of the Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Delivered at a Dinner at which he received an Award
from the
Business and Professional Associates of the
American Jewish Congress
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City
January 31, 1956.

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GSM ✓ FBR ✓ RHA ✓ IO ✓ Strgt
HCF ✓ GSA ✓ JC ✓ RH. ✓
CHP HET ✓ FI ✓

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Wednesday, February 8, 1956

HAMMERSTEIN, LAPHAM, MARSHALL ELECTED TO FUND FOR REPUBLIC BOARD

NEW YORK -- Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, announced today the election of Oscar Hammerstein 2d, noted playwright and producer; Roger D. Lapham, former Mayor of San Francisco; and J. Howard Marshall, oil industry executive, as Directors of the Board of the Fund.

The Fund is an independent non-profit educational corporation, founded to promote the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Hammerstein, winner with Richard Rodgers of the Pulitzer Prize for "South Pacific," has written the books and lyrics for several classic American musicals during his 30-year career. Among his most successful productions were "The King and I," "Show Boat,"

(MORE)

"Carmen Jones," "Oklahoma," "Carousel" and "Allegro" -- the last three written in collaboration with Mr. Rogers. He is the former president of the Authors' League of America, is a member of the Board of Directors of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), and a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Mr. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco from 1944 to 1948, was formerly Board Chairman of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company (1938-43); member of the National War Labor Board (1942-43); Overseer of Harvard College (1942-48); a director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (1935-39); and is presently a director of the American Trust Company of San Francisco. He was Chief of two Economic Cooperation Administration missions -- to China in 1948-49, and to Greece from 1950 to 1952.

Mr. Marshall is Vice President and a Director of the Signal Oil & Gas Company of Fort Worth, Texas. He has served the Government as Assistant Deputy Administrator of the Petroleum Administration for War, 1943-44; General Counsel to the United States Delegation to the Allied Commission on Reparations, 1944; and member of the Military Petroleum Advisory Board to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1944-50. From 1950 to 1952 he was Consultant to the Secretary of the Interior on the

(MORE)

Petroleum Defense Program. He is a Director of the Great Northern Oil Company, St. Paul, Minn.

Other members of the Board are: Chester Bowles; Charles W. Cole, President, Amherst College; Russell L. Dearmont, Attorney; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Law School of Harvard University; Robert M. Hutchins, President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.; William H. Joyce, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.; Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart Schaffner & Marx.

Also, M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company; John Lord O'Brian, Attorney, Covington & Burling; Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Company; Elmo Roper; George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College; Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson; and James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

* * * * * * * * * *

February 10, 1956

Mr. George Martin
Fund for the Republic
60 E. 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Martin:

I am to be in New York for a couple of days next week and I am writing you in the hope that we will be able to get together while I am there.

As of now, my plans are to spend the whole of Wednesday and Thursday (February 15 and 16) in New York, and I am unscheduled except for Wednesday afternoon. I will be staying at the Gramarcy Park Hotel and will call you Wednesday morning, at which time I hope we can pin down a convenient time.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

HUTCHINS ASSAILS ANTI-RED TACTICS

Some Methods May Become as Perilous as Communism, He Tells Liberal Party

Some of the methods used to fight communism in the United States may become as dangerous to civil liberties as communism itself, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, said here yesterday.

He declared that the epithet "Anti-Anti-Communist" had become "a handy device for knocking off anybody who disagrees with you." He spoke in the Sheraton-Astor Hotel to 300 members of the Liberal party's committee at large, some of whom appeared to be critical of the fund's position on the threat of communism.

Meanwhile, in Brooklyn, J. Addington Wagner, national commander of the American Legion, renewed his attack on Mr. Hutchins and his administration of the Fund. The Legion head demanded that Congress and the Internal Revenue Service investigate the Fund's tax-exempt status.

Informed of this demand before making his speech, Mr. Hutchins asserted that Mr. Wagner was "playing the same old record." He said that Mr. Wagner apparently knew nothing of the Fund's purpose. Mr. Hutchins also questioned whether the Legion commander had a right to speak for the 3,000,000 Legion members in his attacks.

The Fund was set up with a $15,000,000 endowment from the Ford Foundation, but is independent of the foundation.

Attacks Belittled

Mr. Hutchins said, "Mr. Wagner objects to my statement that communism has failed in America—I can't beblieve Mr. Wagner thinks it has succeeded." Asked whether the Legion commander's attacks were damaging to the Fund, Mr. Hutchins replied, "Not in the slightest."

Mr. Hutchins' speech was titled "The Bill of Rights Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." He observed that these rights were for "the defense of the weak and unpopular in their persons, property and opinions." He declared that the Bill of Rights contemplates a stalwart society, where everybody thinks for himself and says what he thinks." He went on to say:

"Such a society is prepared, in case a member of it is accused of doing anything wrong, to rely on the ancient principles of Anglo-American jurispudence, to give the defendant the benefit of the presumption of innocence, to place the burden of proof upon his accusers, to require them to confront him in open court, to provide him with counsel, and to guarantee him a fair trial. The society contemplated by the Bill of Rights was one in which everybody could feel free.

"When, however, we have become involved in international complications, elements within the country, either because of real fear or because they have seen political advantage in capitalizing on the fears of others, have sought to suspend or weaken the guarantees of the Bill of Rights, and sometimes they have temporarily succeeded."

In the question and answer period that followed, several persons indicated that they were not satisfied that the fund was doing everything necessary to combat communism.

Their views could, perhaps, best be summed up in a satement by Dr. John L. Childs, Professor Emeritus of Education at Columbia University's Teachers College and vice chairman of the Liberal party.

Dr. Childs said that "liberals cannot merit the confidence of the democratic community so long as they condone and justify those who subject themselves in thought and deed to the conspiratorial program of the Kremlin."

In reply, Mr. Hutchins said he did not believe that "any society should lay itself open to subversion or conspiracy." He said that society "should protect itself by due process of law." He added that this did not mean attempting to justify conspirators but that it did mean "justice must be done even to them."

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NY TIMES

2-19-56

February 25, 1956

Mr. George Martin
News Film Project
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear George:

This is the first chance I've had to write you a word of thanks for the fine dinner and the even finer conversation last week. I haven't yet had an opportunity to run down information on the Austin and New Orleans cases in which you are interested, but I expect to shortly.

As I'm sure you realize, I'm greatly impressed by the constructive possibilities of your project and I hope we will be working closely together. You will be hearing from me when appropriate occasions arise, and I hope you will feel equally free to call on me anytime the SRC may be of help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

Draft

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

RECEIVED MAR 28 1956

FOR RELEASE: A. M. Newspapers
Tuesday, March 27, 1956

New York, March 26.--Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, announced today that the Board of Directors had created two new vice-presidential positions and authorized other administrative changes to enable the Fund to expand its program.

The two new vice-presidents are David F. Freeman, who will handle administrative matters, and Frank K. Kelly, in charge of public information. W. H. Ferry, who has been vice-president of the Fund since 1954, was named as vice-president in charge of planning and programming.

Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board, declared: "Our principal objective is to make Americans more aware of their vital stake in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. To increase our educational efforts, we are stepping up our activities in several fields and have increased the number of Fund officers to carry out this work."

MORE

Mr. Freeman, a lawyer and a former staff member of the Ford Foundation, joined the Fund when it was established in 1952, and will continue to function as treasurer in addition to serving as administrative vice-president.

Mr. Kelly, a former newspaperman and presently a public relations executive, will be responsible for the Fund's relations with the press, radio, and television. He will also direct the publication of a bi-monthly bulletin reporting on developments in civil liberties and the Fund's activities.

To accept the position, Mr. Kelly was given a leave of absence by Stephen Fitzgerald & Company, a public relations agency at 575 Madison Avenue, where he has been serving as a vice-president and account executive.

Mr. Kelly was a reporter and editor for the Kansas City Star, and later worked as a writer and editor in the New York bureau of the Associated Press. From 1949 to 1952 he served in Washington as an assistant to the Senate Majority Leader, under Senators Scott W. Lucas and Ernest W. McFarland.

From August, 1952 to August, 1953, he was U.S. director of a study of international news, conducted in a number of countries by the International Press Institute. He was a special consultant on book censorship problems for the American Book Publishers Council before he joined the Fitzgerald Company in 1954.

In World War II, Mr. Kelly served overseas as an army correspondent. He is an active member of the Overseas Press Club of America and of the

MORE

Society of Nieman Fellows of Harvard University. He was awarded a Nieman Fellowship in 1942.

Another officer elected by the directors at the same meeting was Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington lawyer and editor of the "Case Studies in Personnel Security" sponsored by the Fund. He was named Secretary. Mr. Yarmolinsky served as a law clerk to Associate Justice Stanley F. Reed of the U.S. Supreme Court before he entered private law practice. He has been a staff member of the Fund since October, 1955.

The Fund for the Republic is an independent, non-profit corporation established to promote the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The directors are: Charles W. Cole, Erwin N. Griswold, Oscar Hammerstein II, Paul G. Hoffman, Robert M. Hutchins, William H. Joyce, Jr., Roger D. Lapham, M. Albert Linton, J. Howard Marshall, Jubal R. Parten, Eleanor B. Stevenson, Chester Bowles, Russell L. Dearmont, Meyer Kestnbaum, John Lord O'Brian, Elmo Roper, George N. Shuster, and James D. Zellerbach.

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7. for R. File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

For release: AM newspapers
Wednesday, May 9, 1956

New York, N. Y. -- The Fund for the Republic will finance free distribution of 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense publication entitled "Who are Communists and Why?," it was announced today by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund.

The pamphlet was originally published by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense, for the use of Commanding Officers in informing their personnel. Distribution by the Fund is scheduled for next month.

The pamphlet is one of three reprints recently authorized for distribution by action of the Fund's Board of Directors.

Other publications to be distributed by the Fund are copies of John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty," and of "The Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution," an address given by Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University at a celebration in commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the Massachusetts Constitution.

The Department of Defense publication, one of a six-part "Know Your Communist Enemy" series, describes the various types of Communists and discusses the basis of Communist appeals for support and the tactics

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used by the Communist Party of the United States.

Five hundred copies of Mill's essay "On Liberty" will be placed in the rooms of the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel in Boston, by arrangement with the Sheraton Hotels Corporation.

Three thousand copies of Professor Morison's speech on the Massachusetts Constitution will be made available by the Fund to the Massachusetts Bar Association, which in turn will distribute them to colleges and universities throughout the United States.

Other publications which the Fund has distributed are:

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

The Fifth Amendment Today, by Dean Erwin N. Griswold.

Cornell University Series in Civil Liberties (4 books).

Development of Academic Freedom in the U. S., by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger.

The Freedom Reader, by Edwin S. Newman.

The Challenge of Law Reform, by Arthur T. Vanderbilt.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists: April 1955 issue.

The Oppenheimer Case, by Charles P. Curtis.

Government by Investigation, by Alan Barth.

Grand Inquest, by Telford Taylor.

Current History: October 1955 issue.

National Security and Individual Freedom, by John Lord O'Brian.

Banned Books, by Anne Lyon Haight.

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BOOKS AND MAGAZINES (Cont.)

Catalogue of Banned Books Exhibit, by University of Kansas.

Censorship Bulletin, issued by American Book Publishers Council.

Obscenity and the Arts, Autumn 1955 issue, Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University Law School.

Open Occupancy Housing, House and Home, April 1955 issue.

Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward.

Prejudice and Your Child, by Kenneth Clark.

The Fears Men Live By, by Selma Hirsh.

Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg.

The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791, by Robert Allen Rutland.

Profiles in Courage, by Senator John F. Kennedy.

Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing, by Wilner, Walkley and Cook.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1956 issue.

Civil Liberties in the United States, by Robert E. Cushman.

ARTICLES

To Make Our Security System Secure, by Vannevar Bush.

The Landy Case, by George E. Sokolsky.

Problems of the Fifth Amendment, by C. Dickerman Williams.

The Law and the Future, by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The Kept Witnesses, by Richard Rovere.

To Insure the End of Our Hysteria, by Paul G. Hoffman.

Who "Collaborated" With Russia? by Paul Willen.

(MORE)

ARTICLES (Cont.)

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt, by Richard Hofstadter.

Faceless Informers and Our Schools, Denver Post.

Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence, by Henry Steele Commager.

Employer Practices Implementing the Federal Industrial Security Program, Stanford Law Review.

The Way to be Safe is Never to be Secure, by Charles P. Curtis.

MISCELLANEOUS

Strong in Their Pride and Free, speech by Harry P. Cain.

A Report on the Security Problem, by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Memo on School Integration, issued by National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The Segregation Decisions, speeches by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims to the Southern Historical Association.

The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954, speech by Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter.

Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority, lecture by Dean O'Meara of Notre Dame Law School.

Freedom House Award Speeches, October 1954.

Edward R. Murrow film, See It Now, interview with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Edward R. Murrow film, See It Now, on book censorship.

Famous Words of Freedom, pamphlet issued by Freedom House.

Social Science and Freedom, radio lectures given under auspices of Social Science Research Center of University of Minnesota Graduate School.

(MORE)

MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

Annual Report, American Civil Liberties Union. 1955 summary of status of civil liberties by ACLU.

This Thing Called Freedom, speech by David Shillinglaw, past commander of Illinois Department, American Legion.

Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut, by Conn. Commission on Civil Rights.

If You Are Arrested..., pamphlet by Association of the Bar of the City of New York and New York Civil Liberties Union.

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10/15/56 Copy mailed to Board of Directors also
State Executive Directors

The Fund for the Republic

Extension of Remarks of

Hon. Richard Bolling

of Missouri

in the

House of Representatives

Wednesday, May 9, 1956

Not printed
at Government
expense

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1956

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 9, 1956

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the article which follows appeared in the March 5, 1956 issue of the Presbyterian Outlook, published in Richmond, Va. The author, Mr. Albert Fowler, a resident of Rosemont, Pa., was editor of the Arnold J. Toynbee volume, War and Civilization, and has served on the faculty of Haverford College. Since the Fund for the Republic has been much criticized, on occasion, it seems to me that fairminded people will welcome the opportunity to read this sympathetic treatment of its activities:

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

(By Albert Fowler)

When the American Veterans' Committee presented Robert Hutchins with the Bill of Rights Award last October, he said: "I am surprised that there should be any difference of opinion about the Fund for the Republic." As president he was well aware that the Fund had been criticized for supposed left-wing tendencies by Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the New York Journal American, and as an American devoted to the preservation of his country's heritage of freedom he replied to that criticism with courage and confidence.

The Fund for the Republic was authorized in 1951 by the Ford Foundation and incorporated in 1952 as an independent organization under a separate board of directors chosen for their interest in civil liberties and their ability to increase public knowledge of these basic rights. The chairman is Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of Studebaker-Packard Corp., and other directors include Erwin N. Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School, Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, and Jubal R. Parten, president of Woodley Petroleum Co.

Provided with $15 million by the Ford Foundation, the Fund for the Republic has devoted itself to the support of those liberties of thought, speech, and assembly without which this Nation would be unrecognizable.

POLICY OF PRIVATE GIFTS

Organizations like the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation have been regarded as the finest flower of free enterprise, and it has been the policy of the country to encourage people to finance religious and educational endeavor through private contributions rather than through taxes. If powerful pressures had not been exerted against our traditional freedoms, the Ford Foundation would not have seen a need for the Fund for the Republic which Dr. Hutchins calls a fund for the American dream. If the Fund takes the reason for its existence seriously and supports civil rights where they are threatened, it must inevitably expect a certain amount of criticism.

Early in 1953 the directors of the Fund declared in a public statement: "The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat."

At its first meeting the board of directors made a grant to a special committee of the American Bar Association dealing with individual rights as affected by national security. This committee studied the methods of congressional investigations, and the bar association adopted its recommendations for rules of procedure by an overwhelming vote in August 1954. Since then the administration of congressional investigations has improved, and one reason for the improvement has been the influence of the American Bar Association. This change was not achieved without criticism from those who wanted a free hand to deal with the Communist menace in whatever way suited them best.

STUDIED THE COMMUNIST RECORD

To get the facts straight and make them available for ready reference the Fund for the Republic then financed a study of official records of Communist activity. Under the able leadership of Arthur Sutherland, of Harvard Law School, a digest was prepared

of the principal judicial and administrative hearings in which the Communist Party has been involved, and the completed volumes were distributed to university, research, and public libraries. Microfilm records of the leading court cases on Communist activities have been put in a few large libraries throughout the country. The Fund has also made a grant to the Methodist Church for a study of the challenge of communism.

In response to calls from many quarters for a private committee to make a dispassionate appraisal of the loyalty-security program of the Federal Government, the Fund for the Republic financed such a committee under the auspices of the New York City Bar Association. In appointing the members of this committee the bar association included lawyers from many parts of the country. The Fund believed that one good way to show how the loyalty-security program operated was to compile the facts of individual cases, and Adma Yarmolinsky of the District of Columbia Bar Association was asked to secure what records he could from the defending lawyers. His report contains abstracts of over 300 cases, and 50 of these have been published. The facts of this report throw much light on whether individual rights have been sacrificed to the demands of national security and whether those demands have been excessive.

FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

One of the foundation stones of Americanism is the freedom of discussion. The Illinois Department of the American Legion and its past commander, Irving Breakstone, have cooperated with the American Heritage Council of Chicago on a plan of popular education centering around discussion of basic documents in United States history. The Fund for the Republic has made a grant to the council to assist this enterprise. It has also helped the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund with its Freedom Agenda project in which 500 communities are cooperating, and similar educational programs of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, the Universalist Service Committee, the YMCA and YWCA. The more people know about their individual liberties, the safer their freedom will be.

The Fund for the Republic has honored with substantial awards organizations and communities that have distinguished themselves by their defense of civil liberties. One award went to the YMCA at the University of California at Berkeley for its outstanding program in race relations and its open platform policy, and another to the town of Waverly, Iowa, for its efforts on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family. In this way the Fund called the attention of the country to courageous and selfless devotion to the cause of freedom.

IN RACE RELATIONS

Individual rights have also been under pressure in the field of race relations, and it was natural for the Fund for the Republic to concern itself with racial discrimination. One of its largest grants went to the Southern Regional Council to strengthen the Atlanta headquarters and increase the professional staff of the council's affiliates in 12 Southern States. With this assistance the council is expanding community education in intergroup relations under the leadership of George S. Mitchell, who received the 1953 award of the Catholic Committee of the South for an outstanding contribution to the improvement of race relations. A recent grant to the Southern Presbyterian Church provides for local institutes for discussion of interracial problems and for the distribution of literature and visual aids. Similar assistance has been made available in this field to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church, to the Presbyterian Church, United States of America, and to the National Council of Churches in connection with problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision holding segregated schools unconstitutional.

The Fund for the Republic has also established a commission on race and housing to examine the obstacles encountered by minority groups, particularly Negroes, in finding places to live and in building new homes. No comprehensive survey of housing for minorities has ever been made, but it is thought that they pay more and get less than other sections of the population. This commission is headed by Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of the board of the Bowery Savings Bank, and among its members are Henry R.

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Luce, editor of Time and Life; Elliott V. Bell, editor of Business Week; and John J. Cavanaugh, director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation.

A CHANGING CLIMATE

Fortunately the climate of opinion is now more favorable to the cause of civil liberties than it was when the Fund for the Republic began its work in 1953. The eclipse of Senator McCarthy, the apologies by Government agencies to people wronged by mistake or prejudice, the changes in passport regulations, the improved procedure in congressional investigations, are putting new heart in the belief that America does not have to suppress its liberties in order to protect them. But as long as the Fund continues to carry out the purpose for which it was created, as long as it supports the freedoms guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights where they are under threat or pressure, it will come in for its share of criticism and will face the attack with courage and confidence.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.
MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Thursday, May 17

A $7,900 prize contest for the best essay on "The Alert Citizen and Civil Liberties" was announced today by the Institute of Social Order, and the editors of its magazine, Social Order. The Institute is a Jesuit research organization with headquarters at St. Louis University.

The competition will be financed through a grant from The Fund for the Republic, an independent educational corporation founded to advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

The contest, which begins on September 15, is open to college and university juniors and seniors who are concentrating their studies in political science, government, or courses related to these fields.

The first prize is $1,000, and the second prize is $500. A total of 70 cash awards and 100 special prizes will be given.

Entries in the literary contest may be in any prose form. The complete rules for the competition will be released September 1 by the Institute of Social Order, 3908 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Missouri.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. papers
Friday, June 1, 1956

Deadline for nominations for the Robert E. Sherwood television awards, totaling $55,000, passed yesterday with more than 100 shows submitted to the judges for final consideration.

The Sherwood awards were established by the Fund for the Republic in memory of the distinguished playwright, who was a member of the Fund's Board of Directors until his death.

Single prizes will be given in each of three categories to television productions dealing with the theme of freedom and justice. Prizes of twenty thousand dollars apiece will go to the best dramatic show and the best documentary produced by a network. A prize of fifteen thousand dollars will be given to the best show of either type produced by an individual station.

Announcement of the prize winners is expected before the end of June. Members of the jury of awards are Kermit Bloomgarden,

(MORE)

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gilbert Seldes, Robert Taft, Jr., Harrison Tweed and Philip H. Willkie.

* * * * * * * *

June 6, 1956

Mr. Herbert Bernard
Fund for the Republic Newsfilm Project
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, California

Dear Herb:

Many thanks for the copy of the film. I appreciate your sending it to me so promptly. The day after it appeared on the local stations I took the boat out to Catalina and had at least half a dozen people come up to me and say they had seen me on television and thought it was about time some one told the truth in the manner this film presented the progress of the South.

Thanks for the opportunity of reaching some 300,000 people.

It was good to know you and I wish you success in your work. I am entering a subscription to New South for you.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

For release: AM newspapers
Friday, June 15, 1956

COMMISSION ANNOUNCES STUDIES
OF MINORITY HOUSING IN THIRTEEN CITIES

New York, N.Y. -- Twenty-four research projects dealing with the housing problems of minority groups have been undertaken by the Commission on Race and Housing, it was announced today by Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of the Commission.

The work of the Commission, organized in June, 1955, is being financed with appropriations from the Fund for the Republic totaling $235,000.

Sixteen of the projects announced by Mr. Schwulst are being conducted in cooperation with research institutions and individual investigators in several of the nation's biggest metropolitan centers. All major geographical regions of the United States are included in the studies.

Cities on which data are being collected for these "field" studies are Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Oakland, Atlanta, Birmingham, Norfolk, Houston, San Antonio, Toledo, Los Angeles, Detroit and New York. (Location and details of these projects can be found on pages 4 - 9)

(MORE)

The projects involving these cities are giving special attention to the housing difficulties of four distinct minority groups: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Americans of Asian origin and Americans of Mexican background.

Eight other research projects are being carried on at the Commission's staff headquarters in Berkeley, California, under the supervision of the research director, Professor Davis McEntire of the University of California.

In discussing the details of the Commission's projects, Mr. Schwulst, who is the president and chairman of the board of trustees of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City, said that the studies will provide "vital information on which the Commission may be expected to base its final recommendations".

The research phase of the Commission's work will be completed before the end of this year.

Mr. Schwulst said that the Commission's studies together represent the first nationwide, comprehensive survey of the minority housing problem to be made in the U.S.

He stated that the Commission hopes to discover ways in which Federal agencies, private builders, community organizations and financial institutions may cooperate to provide adequate private housing for minority groups which have suffered from discrimination practices.

"Also, for the first time, we will have the data on such

(MORE)

unanswered questions as extent of the market for housing among minority groups, types of housing and neighborhoods desired by such groups, the effect of minority group occupancy on property values and the character of race relations in mixed residential areas", Mr. Schwulst said.

In addition to Mr. Schwulst, the members of the Commission on Race and Housing are:

Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University

Elliott V. Bell, Chairman, Executive Committee, and Director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc., and Editor and Publisher of Business Week

Laird Bell, Attorney, Bell, Boyd, Marshall & Lloyd, Chicago

Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., Director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation

Henry Dreyfuss, industrial designer of New York and South Pasadena

Peter Grimm, Chairman of the Board and Director, William A. White and Sons, New York

Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University

Charles Keller, Jr., President, Keller Construction Corporation, New Orleans

Clark Kerr, Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley

Philip M. Klutznick, Chairman of the Board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois

Henry R. Luce, Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House and Home

(MORE)

Stanley Marcus, President, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas

Ward Melville, President, Melville Shoe Corporation, New York

Francis T. P. Plimpton, Attorney, Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean, New York

R. Stewart Rauch, Jr., President, The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society

Robert R. Taylor, Secretary and Executive Director, Illinois Federal Savings and Loan Association, Chicago

A description of each of the twenty-four research projects sponsored by the Commission follows:

I. Research Projects Supported by Grants

1. Racial differentials in consumer expenditures for housing, in relation to family income and quality of housing obtained. (In cooperation with the Department of Economics, University of Chicago)

This study aims to answer two questions: (a) whether nonwhites spend a larger or smaller part of their incomes for housing than do whites, and (b) whether nonwhites receive less or poorer quality housing for a given expenditure than do whites. Attention will be paid to inter-city and inter-regional differences. Data will be obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1950 Survey of Consumer Expenditures, and from special tabulations of 1950 Housing Census data for the Metropolitan Areas of New York, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Birmingham, New Orleans, and Los Angeles.

2. Nonwhite Housing Market Survey, Philadelphia

The Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania is engaged in a study of the general housing market in Philadelphia, including a sampling survey by the U.S. Bureau of the Census under contract. The Institute will utilize a grant from the Commission to enlarge its sample of nonwhite families, thus making possible white-nonwhite comparisons of housing demand factors.

(MORE)

3. Population and Housing Changes in Philadelphia Areas Undergoing Racial Transition in Occupancy

In connection with its larger study of the Philadelphia housing market, the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania, will give special attention to "transitional" areas with reference to the social and economic characteristics of these areas, the transition process and effects, housing market conditions, and prospects for stabilization of such areas on a basis of interracial occupancy.

4. Effects of Minority Group Entry on Property Values (Luigi Laurenti, University of California)

This study attempts to test the validity of the belief that entry of minority groups into a neighborhood depreciates property values. Trends in sales prices of residences are compared as between pairs of matched neighborhoods, one entered by non-whites, the other all-white. Areas studied are in San Francisco, Oakland, and Philadelphia, with supplemental data from Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and Los Angeles.

5. Experience with Open Occupancy in Private Housing Developments (George and Eunice Grier, Trevose, Pennsylvania)

A nationwide survey in two parts. The first phase seeks to discover the extent and general characteristics of private housing developments open to more than one racial group. The second phase involves intensive study of selected open occupancy developments to learn the circumstances and motivations which brought them into being, problems encountered, characteristics of the market, degree of financial success achieved, and character of race relations in the community.

6. Policies and Practices in the House Building and Mortgage Credit Industries Affecting Provision of Housing Available to Minority Groups
(Professor N. J. Demerath, University of North Carolina, and collaborators)

This study will attempt to discover the factors within the house building and mortgage credit industries which inhibit the production of housing available to minority groups. Interviews with builders and lenders will focus on their perceptions, expectations, beliefs, and customary practices in relation to the minority housing market. Special attention will be given to the experiences of builders who have built or tried to build for

(MORE)

the minority market. The study is national in scope, but field work will be concentrated in selected cities of the Northeast, South, Midwest, and Pacific Coast. The study is closely related to the open-occupancy study (No. 5) and the field studies in Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, and San Antonio (Nos. 7 and 8).

7. Field Study of Factors Affecting the Provision of Housing for Negroes and Mexican-Americans in Houston and San Antonio, Texas
(Professor Jack Dodson, Department of Sociology, University of Texas)

Through interviews with builders, lenders, real estate brokers, Federal and local housing officials, and other informed sources, this study will attempt to identify and evaluate the major factors involved in the expansion of living space and construction of new housing available to members of minority groups in the two Texas cities. Houston is the largest city in the South; San Antonio has the second largest urban concentration of Spanish-name population in the United States.

8. Field Study of Factors Affecting the Provision of Housing for Negro Occupancy in Atlanta and Birmingham
(Professor Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University; R. A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League)

This study is similar to the Houston-San Antonio Project (No. 7), but with special emphasis on a comparative analysis of Atlanta and Birmingham, cities with strikingly different records of achievement in the expansion of housing opportunities for their respective Negro populations.

9. Sociological Study of Real Estate Broker Practices and Their Rationale in Chicago Transitional Areas
(Rose Helper, University of Chicago)

This study focuses on the practices of real estate brokers in relation to minority groups in the housing market, and the rationale of such practices. The study is Miss Helper's doctoral thesis at the University of Chicago. A grant-in-aid has been given her in consideration of the results being made available to the Commission's study.

(MORE)

10. Relocation Aspects of Urban Renewal Programs: Impact and Implications for Racial Occupancy Patterns and Minority Group Housing Opportunities
(Professors Harry J. Walker and Franklin Edwards, Department of Sociology, Howard University)

A comparative study of relocation aspects of Urban Renewal programs in several cities, including New York, Washington, D.C., Norfolk, Birmingham, and Chicago.

11. Toledo Housing Survey: Racial Differentials in the Housing Market with Reference to Problems of Urban Renewal
(Board of Community Relations, City of Toledo, and associated agencies)

Survey of families living in the central blighted area of Toledo, to obtain data on their present housing conditions, past experience in the housing market, and potential housing demand, with racial comparisons. The Commission's contribution is limited to a grant-in-aid in consideration of receiving a copy of the report.

12. Nonwhite Housing Market Survey of Los Angeles, California
(In cooperation with the Real Estate Research Program, University of California at Los Angeles, and the Los Angeles Urban League)

This is a cooperative study with the two agencies indicated above. The Commission grant is for the purpose of compensating interviewers. Data on housing conditions and housing demand will be obtained by interviews with a random sample of approximately 1,000 nonwhite families in Los Angeles.

13. Connecticut Survey of Race Relations in Residential Areas of Mixed Racial Occupancy
(In cooperation with the Division of Research, Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights)

A survey of white and Negro families in selected residential areas in Connecticut cities with reference to experiences of Negro families in purchasing or renting housing, racial attitudes of whites and Negroes, and character of interracial contacts.

(MORE)

14. Housing Conditions of Puerto Ricans in New York City (Professor Morris Eagle, City College)

A survey to obtain data on housing conditions, rents, and incomes of Puerto Rican families and their methods of obtaining housing.

15. Housing Conditions of Oriental Groups in San Francisco and Los Angeles

16. Housing conditions of Mexican-Americans in Southern California

II. Research Director's Office, Berkeley

In addition to planning and coordinating the research as a whole, the following specific studies are in progress at Berkeley:

1. Statistical analysis of the housing conditions of minority groups; patterns of residential concentration; characteristics of areas where minority groups live; share of minority groups in housing resources; trends and changes in these factors.

   Data are being compiled and analysed for the United States, regions, and in greater detail for the cities and metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles. An interim report has been submitted on this phase of the study.

2. Statistical analysis of changes and trends in population, employment, income and social status affecting the demand of minority groups for housing. This analysis is concerned chiefly with national and regional trends supplemented by case studies of certain of the metropolitan areas indicated above.

3. Analysis of the characteristics of the mortgages on homes occupied by white and nonwhite owners in 1950. Data for the United States and major regions are obtained from the 1950 Housing Census volume on residential financing. An interim report has been submitted covering this study.

4. Study of the role of Federal policy and programs in the housing situation of minority groups.

   Starting from the proposition that government policy and programs have profoundly affected the housing market

(MORE)

for all Americans, this inquiry attempts to trace the effects of government policy on the opportunities afforded members of minority groups to acquire homes. The principal programs to be considered are the Federal credit aids and public housing. Urban Renewal is the object of a separate study described above.

5. The role of local governments in the housing market with reference to minority groups.

6. The role of minority group capital and real estate institutions in the provision of housing for minority group occupancy.

7. Attitudes and beliefs concerning race relations in the area of housing and residence.

   This is a major area of inquiry with emphasis on beliefs and attitudes pertaining to racial residential segregation. Some original data on the subject will be developed in connection with certain of the projects described below. The work to be done in Berkeley will include principally the review and appraisal of existing research literature pertinent to the problem.

8. Economic and social effects of racial discrimination and segregation in housing: (a) on the minority groups, and (b) on the general community.

   Review and appraisal of existing pertinent research literature, supplemented by data from various projects in the present study.

Budget: The foregoing eight studies are being carried on by the Research Director and his immediate staff.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

COPY

June 15, 1956

Hon. Francis E. Walter,
Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your letter of June 7, addressed to me in California, informing me that your committee will begin hearings on the Fund for the Republic on June 27 and stating that I may wish to attend or be represented.

I plan to attend, as will other officers, and members of the Board of Directors, the full list of which is:

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board, Studebaker-Packard Corporation; former Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration

Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut; former Ambassador to India

Charles W. Cole, President, Amherst College

Russell L. Dearmont, Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company

Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School

Oscar Hammerstein 2d, author and playwright

Robert M. Hutchins, President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

William H. Joyce, Jr., former Chairman of the Board of Joyce, Inc.

Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx

Roger D. Lapham, former Mayor of San Francisco

M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.

J. Howard Marshall, Vice-President Signal Oil & Gas Co.

John Lord O'Brian, Attorney; former General Counsel for the War Production Board

Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Co.

Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper & Associates

George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College

Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.

I hereby request that we be allowed equal time, on each day of the hearings, to present witnesses of our selection, including members of our board and representatives of our grantees.

My reason for this request is your statement that "the Committee is not at this time passing judgment on the Fund for the Republic or its activities . . . The Committee is asking for objective facts so that they could be available to the American people."

The objective facts can be presented only by those who have them. Witnesses like the present Commander of the American Legion, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Joseph P. Kamp, who have been most vocal in attacking the Fund, have shown that they have little knowledge of its work. I am not suggesting that you propose to call the persons I have named; I am suggesting that through witnesses of this type the Committee could not hope to obtain an accurate picture of the Fund.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I understand from our counsel, Bethuel M. Webster, that on the day your statement was published he spoke to Mr. Arens of your staff on the telephone and requested the names of witnesses to be called by the Committee and an opportunity to cross-examine such witnesses and, if necessary, to introduce evidence on behalf of the Fund. Mr. Arens replied that, consistent with Committee practice, cross-examination would not be permitted, but that the Fund would be given an opportunity to offer evidence later on. Mr. Arens also indicated that the hearings might be recessed or adjourned after the Committee witnesses were heard.

Such arrangements would be unjust to the Fund for the Republic. Misunderstandings and misinformation concerning the Fund could be generated and widely circulated before the Fund had a chance to present the facts. Recesses or adjournments after the testimony of Committee witnesses would accentuate this injustice.

I look forward to hearing from you at an early date so that our prospective witnesses may make arrangements to be in Washington. In the hope that it will facilitate a decision by the Committee on our request, I am sending copies of this letter to your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins
President

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
June 7, 1956

For release: All Media
June 11th
Please guard against premature release

Chairman Francis E. Walter announced today that the Committee on Un-American Activities will open public hearings on The Fund for the Republic on June 27th.

"The Fund for the Republic", Mr. Walter stated, "is financing a number of activities which have aroused criticism and doubt on the part of members of Congress, prominent patriotic organizations, and individuals, including Henry Ford II himself, who has publicly described some of the activities of the Fund as 'dubious in character'.

"Is this foundation, with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or a foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy? Are its extensive and diverse activities strengthening or weakening our security structure in the Communist cold war? Are the leaders of this force, who enjoy the benefits of tax immunity, serving an interest inimical to our basic American tradition?

"The Congress and the American people are entitled to know the answers to these questions.

"I wish to make it clear that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not at this time passing judgment on the Fund for the Republic or its activities. The Committee is asking for objective facts so that they could be available to the American people.

"In the embattled position in which the United States finds itself today no organization is above appraisal of its position on matters vital to the country's welfare. In the words of Henry Ford II on the Fund itself: 'No public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to constructive and intelligent criticism'. The Congress has a right and a duty to inform itself on issues pertinent to prospective legislative action.

"A full list of witnesses will be made public at a later date. We are inviting both Mr. Ford and Robert M. Hutchins, Director of the Fund for the Republic, to attend or be represented at the hearing."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

For release: AM newspapers
June 11, 1956

New York, N.Y. --

President Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic issued the following statement today in connection with the announcement by Chairman Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that public hearings on the Fund for the Republic would begin June 27th.

"Any judgment concerning the Fund for the Republic should be based on careful inspection of its three-year record of activity.

"The Board of Directors and Officers of the Fund are proud of that record. It demonstrates that the Fund has carried out the aims for which it was created, to advance the principles of freedom and justice as set forth in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

"Since its establishment in 1952 for educational purposes, the Fund has allocated approximately $6.5 million to develop educational programs related to the individual liberties of American citizens.

"More than one-third of this sum has been devoted to the improvement of race relations.

"Another one-third of this sum has gone to supporting programs designed to stimulate discussion and understanding of the history and traditions of our free society.

(MORE)

"Other main areas of Fund concern are studies of the nature of the Communist threat to American institutions, maintenance of due process of law, and protection against invasions of freedom of speech and belief.

"In the field of race relations the Fund has given $732,000 to religious organizations representing nearly every denomination. Among the church recipients are the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Catholic Inter-racial Council of Chicago, the Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Congregational Christian Churches and the American Friends Service Committee.

"Organizations participating in Fund-supported educational programs on the American heritage are the Institute for Social Order (Jesuit), the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., the YMCA, the YWCA and the Congregational Christian Churches.

"The largest single Fund appropriation has been $325,000 for a study of Communism, conducted by a staff of distinguished scholars and historians under the direction of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

"This is a record established by a private corporation, directed by private citizens of national reputation in cooperation with established civic, educational and religious organizations.

"It is a record with which we hope the American people will become increasingly acquainted".

* * * * * * * * * * *

Fund for Repub.
Cong. hearing

Eighty-Fourth Congress

Francis E. Walter, Pa., Chairman

Morgan M. Moulder, Mo.	Harold H. Velde, Ill.
Clyde Doyle, Calif.	Bernard W. Kearney, N.Y.
James B. Frazier, Jr., Tenn.	Donald L. Jackson, Calif.
Edwin E. Willis, La.	Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio

Richard Arens, Director

C
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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

June 7, 1956

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins
Fund for the Republic
1444 Wentworth Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Please be advised that this Committee will begin hearings on the Fund for the Republic June 27 at 10:00 A.M. in the Caucus Room of the Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

You may desire to attend these hearings personally or have a representative there.

Very truly yours,

/s/

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

Air Mail

TERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

1201

...s is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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HAROLD FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

CONGRESSMAN WALTER HAS ANNOUNCED POSTPONEMENT OF HEARINGS ON FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. NO DATE GIVEN FOR POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF HEARINGS. SUGGEST YOU HOLD ANY STATEMENT FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE USE. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR SUPPORT=

=DAVID F FREEMAN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

For Release: AM newspapers
Thursday, June 21, 1956

New York, N. Y. -- The Robert E. Sherwood television awards to the best productions of the past season dealing with the theme of freedom and justice will be presented by the Fund for the Republic tomorrow at a luncheon in the Terrace Room of the Hotel Plaza (12:45PM).

Mrs. Robert E. Sherwood, widow of the noted playwright in whose memory these awards were established by the Fund for the Republic, will present $55,000 in prizes to the producers, directors and writers of the award-winning shows.

Prior to the presentations Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, will speak. Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, will make the concluding remarks.

Individual awards of $20,000 will go to the best network-produced shows in documentary and drama categories. There will also be a prize of $15,000 for the best show, in either category, produced by an independent station.

The panel of jurors which selected the winning entries included:

Kermit Bloomgarden, theatre producer

Buell G. Gallagher, President, College of the City of New York

(MORE)

Robert M. Purcell, President, KEVE, Minneapolis

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Gilbert Seldes, author and critic

Robert Taft, Jr., attorney, Taft, Stettinius & Hollister

Harrison Tweed, attorney, Milbank, Tweed, Hope & Hadley

Philip H. Willkie, Vice-President and attorney, Rushville, Indiana National Bank

Robert E. Sherwood, author of such prize-winning plays as "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," "Idiot's Delight" and "There Shall Be No Night," was a director of the Fund for the Republic at the time of his death in November, 1955.

* * * * * * * * * * *

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: 2:00 P.M.
Friday, June 22, 1956

NAME THREE WINNERS OF SHERWOOD TV AWARDS

New York, N. Y. -- The three winners of the $55,000 Robert E. Sherwood television awards, established by The Fund For The Republic for programs dealing with the theme of freedom and justice, were announced today by Mrs. Robert E. Sherwood, widow of the noted playwright, at a luncheon at the Hotel Plaza, New York.

Simultaneously with the naming of the winners, Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of The Fund For The Republic, revealed that the directors have been so "encouraged" by the interest and enthusiasm of the television industry in the awards that they have decided to continue them for the 1956-57 television season.

Awards of $20,000 apiece, divided among the producer, director and writer of each program, went to the Armstrong Circle

MORE

Theatre's "I Was Accused" and to the Alcoa Hour's "Tragedy in a Temporary Town" as the best documentary and drama, respectively, appearing on commercial television networks and treating the theme of freedom and justice with the greatest distinction, taste and effectiveness.

Both shows were telecast over the National Broadcasting Company system.

A $15,000 award for the best production over an independent station went to "Desegregation: Baltimore Report", which was produced on Station WAAM, Baltimore.

"I Was Accused" is the true story of George Voskovec, prominent American actor, who fled from Czechoslovakia after its fall to the Communists and was interned at Ellis Island ten months because of false charges that he was a Communist. Mr. Voskovec played himself in the television production. The documentary was written by Jerome Coopersmith, directed by William Corrigan, and produced by David Susskind.

"Tragedy in a Temporary Town" is a drama dealing with mob violence and race prejudice in a temporary camp set up for construction workers. The show was written by Reginald Rose, directed by Sidney Lumet and produced by Herbert Brodkin.

The National Broadcasting Company received silver plaques for both productions.

MORE

"Desegregation: Baltimore Report" was written by Mrs. Gray Johnson Poole, directed by Kennard Calfee, and produced by Herbert B. Cahan. It is a documentary presentation of how the city handled desegregation of its schools. Station WAAM received a silver plaque.

Certificates of Honorable Mention were awarded to the following:

Omnibus: "Constitution" - CBS

Kraft Theatre: "One" - NBC

Philco Playhouse: "A Man Is Ten Feet Tall" - NBC

Pageant: "In Freedom" - KOMO, Seattle, Washington

"In the Minds of Men" - KPIX, San Francisco, California

This is Our Faith - March 28, 1956, WATV, Newark, N.J.

Twin City Heart Beat: "The Invisible Fence" - KEYD, Minneapolis, Minn.

Camera Three Series - CBS

Frontiers of Faith Series - NBC

Frontiers Series - NBC

The jurors for the awards were:

Kermit Bloomgarden
Buell G. Gallagher
Robert M. Purcell
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Gilbert Seldes
Robert Taft, Jr.
Harrison Tweed
Philip H. Willkie

MORE

The Fund For The Republic, of which Mr. Sherwood was a director at his death in 1955, is an independent corporation founded to advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

* * * * * *

June 26, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Thanks for keeping me posted on the developments and non-developments of the proposed congressional hearing. When and if it comes off we will certainly want to file a statement about our use of the Fund's grants.

We were pleased to see the New York Times story on the three year report. Our prominent mention was a dramatic reminder of how much we owe to the Fund.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Walter Will Ask Fund To Name 'Blacklisted'

House Probe Chief Believes Many Were Named as Reds

By DAVID SENTNER

N. Y. Journal-American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 28.—Chairman Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities today revealed the Fund for the Republic would be called on to name "just who had been purportedly blacklisted in the entertainment business."

The committee, Walter said, today decided to call those who had worked on the Fund for the Republic "Report on Blacklisting" to submit the identities of specific persons whose employment had allegedly suffered in the movies, television and radio because of charges of pro-Communism.

Walter said he would not be surprised, if the so-called blacklisted names were furnished, that they would turn out to be, for the most part, among the 21 witnesses involved in public hearings in New York City.

A committee report pointed out that these 21 witnesses connected with the entertainment field had all been identified as having been members of the Communist party.

HEARING DELAYED

The committee report stated the 21 witnesses had been active in propagandizing in behalf of the communist conspiracy.

Walter said the hearing on the Fund for the Republic now was scheduled for July 10 or earlier.

The hearings had been originally set to begin on June 27 but Walter announced postponement to permit further examination of the Fund's activities.

Walter branded as "absurd" reports that pressure had been used by friends of Dr. Robert Hutchins and Paul G. Hoffman, respectively president and board chairman of the Fund, to cancel the committee hearings.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

MEMORANDUM

July 17, 1956

Rec'd 7-19-56

TO: All Grantees

FROM: Robert M. Hutchins

You have undoubtedly seen newspaper accounts of last week's hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee, dealing with the report by John Cogley about blacklisting in the entertainment industry, published by the Fund. For your own information, and so that you will be equipped to answer questions that may be put to you about these hearings, and about the Fund's relations with the Un-American Activities Committee, I am sending you a copy of the Cogley Report (under separate cover), and I am enclosing background materials as follows:

1. Copies of exchanges of correspondence between the Committee Chairman, Francis Walter, and the Fund; and press releases issued in that connection.

2. A selection of newspaper and magazine clippings about the hearings.

The Committee has scheduled additional hearings in Philadelphia this week on blacklisting, and it has announced it also plans to take up the Fund's award to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. In anticipation of publicity that may result from these hearings, I am also enclosing a background memo on the Plymouth Meeting Award.

It appears now that Chairman Walter does not plan to hold formal hearings on the Fund, but rather proposes to attempt to discredit the Fund by conducting investigations on a series of topics that provide an opportunity for hostile witnesses to attack the Fund indirectly. In the light of this situation, the Directors and Officers feel that it would be particularly useful for grantees of the Fund to complete the record before the Committee, by submitting statements describing their experiences with the Fund. We think that it would also be useful to have such statements released to the press, so that a public record can be made on the Fund's activities. If you can see your way to submit such a statement, and to make it public, we should appreciate the opportunity of discussing with you the method and timing of its release.

July 17, 1956

Plymouth Monthly Meeting

This memorandum will describe the background of the Fund's award to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. The situation in the Meeting first came to the attention of the Officers in April 1955 when Professor John P. Roche of Haverford College (a member of the research team on communist activities in the United States, under the direction of Clinton Rossiter) sent Mr. Hutchins a memorandum prepared by Harry Sprogell, a Philadelphia lawyer, and a member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Sprogell's memorandum described efforts by private groups to persuade the Meeting to dismiss a librarian who had been employed in a small public library which it owns and operates. On the basis of this memorandum, a research assistant on the Fund's staff visited Plymouth Meeting, and prepared a supplementary memorandum setting forth the information obtained from Plymouth Meeting residents, and others familiar with the situation, as well as from newspaper articles, letters and other documents. This material was offered to the Board's standing committee on special awards, whose members were Mrs. Eleanor Stevenson, of Oberlin, Ohio (Chairman), M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board of Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the late Robert E. Sherwood, playwright and author. On the recommendation of this Committee, the Board of Directors at its meeting on May 19, 1955 approved an award of $5,000 to Plymouth Meeting "in recognition of its forthright stand in defense of individual freedom." This action was taken by unanimous vote of all members present.

The events at Plymouth Meeting leading up to the situation that resulted in the Fund's awards are as follows:

When the Library Committee of the Meeting was looking for a temporary librarian in 1953, it received an application from Mrs. Mary Knowles. Mrs. Knowles had been accused by Herbert Philbrick of being a member of the Communist Party while employed from 1945 to 1947 as a secretary at the Samuel Adams School, which is on the Attorney General's List. When she pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the Jenner Committee in May of 1953, Mrs. Knowles was dismissed from her position as a librarian in a Massachusetts community.

The Plymouth Meeting Library Committee employed Mrs. Knowles on a temporary basis in October, 1953, after investigating her associations since 1947, and receiving a notarized statement from Mrs. Knowles that she had not been a member of any subversive organization since 1947. Her employment was made permanent in September, 1954.

When Mrs. Knowles declined to execute a Pennsylvania loyalty oath, as demanded by a Plymouth Township Commissioner -- not being a State employee, she was not legally required to take the oath -- sharp attacks were made upon the Library Committee. Contributions to the library by two local township and school boards were withdrawn; local organizations and individuals called for Mrs. Knowles' removal. At this point the Fund's award was made.

The $5,000 is still being held in escrow, where it was placed by the action of the Monthly Meeting for business in October, 1955. At the presentation on July 6, 1955 John Archibald, Clerk of the Meeting, had accepted the award and stated that its disposition would be acted upon at the next business meeting in September. The Fund has in its possession the cancelled check which was placed in the bank on July 19 with the endorsement, "Deposit to the credit of Plymouth Monthly Meeting." The check was made out to the entire Meeting, not to the Library Committee. After the check had been deposited in the bank in July by one of the Trustees of the Meeting, it was drawn out by Frank Jones, Treasurer of the Meeting, who had refused to accept the check at the presentation because he said that he felt that it should be accepted by the Monthly Meeting first. Mr. Jones had also been told by Carroll Corson, Chairman of the Finance Committee, to refuse the check.

The pro-and-con sentiment about the acceptance of the award is almost evenly divided. More than six months ago a petition asking for Mary Knowles' removal, appeared in the local papers containing the signatures of 58 of the 113 adult members. Mrs. Chapple, a member of the Library Committee, has made an analysis of all the members of the Meeting and concluded that only 64 of them could be considered active. Thirty of the active members oppose the retention of Mrs. Knowles. Mrs. Chapple also made a qualitative analysis of the active members on a point basis -- "3 points for serving on Yearly Meeting Committees, 2 for local Overseers or Ministry and Worship, one for each local committee other than these two, one for regular attendance, etc." The 30 objectors had a total of 52 points; the 34 "upholders" had a total of 118 points.

The most recent petition calling for Mrs. Knowles' dismissal contained 66 signatures of Quakers, but only 30 signers are members of Plymouth Monthly Meeting.

It should be pointed out that at the Monthly Meeting in October, 1954 no one expressed a word of dissent when the Meeting was told of Mrs. Knowles' employment by the Library Committee. The following sentences come from the Minutes of the October 19, 1954 Monthly Meeting:

> "The Library Committee read the written statement they had submitted to the Plymouth Township Commissioners presenting all the material on which they based their conclusions as to the qualifications of Mary Knowles, as a

librarian and a citizen. The Meeting is in accord with the Library Committee's employment of Mary Knowles, though there was some regret expressed for the attention given the issue by the press."

As reported in the Fund investigator's memorandum at the time the award was made, some members of the Meeting at that time favored Mrs. Knowles' removal. However, at the June Monthly Meeting the members present were told that "The Fund for the Republic is shortly to give public recognition to the Meeting for its support of the Library Committee's stand in defense of the concept of the worth and dignity of the individual". The Minutes further record that the members were given a description of the Fund's activities and its directors. No one objected to the award at this time. The only question asked was raised by Carroll Corson, one of the leaders of the opposition today. He wanted to know if there was any money involved in the award. He was told that past Fund for the Republic awards had included money and that this one undoubtedly would also.

Approximately 20 members of Plymouth Monthly Meeting were present at the 276th Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends in March, 1956 when the report of the Civil Liberties Committee was endorsed. The Civil Liberties Committee had decided to make available a fund for such legal defense of Mrs. Knowles' position as might be necessary. The Yearly Meeting of 500 representatives of 93 local Meetings thus supported, in principle, the stand of Plymouth Monthly Meeting in refusing to dismiss Mrs. Knowles. Mrs. Chapple says that about half of the Plymouth Monthly Meeting members present when this action was taken belong to the anti-Knowles segment. Not one of them protested the action of the Yearly Meeting. According to Mrs. Chapple, the Monthly Meeting does not elect delegates to the Yearly Meeting, but all who attend are voluntary delegates with an equal right to speak on any issue that is before the Yearly Meeting.

Mrs. Knowles has appeared twice before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, since the Fund made its award to Plymouth Monthly Meeting. At both hearings Mrs. Knowles refused to answer certain questions on the grounds that the Committee did not have jurisdiction to question her about her background, since she was a private individual employed by a private institution functioning under the guidance of a religious organization. In April the U.S. Senate voted to cite Mrs. Knowles for contempt.

COPY

June 15, 1956

Hon. Francis E. Walter
Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your letter of June 7, addressed to me in California, informing me that your committee will begin hearings on the Fund for the Republic on June 27 and stating that I may wish to attend or be represented.

I plan to attend, as will other officers, and members of the Board of Directors, the full list of which is:

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board, Studebaker-Packard Corporation; former Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration

Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut; former Ambassador to India

Charles W. Cole, President, Amherst College

Russell L. Dearmont, Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company

Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School

Oscar Hammerstein 2d, author and playwright

Robert M. Hutchins, President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

William H. Joyce, Jr., former Chairman of the Board of Joyce, Inc.

Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx

Roger D. Lapham, former Mayor of San Francisco

M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.

J. Howard Marshall, Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.

John Lord O'Brian, Attorney; former General Counsel for the War Production Board

Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Co.

Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper & Associates

George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College

Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.

I hereby request that we be allowed equal time, on each day of the hearings, to present witnesses of our selection, including members of our board and representatives of our grantees.

My reason for this request is your statement that "the Committee is not at this time passing judgment on the Fund for the Republic or its activities . . . The Committee is asking for objective facts so that they could be available to the American people."

The objective facts can be presented only by those who have them. Witnesses like the present Commander of the American Legion, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Joseph P. Kamp, who have been most vocal in attacking the Fund, have shown that they have little knowledge of its work. I am not suggesting that you propose to call the persons I have named; I am suggesting that through witnesses of this type the Committee could not hope to obtain an accurate picture of the Fund.

I understand from our counsel, Bethuel M. Webster, that on the day your statement was published he spoke to Mr. Arens of your staff on the telephone and requested the names of witnesses to be called by the Committee and an opportunity to cross-examine such witnesses and, if necessary, to introduce evidence on behalf of the Fund. Mr. Arens replied that, consistent with Committee practice, cross-examination would not be permitted, but that the Fund would be given an opportunity to offer evidence later on. Mr. Arens also indicated that the hearings might be recessed or adjourned after the Committee witnesses were heard.

Such arrangements would be unjust to the Fund for the Republic. Misunderstandings and misinformation concerning the Fund could be generated and widely circulated before the Fund had a chance to present the facts. Recesses or adjournments after the testimony of Committee witnesses would accentuate this injustice.

I look forward to hearing from you at an early date so that our prospective witnesses may make arrangements to be in Washington. In the hope that it will facilitate a decision by the Committee on our request, I am sending copies of this letter to your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins
President

Similar letter sent to each member of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

July 13, 1956

The Honorable Francis E. Walter, Chairman
Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

During the hearings on The Report on Blacklisting by John Cogley, members of your Committee indicated that they had not seen or read the Report.

We sent all the copies requested by your staff to them on July 6. Under separate cover, I am sending each member of the Committee copies of the Report. I hope those who have not done so will find an opportunity to read the material parts of it.

I request that this report, since it is the subject of the investigation, and has been referred to by page and paragraph many times in the hearings, be made a part of the official record of your proceedings.

I must repeat what I have said in two previous letters to you, copies of which all members of the Committee have received. The Fund for the Republic regards the methods employed in dealing with this project of the Fund as grossly unfair. Mr. Cogley was subjected to hostile examination and was followed by a series of hostile witnesses. During the course of the proceedings, the Chairman and counsel and some of the witnesses made unfavorable references to the Fund. The effect of this is precisely what I pointed out in my letter to you of June 15: the public is misled by statements about the Fund to which the Fund has no opportunity to reply.

I again request that in any hearings that relate in any way to the Fund we be given the right of cross-examination and of presenting witnesses with equal time on the day on which witnesses hostile to the Fund take the stand.

Since I learn from our counsel, Bethuel M. Webster, that some members of the Committee have not in hand the three-year Report of the Fund that was sent them on June 25, I am sending each of them another copy. This is a complete and balanced statement of what the Fund has actually been doing since its foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins
President

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N Y., MU 2-1250

For release: AM Newspapers
June 11, 1956

New York, N. Y. -

President Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic issued the following statement today in connection with the announcement by Chairman Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that public hearings on the Fund for the Republic would begin June 27th.

"Any judgment concerning the Fund for the Republic should be based on careful inspection of its three-year record of activity.

"The Board of Directors and Officers of the Fund are proud of that record. It demonstrates that the Fund has carried out the aims for which it was created, to advance the principles of freedom and justice as set forth in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

"Since its establishment in 1952 for educational purposes, the Fund has allocated approximately $6.5 million to develop educational programs related to the individual liberties of American citizens.

"More than one-third of this sum has been devoted to the improvement of race relations.

"Another one-third of this sum has gone to supporting programs designed to stimulate discussion and understanding of the history and traditions of our free society.

(MORE)

"Other main areas of Fund concern are studies of the nature of the Communist threat to American institutions, maintenance of due process of law, and protection against invasions of freedom of speech and belief.

"In the field of race relations the Fund has given $732,000 to religious organizations representing nearly every denomination. Among the church recipients are the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Catholic Inter-racial Council of Chicago, the Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Congregational Christian Churches and the American Friends Service Committee.

"Organizations participating in Fund-supported educational programs on the American heritage are the Institute for Social Order (Jesuit), the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., the YMCA, the YWCA and the Congregational Christian Churches.

"The largest single Fund appropriation has been $325,000 for a study of Communism, conducted by a staff of distinguished scholars and historians under the direction of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

"This is a record established by a private corporation, directed by private citizens of national reputation in cooperation with established civic, educational and religious organizations.

"It is a record with which we hope the American people will become increasingly acquainted."

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

For Immediate Release
Wednesday, July 11, 1956

Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, released this afternoon the full text of his letter to Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, to which Mr. Walter referred in the public hearings of the Committee this morning.

"In a statement issued by your office, and published in newspapers on June 11, it was said that the House Un-American Activities Committee intended to hold hearings on The Fund for the Republic. The statement included this question: 'Is this foundation, with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy?'

"On the same date I received your letter of June 7 informing me that your Committee would begin hearings on June 27, and stating that I might wish to attend or be represented. On that date also our counsel, Bethuel M. Webster, heard on the telephone from your staff director, Mr. Arens, that the Fund would have no opportunity to cross-examine or present any witnesses at the hearings now planned.

"I replied on June 15 that I planned to attend, together with other officers and members of our Board of Directors, and I asked that 'we be allowed equal time, on each day of the hearings, to present witnesses of our selection, including members of our board and representatives of our grantees.'

"My letter was never acknowledged, but on June 20 we learned from the newspapers that the hearings had been postponed 'indefinitely.'

"Recent actions by your Committee--the summoning of the man who wrote the Report on Blacklisting in the entertainment industries, and the calling of leaders of the Plymouth Monthly Meeting--have indicated to us that you intend to examine the Fund for the Republic on a piecemeal basis.

"The Officers and Directors of the Fund object to the methods employed for investigation of the Fund. We are still shocked and

(MORE)

indignant over the question raised in your public statement of June 11. The implication that Henry Ford joined you in questioning our patriotism is not founded on fact.

"The question you put was unjust and unwarranted. It cast doubt upon the integrity and patriotism of good Americans--the directors and officers of the Fund, hundreds of people who have worked on Fund projects, and, not least, leaders of civic, educational, legal and religious organizations that have accepted grants from the Fund. Among these are: the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; the YM and YWCA; the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; the Jesuits' Institute of Social Order; the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; the American Friends Service Committee; the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; and universities such as Columbia, Pennsylvania, Vanderbilt and Loyola.

"In fairness to these people, your question must be answered either by a statement declaring that the Committee's study has convinced it of our patriotic purposes or by granting us a full and impartial hearing, as requested in my letter of June 15.

"We have sent you and all the members of your Committee a detailed report on the Fund's activities in its three years of operation. We ask that consideration be given to this material; it gives a complete picture of how the Fund has worked to preserve the liberties we cherish. In view of the reactions we have already received from civic groups, newspapers, and leaders of many national organizations, we believe that any American who reads this report cannot help sharing our pride in the Fund's achievements. If you have questions about our program, we believe you can remove them by referring to this report.

"If you still feel, after examining our report, that some points need to be clarified, we ask that you give members of our Board of Directors an opportunity to discuss these points with you. The Directors of the Fund are:

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman; Chairman of the Board, Studebaker-Packard Corp.
George N. Shuster, Vice-Chairman; President, Hunter College
Chester Bowles; former Governor of Connecticut and former Ambassador to India
Charles W. Cole; President, Amherst College
Russell L. Dearmont; Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad
Erwin N. Griswold; Dean, Law School of Harvard University

(MORE)

Oscar Hammerstein, II; author and playwright
Robert M. Hutchins; President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
William H. Joyce, Jr.; Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.
Meyer Kestnbaum; President, Hart Schaffner & Marx
Roger D. Lapham; former Mayor of San Francisco
M. Albert Linton; Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.
J. Howard Marshall; Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.
John Lord O'Brian; Attorney, Covington & Burling
Jubal R. Parten; President, Woodley Petroleum Co.
Elmo Roper; Elmo Roper & Associates
Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson
James D. Zellerbach; President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.

"I am sending copies of this letter to your colleagues on the Committee."

* * * * * * * *

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
June 7, 1956

For release: All Media
June 11th
Please guard against premature release

Chairman Francis E. Walter announced today that the Committee on Un-American Activities will open public hearings on The Fund for the Republic on June 27th.

"The Fund for the Republic", Mr. Walter stated, "is financing a number of activities which have aroused criticism and doubt on the part of members of Congress, prominent patriotic organizations, and individuals, including Henry Ford II himself, who has publicly described some of the activities of the Fund as 'dubious in character'.

"Is this foundation, with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or a foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy? Are its extensive and diverse activities strengthening or weakening our security structure in the Communist cold war? Are the leaders of this force, who enjoy the benefits of tax immunity, serving an interest inimical to our basic American tradition?"

"The Congress and the American people are entitled to know the answers to these questions.

"I wish to make it clear that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not at this time passing judgment on the Fund for the Republic or its activities. The Committee is asking for objective facts so that they could be available to the American people.

"In the embattled position in which the United States finds itself today no organization is above appraisal of its position on matters vital to the country's welfare. In the words of Henry Ford II on the Fund itself: 'No public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to constructive and intelligent criticism'. The Congress has a right and a duty to inform itself on issues pertinent to prospective legislative action.

"A full list of witnesses will be made public at a later date. We are inviting both Mr. Ford and Robert M. Hutchins, Director of the Fund for the Republic, to attend or be represented at the hearing."

Eighty-Fourth Congress

Francis E. Walter, Pa., Chairman

Morgan M. Moulder, Mo.	Harold H. Velde, Ill.
Clyde Doyle, Calif.	Bernard W. Kearney, N.Y.
James B. Frazier, Jr., Tenn.	Donald L. Jackson, Calif.
Edwin E. Willis, La.	Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio

Richard Arens, Director

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

June 7, 1956

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins
Fund for the Republic
1444 Wentworth Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Please be advised that this Committee will begin hearings on the Fund for the Republic June 27 at 10:00 A.M. in the Caucus Room of the Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

You may desire to attend these hearings personally or have a representative there.

Very truly yours,

/s/

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

Air Mail

The Hartford Courant
June 26, 1956

The Fund Reports On Blacklists

The Fund for the Republic, a wholly separate offshoot of the Ford Foundation, has issued a major report of a study of blacklisting in the entertainment field. It is a sobering document, and it is to be hoped that those who enjoy beating the Fund over the head as pro-Communist will take time out to read the report. It finds that radio, TV and the motion picture industry have completely abdicated their control over the hiring of performers; that through the use of "lists" hundreds of individuals have been denied employment, and have faced economic ruin.

The physical laws of action and reaction have worked here with a vengeance. In the beginning there were tightly organized, well-integrated Communist cells. These infiltrated, particularly into the motion picture business, and they made certain that nothing deleterious to the Communist cause could be viewed on the screen. When this group was exposed, there was a tremendous reaction. Hollywood producers, advertisers, and advertising agencies whose pocketbook antennae are significantly sensitive, recoiled at any name that associated with the Communist movement in any way.

If this blacklisting had been confined to known Communists, whose association had been confirmed, it might be possible to justify this movement. But the use, by Hollywood in particular, of lists of unevaluated reports has without doubt caused injustice and economic hardship. It has been shown also that advertising agencies reacted to threats of boycott by minority groups the easy way, by failing to hire any figure attached without attempting any effective or equitable solution of the problem.

This report may be considered by some as confirmation that the Fund for the Republic feels tenderly toward Communists. That is a pretty shortsighted point of view. The report, compiled by a former editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, points out to those who will read, that civil rights have been jeopardized, and that in the fear reaction to the threat of communism many innocent persons have suffered. There are some who even believe that misguided people who espoused communism at one phase of their development, and then saw the light, should not therefore be condemned to outer darkness for the rest of their lives.

Some may question the wisdom of the Fund's failure to make its deductions from the wealth of data it secured through hundreds of interviews. Perhaps its officers are sensitive to the criticism that has been leveled at it. But in the matter of civil rights it is always better to do as the Society of Friends has consistently done: espouse frankly and courageously the cause that is just but unpopular today. Tomorrow it will be popular again, when the battle is temporarily won once more. Hatred, fear, and the callous weighting of the scales with profit as against human rights are all familiar phenomena in the history of man.

New York Post
July 10, 1956

Cogley Won't Have to Give His Sources

By WILLIAM V. SHANNON
New York Post Correspondent

Washington, July 10—The House Un-American Activities Committee decided tentatively today not to require John Cogley to disclose confidential sources of information used in his report on blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Cogley appeared before the committee prepared to withhold the names of his confidential informants at the possible risk of a contempt citation.

But when the issue arose during questioning by Richard Arens, committee counsel, Acting Chairman Moulder (D-Mo.) polled the members informally on whether Cogley should be pressed for an answer.

Rep. Doyle (D-Cal.) said he was against requiring the witness to reveal confidential sources because there was no evidence that either Cogley or the person he was being questioned about at the time were subversive.

"I thought the purpose of this committee was to look into subversive activity," Doyle said.

Reps. Moulder and Willis (D-La.) concurred and Rep Jackson (R-Cal.), after saying a distinction should be drawn between a newspaper reporter and an employe of a "tax-exempt foundation," also agreed Cogley should not be pressed for names.

The Cogley report was financed by The Fund for the Republic.

When the question arose, Cogley was being asked the identity of "a public relations expert" who allegedly helped persons obtain clearance. Cogley later identified him as Arnold Forster.

Forster, an official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and reporter Frederick Woltman were to be questioned tomorrow.

Woltman, of the New York World Telegram and Sun, has denied that he gave affidavits or participated in maneuvers to clear individual performers. The report attributes such activity to Woltman and uses as a source the unnamed public relations man.

Since he was subpenaed last Friday, Forster has been in virtual seclusion. His New York office said he was "unavailable," while at his home he was said to be on vacation.

The committee said it had called two additional witnesses, James O'Neill, director of publications of the American Legion, and Vincent Hartnett, a director of Aware, Inc., and a defendant with Aware in a libel suit brought by broadcaster John Henry Faulk.

'CLEARING' BOARD ON ACTORS DENIED

O'Neil and Sokolsky Testify They Help to 'Rehabilitate' Performers Tied to Reds

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 11—Efforts to "rehabilitate" entertainment industry personalities who had job troubles because of charges of Communist associations were described today to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

James F. O'Neil, publisher of the American Legion magazine, testified that the Legion had sent to some of its posts letters by accused Hollywood actors, writers and others explaining their records. He said he knew of about 100 such cases. In almost all, he said, the accused persons were "rehabilitated"—able again to obtain employment.

"The Legion has made a major contribution" he said, "in helping to re-establish a climate of employment for the innocent, the stupid and the repentant guilty."

Georg Sokolsky, the newspaper columnist, said in a written statement to the committee that he had helped work out a rehabilitation "process."

He estimated that, as a result, "about 300 men and women * * * are today working in the motion picture industry who could not work before because of the record they had established of Communist or psuedo-Communist associations."

These were high points of the second day hearings on the Fund for the Republic and its recent report on "blacklisting" of entertainers.

The committee and witnesses debated whether blacklisting was practiced and whether there was, as the fund report had contended, a "clearance board" including Mr. Sokolsky and Mr. O'Neil.

Legion Blacklisting Denied

Mr. O'Neil denied that the American Legion had engaged in blacklisting. But he said the Legion was on record as opposed to the employment of entertainers identified with the "Communist apparatus." He said individual Legion posts had protested against showing of films on which such persons had worked.

The fund report's assertion that the Legion "cleared" people was a "distortion if not a deliberate untruth," Mr. O'Neil said.

Mr. Sokolsky also denied the existence of a "clearing ring." He was highly critical of the fund report. He said it suffered from "inadequate research, from either an unwillingness or an inability to get at all the facts and from a double standard of morals."

He did not testify in person because of ill health.

Arnold Forster, general counsel of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, testified about quotations attributed to him by John Cogley, the author of the fund report. The quotes were to the effect that there were "clearance men," such as Mr. Sokolsky and Mr. O'Neil.

Associated Press Wirephoto

TESTIFIES ON REPORT: Arnold Forster, the general counsel of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. He was questioned by a House committee on study of blacklisting that was published by Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Forster said he "may well" have made the statements. But the report's version is not complete, he said, because it omitted his feeling that men such as Mr. O'Neil and Mr. Sokolsky "were doing good, not evil."

As he finished his testimony, the committee chairman, Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, thanked him and added:

"You have confirmed our suspicion that this report isn't worth the paper it's printed on. I don't think there is a blacklist."

"I think there is, sir," Mr. Forster replied. He continued with some emotion:

"I define blacklisting as denial of employment, not on merit, without a hearing. * * * This is a dreadful thing. If the Fund for the Republic report results in this kind of hearing, in public discussion across the country, if it does nothing else—regardless of its accuracy or inaccuracy on any point—I think it will have performed a great public service."

"I think you're absolutely right," Mr. Walter said.

Frederick T. Weltman, a reporter for The New York World-Telegram and The Sun, had been described in their Fund report as a "clearance man." He testified that he had never taken part in such activity.

Mr. Weltman volunteered the comment that Elizabeth Poe, a woman who had worked on the report, was "sympathetic to the Communist movement."

He testified she had been a member of the "pro-Communist faction" of the American Newspaper Guild while an employe of The New York Times. After he left the stand Mr. Weltman said this was a mental slip, and he had meant to say Miss Poe worked for Time Magazine.

Miss Poe Denies Charge

LOS ANGELES, July 11 (AP)—Miss Poe said here today the charge that she was "sympathetic to the Communist movement" was an attempt to intimidate her and other writers.

Miss Poe commented:

"Mr. Weltman's statement is absolute nonsense. My position has always been to defend the principles of civil liberties regardless of who was involved.

"It is interesting to note that Mr. Weltman, even hiding behind Congressional immunity, doesn't say I am a Communist. This is because he knows I have never been one."

Hutchins Expresses Shock

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, said yesterday his officers and directors were "still shocked and indignant" over the doubt expressed about their integrity and patriotism by Representative Walter.

Dr. Hutchins, in a letter to the Representative, also took exception "to the methods employed" by the House committee in investigating the fund.

By asking a month ago whether the fund was a "friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy," Mr. Walter had put an "unjust and unwarranted" question, Dr. Hutchins said. It reflected, he said, on the directors and officers of the fund as well as on the leaders of civic, educational, legal and religious organizations that have accepted its grants.

"In fairness to these people," the letter said, "your question must be answered either by a statement declaring that the committee's study has convinced it of our patriotic purposes or by granting us a full and impartial hearing as requested in my letter of June 15."

That letter, which Dr. Hutchins said had not been acknowledged, asked that the fund be given equal time on each day of the hearings to present witnesses.

N.Y. Daily Mirror
July 12, 1956

Says Ex-Red Helped Fund On Blacklist

WASHINGTON, July 11 (INS).—A New York columnist told House investigators Wednesday that a former member of a Communist faction helped compile the Fund for the Republic's report on blacklisting of artists with alleged Red links.

Frederick Weltman, writer for the New York World-Telegram and Sun, charged that Elizabeth Poe, who worked on the report, had been a member of a Communist faction in the Newspaper Guild while working for Time magazine.

WELTMAN, TESTIFYING before the House Un-American Activities Committee, said he informed John Cogley, director of the report, of Miss Poe's background. He said Cogley replied that since he had one strong anti-Communist on his staff, he felt he needed someone friendly to the Reds.

Weltman said there were many non-Communists on the staff that prepared the report on blacklisting. Among them, he testified, were Cogley and Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund. However, he described Cogley and Hutchins as "mixed up."

Earlier, Arnold Forster, general counsel for the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, told the committee that blacklisting has become "a dreadful thing" in the radio, television and motion picture industries. He said performers are denied employment without a chance to clear themselves.

Forster testified that B'nai B'rith and a group of New York news and public relations men have attempted to aid such artists. He said performers who have had a hearing, either within one of the industries or on Capitol Hill, and have pleaded the Fifth Amendment are not aided.

The Manchester Guardian
June 26, 1956

A McCARTHY LEGACY

Stars and Their Shadows

From Alistair Cooke

NEW YORK, JUNE 25.

The Fund for the Republic, an independent child of the Ford Foundation that was born to wrestle with problems of civil liberties, published to-day a 600-page report, in two volumes, on "blacklisting," a practice which the fund concludes is now taken for granted in every part of show business except the New York theatre.

Everyone who has had only a casual acquaintance with the routine of casting movies or television plays, with hawking a programme for sponsorship, sooner or later becomes aware that there is either a very efficient underground system of excluding "controversial" performers, or that the moral climate of our time is remarkably stable and enervating. A bright-eyed producer or an alert casting manager will pluck from his memory "just the type" to play Cyrano, a baseball manager, a drunk, George Washington, or what have you. A telephone call to the actor's agent establishes that the man is available and eager. He is a dues-paying member of the proper union. He has just had, or is perhaps still enjoying, a successful run on Broadway. His name is pencilled in and the satisfied director goes out to lunch.

Devious Channels

When he comes back he finds a note to call the producer, or the sponsor, or a minor official of the network that carries the show, or another minor official of the advertising agency that got the sponsor in the first place. He may find on his memo pad an unfamiliar name from the small staff of a man who publishes a bulletin, procurable by subscription, which lists the alleged "Communist-front" affiliations of actors who once were Communists, or who appeared before Congressional committees, or who joined one of the innumerable "people's" groups since identified by the Attorney-General as Communist fronts, or who simply gave their talent during the war for any one of hundreds of "emergency" benefits for "anti-Fascist" refugees, for veterans of the Spanish war, for aimless or harmless busybodies who had a protest and a "cause."

Until about a year ago the upshot was predictable. The actor was hastily told he was "unsuitable," or the agent agreed to let the sleeping watchdogs of Americanism lie without being refuted. To-day, the word is likely to come through, by equally devious but "reliable" channels, that the actor has been "cleared," is no longer "controversial," and is therefore well qualified to hit the cymbals in a televised jam-session or to impersonate a drug-store clerk whipping up a milk-shake.

Twilight Zone

The shower of quotation marks in the preceding paragraph is not accidental. We are in a twilight zone between the protected area of the law and the no man's land of slander and scurrility. Who patrols this land? Who are the obscure anonymous policemen who so sedulously sift the harmless actors, writers, musicians, dancers, or the sheepish conformists from the goats? How systematic are the precautions taken by uniformly discreet men at their desks in an advertising agency, a soap firm, a network production unit, or a Hollywood studio?

These are the questions the Fund for the Republic set itself to answer. To do so it shrewdly appointed as the editor-in-chief of this report a journalist so "uncontroversial" as to be a Roman Catholic layman and a former editor of "The Commonweal." Mr John Cogley has done a masterly and spine-chilling job. His staff began in January, 1955, to collect facts in Hollywood and New York, the capitals of movies and television and radio. It interviewed 500 people, including watchdogs, victims, Communists, penitent Communists, union leaders, advertisers, producers, journalists, publicists of every political wing. It bolstered a reporting job with a legal study and a survey of "morale in the radio and television industry."

Its conclusions are depressing. Several hundred performers of one kind or another have been out of work for years because of the blacklisting custom. Some are known Communists, some have run close to contempt of Congress; and these are perhaps the only people whose misfortune one can suffer without much damage to the conscience. They are the minor Fuchsses, the garrulous Red Deans of show business, who have had to face the ire of most Western societies which have painfully discovered of late that total freedom of expression, if it leads to action, is a rash thing to allow to men enlisted in an international conspiracy, whether they are writers or electricians.

But this seems to be by far the smallest group. There are many, many others who see no sin in having mildly radical political opinions. Many more evidently had no political convictions at all, but gave their services free to some vaguely identified worthy cause. The retribution has been devilish, and—this report makes very clear—it has been systematic. The entertainment industry, the report concludes, has allowed outsiders working for their own profit to set up a security system of their own outrageously outside the law; which advertisers and networks and film studios have then from laziness or cowardice, used as the arbiter.

The report has "brought in no indictments and has offered no recommendations." It has merely listed in dreadful detail the legacy of McCarthyism; which is the acceptance by otherwise responsible men of the doctrine that the law is an untrustworthy punisher of subversion; that rumour is to be believed from any source unless it can be overwhelmingly refuted; that a man's reputation is only spotless when it can be guaranteed by self-appointed moral guardians of the extreme Right.

The moral of these depressing volumes might well be the one James Thurber appended to one of his wonderfully trenchant Fables now appearing in the "New Yorker." In the current issue there is the lamentable case of a mongoose who didn't want to fight cobras or anything else. "The word went around that the strange new mongoose was not only pro-cobra and anti-mongoose, but intellectually curious and against the ideals and traditions of mongooism." Thereupon strangers who had never laid eyes on him "remembered that they had seen him crawling on his stomach, or trying on cobra hoods." He said he was trying to use reason and intelligence, but he was told that "reason is six-sevenths of treason" and that "intelligence is what the enemy uses." In the end he was tried and condemned to banishment.

Thurber's moral is—"Ashes to ashes and clay to clay, if the enemy doesn't get you your own folks may."

N. Y. Times
July 10, 1956

'BLACKLIST' STUDY OPEN

Plan to Hold Closed Hearings Is Dropped by House Group

WASHINGTON, July 9 (UP)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities decided today to throw open to the public its hearings on a controversial report on allegedly "blacklisting" in the radio and television industry.

The hearings are to start tomorrow and run through Thursday. It had been planned to hold them behind closed doors. The aim is to bring out the objectives of the Fund for the Republic, which financed the "blacklisting" study.

The committee said that two additional witnesses had been called, James O'Neill, director of publications of the American Legion, and Vincent Hartnett of New York, a consultant to the radio and television industry.

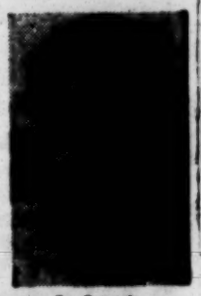
Called earlier were John Cogley, who directed preparation of the report; Arnold Forster, general counsel of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League; and Frederick Woltman, reporter for The New York World-Telegram and Sun.

Garden City (N.Y.) Newsday June 29, 1956

Jo Coppola Says:

Report Airs 'Blacklist'

Franz Kafka's "The Trial" begins with this sentence: "Someone must have been telling lies about Joseph K. for, without having done anything wrong, he was arrested one fine morning." The whole nightmarish experience of Joseph K. is summed up in that simple sentence. I've been thinking about that lead because I cannot think of a better one to sum up the nightmarish quality of the complex question of blacklisting in radio and television.



Jo Coppola

The practice of blacklisting players, writers and directors in film, radio and television because of charges of Communist association is covered in a two-volume report, issued by The Fund for the Republic and written by John Cogley of Baldwin, formerly executive editor of "The Commonweal," a weekly edited by Catholic laymen. The study will be printed shortly by Meridian Books for commercial sale. There are a number of blacklists around and these lists have come from such sources as "Red Channels," "Aware, Inc.," "Counter-attack," the publisher of "Red Channels," and private individuals and groups.

Little in the report is news to anyone in the trade. But what the report does do is name "names" of those involved in "clearances." Again, these names were open trade secrets; but they had not appeared in print before.

THE chapter that made me think of the Kafka novel is headed "Clearance." A man is blacklisted behind closed doors and if he wants to work again, he must get "cleared" behind closed doors. "Without access to the chief 'clearance men,' (who are often the same persons who make the damning indictment), the blacklisted artist can get nowhere," states the report. There are a handful of men with this power to take away or grant the right to work and while there isn't room here to give all the details, the explanation in the report of a New York public-relations expert who has guided more than a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the "right people," is revealing:

"If a man is clean and finds his way to me the first thing I do is examine his record. I look particularly to see if it includes charges that he is a member of the Communist Party. I want to find out if he is 'clearable.' Once I am convinced that he is not a Communist, or if he has been a Communist, has had a change of heart, I ask him whether he has talked to the FBI. If he hasn't, I tell him the first thing he must do is go to the FBI and tell them everything he knows. I tell him to say to them: 'I am a patriotic citizen and I want you to ask me any questions you have in mind.'

"THEN I find out where he is being blacklisted—where it is he can't get work, who in the industry is keeping him from working and who outside the industry has made him controversial. If, for instance, I find it is the American Legion, I call one of the top Legion officials and tell him this man has come to me for help and says he is innocent. The official may say to me, "Why this guy has 47 listings and I know people who say they don't believe him.' But I say, 'I'm going to have him make a statement.' Then, when the Legion guy gets the statement and has read it, I call and ask him for a note saying he is satisfied by the statement. He will usually say, 'I won't put anything in writing but if anyone is interested have him call me.'

"Somewhere along the line I many find George Sokolsky (nationally syndicated columnist) is involved. I go to him and tell him that the Legion official thinks this boy is all right. If I can convince Sokolsky then I go to Victor Riesel, Fred Woltman (New York World-Telegram and Sun staff writer) or whoever else is involved. When I've gotten four 'affidavits' from key people like these, I go to Jack Wren at BBD&O (Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, an advertising agency), and to the 'security officer' at CBS."

THE "security officers" at CBS at the time, according to the report, were: Daniel O'Shea, vice president, who is now president of RKO Radio Pictures, Inc. and his assistant, Alfred Berry.

It is a fascinating report, offering neither indictment nor recommendations. It makes one point: blacklisting has become an institution.

THERE will be screams from the pro-blacklisters for they hold to the opinion that to be against them is to be pro-Communist. But the report is not only fair and objective but anti-Communist. "Often," the chapter on labor unions in the entertainment industry says, "the defense against charges of communism in the industry is the counter-allegation that only 'innocent liberals' are attacked. This is not the case." Where there is evidence of a Communist faction, or informal blacklisting by the Communists of active anti-Communists, the report gives it. It may someday be evaluated properly by a social historian far removed from this day and age. As it now stands, it is the pitiful story of a major industry which kowtowed to a couple of tin gods and must now live, half-scared and half-free with these men.

Washington Post
July 13, 1956

Educating Mr. Arens

The highly offensive questioning of John Cogley by the House Un-American Activities Committee reached something of a climax of absurdity in the remarks of Committee Counsel Arens. Mr. Cogley, former editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, was called to account for his report on blacklisting in the entertainment industry published by the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Arens displayed little interest in blacklisting, but he seemingly was anxious to prove an altogether alien point that socialism is equivalent to communism.

It is apparent that Mr. Arens needs to catch up with the facts. Much of the most effective work against communism is done by persons and groups of Socialist persuasion—by Norman Thomas and the *New Leader* in the United States; by the Social Democratic Parties in Europe which are mortal foes of communism and have done an important job in aiding refugees from Soviet terror. Mr. Arens evidently would regard as enemies and cast into limbo members of the opposition party in England which may form the next British government, as well as the government in France and several governments in Scandinavia. The inquiry may not have disclosed much about blacklisting, but it disclosed a good deal about the thinking process of some of the investigators.

The Washington Post

JULY 10, 1956

Intimidation by Inquiry

John Cogley, former editor of *The Commonweal* and author of a recent report on blacklisting published by The Fund for the Republic, has been subpenaed to appear today before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee chairman, Rep. Francis Walter, has said that he wants Mr. Cogley to discuss the report and to divulge, in executive session, the names of entertainers blacklisted and the names of the blacklisters. This is, we suggest, an inquiry of dubious propriety on the part of a congressional committee.

The Constitution expressly forbids Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of the press; and implicitly it forbids Congress to abridge freedom of the press by calling an author to account for what he has written. Freedom of the press would be very seriously abridged if writers stood in fear of being haled before a congressional committee whenever they expressed opinions on controversial issues. Statements in the report have been challenged by certain individuals; whatever the merit of these challenges, Congress is not the place to resolve them.

Moreover, the Un-American Activities Committee has no business trying to make a writer reveal names which he has undertaken to keep in confidence. Freedom of the press would be seriously abridged if committees of Congress ignored the obligation of reporters to maintain the confidentiality of sources of information.

If the Un-American Activities Committee wants assistance or advice from Mr. Cogley, it is, of course, at liberty to invite him to come and testify. An invitation is very different from a subpena. The tactics of the committee invite the supposition, however, that its intent is more retaliation than information. Presumably Mr. Cogley has said all that he wants to say on the subject of blacklisting in his voluminous report.

Even a courteous invitation may raise some questions, depending on the circumstances. A couple of weeks ago the House Appropriations Committee invited a representative of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to come to Washington and answer questions concerning an editorial entitled "Losing the Peaceful Atom." The newspaper declined the invitation, explaining its stand in these words:

> If an editor were to answer official questions as to how he formed his opinions and to describe the sources on which they were based, his conduct would encourage other committees to make similar demands on editors. Such a development would place freedom of the press under fear of congressional inquiry and thus restrict the information of the people. The consequences could be far-reaching and ominous.

We earnestly suggest to Representative Walter that he and his committee colleagues read Mr. Cogley's report—and that they leave Mr. Cogley himself alone.

DAILY NEWS,

JULY 9, 1956

Urge No Loyalty Check On 75% of U.S. Jobs

By ROBERT CONWAY

Federal jobs covered by the government's personnel security programs should be reduced 75% —from 6,000,000 to 1,500,000, a special committee of lawyers said yesterday.

Year Given To Study

The revision should be made so that basic principles of American liberty and fairness can be preserved, the lawyers said. It could be made without endangering national security, they contended.

The lawyer's findings were contained in a 301-page report drawn up the nationwide committee appointed by the Association of the Bar of City of New York.

More than a year was devoted to hearings and research under a $100,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. The report has been published in book form (at $5 a copy) by Dodd, Mead & Co.

The major recommendations can be expected to stir up plenty of fresh controversy. They include:

1. Removal from the "Sensitive" classification of three out of four government jobs now so listed.

More Rights for Accused

2. Suspension with pay — or transfer to non-sensitive jobs — of government employes under charges involving loyalty or security until they are either proved guilty or exonerated. Accused employes would have "expanded rights to confront their accusers." If innocent, they would be reimbursed by the government for legal expenses.

3. Either "abolishment or drastic revision" of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

4. Abolition of loyalty oaths for seamen and longshoremen, and of loyalty checks on U. S. citizens who apply for jobs with the UN or other international organizations.

Single Security Agency

5. A new security setup under which the present system of five separate boards would be replaced by a single agency headed by a Director of the Federal Personnel Security System, who would be appointed by the President. This new agency would be staffed by people schooled in Communism and Communist techniques, the political history of the U. S., and Constitutional rights.

The committee interviewed Attorney General Herbert Brownell, several of his aids, a number of President Eisenhower's administrative heads including Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Thomas Donegan, chairman of the President's Personnel Security Advisory Committee. All cooperated with Ike's permission.

The committee did not consult a single member of Congress.

Unnecessary, Says Bonsal

When asked about this omission, the chairman, Dudley B. Bonsal, New York lawyer, said he and his colleagues "felt the views of Congress have been so much publicized and documented that it wasn't necessary to invite them to communicate their views in person."

Hit Bricker Amendment

The 15 member Federal Constitution Committee of the State Bar Association voiced its unanimous opposition yesterday to the pending version of the Bricker Amendment on the grounds that it might restrict the President, or the President and Senate, in the conduct of the country's foreign affairs. The amendment has been approved by a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

N.Y. Daily News
7/11/56

Bares Pinko Tint in Fund Report

By GWEN GIBSON
of THE NEWS Bureau

Washington, July 10.—Congress was told today that a former Socialist and a one-time Communist-front member helped compile the controversial, two-volume report financed by the Fund for the Republic on alleged blacklisting by "private pressure groups" in the entertainment field.

John Cogley, former executive editor of the Catholic lay magazine Commonweal and author of the report on "blacklisting victims," testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee that his top assistant in the project, Michael Harrington, is a former Socialist.

Hard-Core Red Front

He said another of his research reporters, Paul Jacobs of Los Angeles, had once been a member of the Labor Youth Organization. The organization is defined by the Subversive Activities Control Board as a hard-core Communist front.

Arnold Forster, chief counsel of B'nai B'rith's Anti-defamation League, made major contributions to the work, Cogley testified. Forster gave researchers detailed accounts of how he had helped about a dozen "blacklisted" artists get "clearance," Cogley said.

Cogley said he did not consult officials of the Fund for the Republic, which financed his report, about employes he selected.

Just a Picture, Says He

He insisted, under questioning by committee counsel Richard Arens, that the report was written "merely to give a detailed picture of a situation as it exists" and that it contained "no indictments of anyone."

He said Forster's role in getting "clearance" for blacklisted entertainers had been to steer artists who had been unjustly listed to the "right people."

Not That Kind of Book

Arens said he wanted to learn why Cogley had not explained in detail in each case the "subversive" backgrounds of the persons whose cases were described.

"I wasn't writing that kind of book," Cogley said. "But I resent any implication that I was defending Communists."

Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) said that while Cogley's "report seems to indicate that all Communists have been excluded from the industry by this machinery, we are still confronted daily with the fact that Communists continue to find employment in the field."

N.Y. World-Telegram
and Sun, July 10, 1956

House Group Studies TV 'Blacklist' Report

WASHINGTON, July 10.—The House Committee on Un-American Activities today planned to open public hearing on a report of alleged "blacklisting" in the radio and television industry.

The committee was to call as its first witness James Cogley, who directed preparation of the controversial report. The committee seeks to bring out the objectives of the Fund for the Republic, which financed the study that led to the report.

The committee also has summoned James O'Neill, director of publications of the American Legion; Vincent Hartnett of New York, a consultant to the radio and television industry; Arnold Forster, general counsel of B'Nai B'Rith Anti-Defamation League, and Frederick Woltman, a staff writer for the New York World-Telegram and Sun. Mr. Woltman is to testify tomorrow.

Committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D., Pa. said that the report "levels very grave charges against organizations and persons in the entertainment industry whose efforts have been directed toward eliminating the menace of the Communist conspiracy in the United States."

The Nashville Tennessean
June 23, 1956

And Well Worth It

The Fund for the Republic, now under fire from some congressmen, reports that it has spent $5,414,201 in the past three years to defend civil liberties.

Prefacing the Fund's financial report, Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, its president, said "some of the actions of the Fund have been misrepresented because they have been stated in such a way as to be open to misinterpretation; the Fund regards communism as a threat to civil liberties, but it was not organized solely to oppose communism; it was organized to study and disclose the facts about all threats to civil liberties—including communism."

We cannot think of a worthier purpose, and there is little justification for questions as to whether the Fund is a friend or foe of communism. That communism represents a clear and present danger is obvious, but the problem of safeguarding civil liberties is much broader than that. Recent Supreme Court decisions reveal just how far others have gone in that respect, and that includes the Republican administration in Washington.

Something over $5 million to defend civil liberties in these times is not a tremendous sum. But insofar as it has contributed to an understanding of the situation, as we believe it to have done to a great extent, it has been a welcome contribution. Instead of being vilified, the Fund for the Republic deserves full credit for its exploration into this field of such importance to all citizens.

N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, July 11, 1956

Fund Data Loaded, Testimony Shows

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, July 11.—The Fund for the Republic's $120,000 survey of "blacklisting" in the movie and radio-television industries was loaded from the start.

That was evident today from the testimony of John Cogley, author of the fund's recent controversial "Report on Blacklisting," before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Critics of the report had charged it indiscriminately blasts as "blacklisting" the employment policies of both industries regardless of whether they are fair or unfair, just or unjust.

Cogley Admits Charge.

Pressed by the committee's counsel, Richard Arens, Mr Cogley confirmed this.

He admitted the fund regards it as "blacklisting" for a producer to fire or refuse to hire an entertainer or writer because the latter is "part of the Communist conspiracy or a member of the Communist party."

In effect, he said that, while charging both Hollywood and radio-TV with using "blacklisting" on a wholesale scale, the fund's project made no distinction between hardened, present-day Communists and innocents who may have been wrongfully accused.

Broadens Use of Word.

Mr. Cogley went even further.

"If a banker learned one of his employees was a gambler and discharged him," Mr. Arens asked, "would the banker be 'blacklisting'?"

"To discharge him would not be blacklisting," Mr. Cogley replied. "But if the man could never again get a job at that company, it would be 'blacklisting.'"

Mr. Cogley virtually conceded "blacklisting" was an unfortunate term. But he insisted there is no substitute in the English language.

Asked directly if an employer would be "justified in refusing to hire a proven member of the Communist conspiracy," he replied:

"I have not expressed any position on that."

Hutchins Would Hire Reds.

Mr. Cogley's boss, Robert M. Hutchins, the fund's president, has, however. He stoutly maintains Communist party membership should be no bar to positions in government or industry, including the fund itself.

After completion of the "blacklisting" report, Dr. Hutchins took on its author as his personal assistant.

[Dr. Hutchins said in a New York statement the fund has "complete faith in the journalistic integrity" of Cogley and criticized the committee for questioning him, the Associated Press reported.

["The fund believes that this independent factual assessment of a major civil liberties problem has made a valuable contribution to the preservation of the bill of rights," Dr. Hutchins said.]

The committee's counsel yesterday introduced a series of case histories where the report told the stories of "blacklist" victims but neglected to give their Communist records. Mr. Cogley accused him of quoting out of context.

Pro-Red Background.

In one, starting a chapter called "blacklisting experiences," the report went into detail about a "leading actress" who now "is largely cut off from the popular media." It identified her only as "Miss H" and cited only her speech at a rally of Westinghouse workers for Henry Wallace.

Under prodding, Mr. Cogley conceded this was Uta Hagen. When Mr. Arens said she "has one of the longest Communist-front records in the United States," the witness offered no rebuttal.

Another cited was Paul Robeson, whom the report described as "a political person."

Knew About Robeson.

"Don't you know Paul Robeson is one of the hard, hard core members of the Communist conspiracy?" the attorney asked.

The witness replied "yes" but insisted the context did not call for that further designation. Were Robeson discharged from a play, said Mr. Cogley, "I know of no other work except 'blacklisted' on Broadway."

Meanwhile, Mr. Cogley revealed the identity of the unnamed "public relations expert" whom the report quoted extensively. He said it was Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York City.

It was on his statements that the report charged "the blacklisted artist can get nowhere" without access to an "all-important . . . unofficial 'clearance' board" which has "the power to wound and the power to heal the wound."

Mr. Forster, according to the report's author, named George Sokolsky, the columnist; Victor Riesel, labor columnist recently blinded by an acid-throwing thug, this writer and Jack Wren, an executive of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, the advertising firm.

Both Mr. Forster and this writer are under subpoena to testify today.

[The United Press said that James O'Neil, American Legion director of public relations, also was summoned to testify today. Mr. Cogley yesterday identified Mr. O'Neil as a "very important figure" in the "clearance" procedure because of his official connection with the Legion.]

Mr. Forster, according to the report, told how he had helped get clearance for more than a dozen once-blacklisted artists after obtaining "affidavits" from the above.

Mr. Arens asked the witness: "Is Frederick Woltman one of those needed for clearance?"

"I would say not," replied Mr. Cogley. "Woltman was consulted from time to time but he was not in the status of Mr. Sokolsky."

N.Y. Post
7/10/56

Cogley Faces Quiz Today On 'Blacklist'

By WILLIAM V. SHANNON
New York Post Correspondent

Washington, July 10 — John Cogley goes before the House Un-American Activities Committee today to answer questions about the report of blacklisting in the entertainment field which he wrote for the Fund for the Republic.

The committee, which had planned closed-door hearings, decided yesterday to open them to the public. Cogley attended today's hearing accompanied by New York attorney Eugene Nickerson.

Before the hearing, Cogley reaffirmed his intention not to disclose to the committee the names of individuals who provided him with information on a confidential basis.

Edward Engberg and Michael Harrington, his two top assistants in the preparation of the report, accompanied Cogley to Washington but did not attend the hearing. They have not been subpoenaed to testify and it was not known whether they would be called in the near future.

Arnold Forster, an official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and reporter Frederick Woltman have been summoned to appear at tomorrow's hearing.

Forster is reported to be the unnamed "public relations expert" cited in the report as using his influence unofficially on several different occasions to arrange clearances for theatrical people in trouble with blacklisting groups.

Woltman of the New York World Telegram and Sun, has denied that he gave affidavits or participated in maneuvers to clear individual performers. The report attributes such activity to Woltman and uses as a source the unnamed public relations man.

Since he was subpoenaed last Friday, Forster has been in virtual seclusion. His New York office said he was "unavailable" while at his home he was said to be on vacation.

The committee said it had called two additional witnesses, James O'Neill, director of publications of the American Legion, and Vincent Hartnett, a director of Aware, Inc., and a defendant with Aware in a libel suit brought by broadcaster John Henry Faulk.

Cogley has said he would tell the committee the names of all those persons interviewed who did not put any restriction on the use of their names, but that he would risk a contempt citation rather than violate the confidences of those who talked to him off the record.

He has also said he does not intend to plead the First or Fifth Amendments.

THE

Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

REPORT ON A REPORT

MOST READERS of this magazine know John Cogley through his writing in these pages. Last year Mr. Cogley resigned his post as executive editor to head a Fund for the Republic inquiry into the nature and extent of blacklisting in the movies, television and radio.

The project undertaken by Mr. Cogley was a large one. A staff of ten reporters and researchers under his direction spent eight months collecting facts and interviewing hundreds of persons inside and outside the industries affected. Recently, the results of the project were published in two separate volumes, one on Hollywood and one on the radio-TV industry. Because of Mr. Cogley's long connection with this magazine, it was our intention when his report was published merely to note this fact for those of our readers who might be interested. Recent developments have made us change our mind, however.

Some months ago, in a different connection, we mentioned our growing suspicion that right-wing groups and columnists were able to use some Congressional investigating bodies to serve their own particular interests. Developments in the case of Mr. Cogley's report on blacklisting strengthen that suspicion. In his findings Mr. Cogley discusses the role of certain of these right-wing columnists in determining whether or not a man is employable. What he reported seems to have been more or less of an open secret in the industries themselves, but apparently this is the first time anyone has come right out and said it in print. By what seems more than coincidence, Mr. Cogley's report had been out only three days when he received a summons from the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The circumstances surrounding the decision to call Mr. Cogley in this fashion seem far from clear. Head of the Committee is Rep. Francis Walter. To a query by *Newsday*, Mr. Walter said: "The Committee is not passing judgment at this time on the survey's conclusions. However, we want to ask Mr. Cogley some pertinent questions which will help us evaluate the studies he has already made."

In writing this editorial, the editors of this magazine tried to reach Rep. Walter for comment, without success. A staff member of the Committee, however, told us that Mr. Cogley was being called "so he can be interrogated in executive session regarding the assertions made in the report of the Fund for the Republic on so-called blacklisting."

In a statement carried by the United Press, Rep. Walter said that the committee is not now in a position "to pass judgment on the conclusions which the Fund has reached in its survey or to ascertain what influences may have contributed to the character of its charges." (This is hardly surprising; Congressman Walter admitted to *Newsday* that he had never read the report Mr. Cogley wrote.) Then Representative Walter went on to say: "Nor can the Committee state at this point what the purposes of the Fund and Mr. Cogley truly are. It is to determine the answers to these matters that the Committee is preparing to evaluate this aspect of the Fund's work."

This seems to us a strange statement, especially coming from a man who admitted that he had not read the report because of which, supposedly, Mr. Cogley is being subpenaed. We can tell Congressman Walter what Mr. Cogley's purpose, as he puts it, is, in this and everything else he has written: to tell the truth. And we suggest that this fact would be obvious if Mr. Walter and all others engaged in commenting on Mr. Cogley's report had read it instead of misleading news stories, the foremost of them written by a reporter who is himself named in the book.

We frankly resent the summary way in which Mr. Cogley has been treated. We resent the fact that he was not given the courtesy of an invitation rather than a subpena. Nothing in Mr. Cogley's record as a Catholic editor and journalist of some standing justifies the cavalier treatment he has so far received.

We know Mr. Cogley well enough to know that he has nothing to fear from any inquiry, if it is honestly conducted. But aside from the discourtesy shown to him, there is involved here a serious question involving freedom of the press, and it is this with which we are particularly concerned here.

Apologists for the investigating committees justify high-handed procedures like this by saying that journalists are not specially privileged persons and must expect to be interrogated by Congress. But this statement is certainly not the whole truth. Journalists are not specially privileged in their own persons as citizens, but in the exercise of their profession they are and must be; as journalists, they are and must be entitled to unique protection from harassment. To the butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker, this privilege may seem unfair, but it is a vital part of the American system, essential because the health of this democracy is dependent upon the workings of a free press.

What gives Congressman Walter the right to grill Mr. Cogley about what he says in his book? In discussing this point, many people cite the fact that the Fund for the Republic which provided the money for Mr. Cogley's research is a tax-exempt educational foundation, as if this meant that the normal safeguards against the abuse of governmental power no longer operated in such instances. But America is full of tax-exempt institutions and organizations of all kinds, engaging in charitable, religious and educational work. To say that such institutions and organizations must meet certain minimum standards or rules of behavior is reasonable enough, but this certainly should not mean that a government committee can do anything it wants to such a tax-exempt group or institution, without protest or opposition.

There are scores of books published every year which are the result of research financed by tax-exempt foundations or institutions. In the future, may authors of such books expect to be subpenaed by Congressional committees if their findings of fact or opinions are unpopular? Will a writer who upholds the Supreme Court decision on segregation, for example, be subpenaed and grilled by Senator Eastland? Will Keynesian economists be called to account by Congressional critics who are anti-New Deal? In Mr. Cogley's case, his two volumes were published by the Fund itself rather than by a university press or a commercial publisher. We do not see how this fact substantially alters the case, for when Congressional committees can freely call authors of books to answer for their work, we are starting down a dangerous path.

For Mr. Cogley, a real complication may arise from the very nature of the subject he was investigating. He was able to obtain much of his material only in confidence, because some who gave him information feared the loss of their jobs if their names were used—a fact that illustrates very well the atmosphere of fear that surrounds the entire subject—and now he is under great pressure to reveal his sources. This, of course, is a familiar situation in the history of journalism, but, ironically, in Mr. Cogley's case much of the pressure to make him reveal his sources is coming from journalists who certainly know the tradition of journalism in this matter but who have themselves been named for their part in the blacklisting picture. Such conduct is clearly unbecoming in newspapermen, but if it turns out that they can actually use a Congressional committee in an effort to achieve this purpose, the whole thing is doubly scandalous. After all, the libel courts are still open to anyone who feels he has been unjustly treated by this report.

These, then, are the facts about Mr. Cogley and his two-volume report, as we see them. By the time this editorial appears, if the present schedule is adhered to, Mr. Cogley will have appeared before the House Committee. Although it should be unnecessary, we want to state publicly our complete confidence in him, as a journalist and as a man of integrity—as would anyone who knows him. We reiterate our belief that the subpenaing of Mr. Cogley to answer questions about his book and the manner in which it was done raise the most serious Constitutional questions about the freedom of the press and the use of power by Congressional committees. We call upon members of the House of Representatives, and especially the Speaker of the House, the Hon. Sam Rayburn of Texas, to note our protest in this matter. We earnestly recommend consideration of the issues involved in this matter to the American Society of Newspaper Editors and to the American Book Publishers' Council. And we ask other editors, Catholic and non-Catholic, to follow the treatment of Mr. Cogley by the House Un-American Activities Committee with serious concern.

REDS SAID TO LURE YOUTHFUL ACTORS

Inquiry Is Told That Many Communists Remain in the Entertainment Business

New York Times
July 13, 1956

WASHINGTON, July 12 (AP)—A former Navy intelligence officer said today that the greatest danger of Red infiltration was among the younger performers. He now is serving as professorial consultant on communism to the radio-television industry.

"It is advantageous to their careers, if not to become party members, at least to become 'progressives,'" he said. "They are afraid if they don't go along they won't get opportunities."

The testimony came from Vincent Hartnett of New York at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee is inquiring into a "report on blacklisting" in the entertainment world, sponsored by the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Hartnett testified that "not more than 5 per cent of the Communists in the entertainment business have been uncovered." He said there were probably 150 reds in the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists and "also Communist blocs" in equity and the American Guild of Variety Artists.

Jackie Bright, national administrative secretary of A. G. V. A., said in New York:

"We defy Hartnett to show that there is a single Communist in A. G. V. A., let alone a Communist bloc."

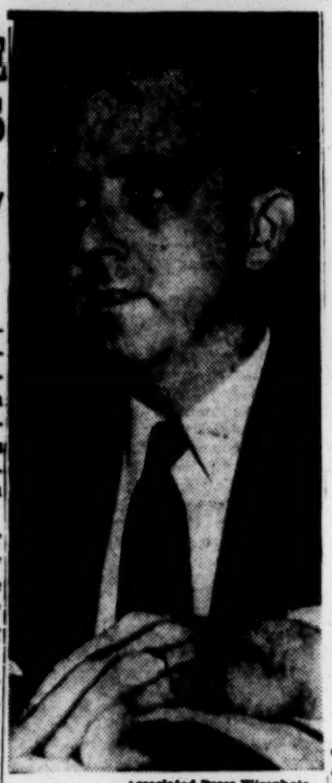
Alfred Harding, assistant to the president of Actors Equity, said in New York that "over a period of thirty years allegations of this kind have been advanced with varying degrees of responsibility."

He added:

"Every member of Actors Equity Association who has been identified in any way in this connection has denied under oath that he is a Communist and no evidence has been presented whether these charges are true."

Mr. Hartnett told the House group that Communists could command the support of about 400 members of A. F. R. T. A., but he said some of these were sympathizers rather than actual party members. He said that approximately thirty members of A. F. R. T. A.'s New York local had been identified as Communists.

Mr. Hartnett denounced the "report on blacklisting" as "dangerous slanting." He said "blacklisting" was a "nasty term." He said it had been used by John Cogley, author of the Fund report, as "a blanket term both for the good and the evil."



Associated Press Wirephoto

TESTIFIES ON REDS: Vincent Hartnett on stand yesterday at House hearing.

Asked if any individuals had been unjustly accused and denied the right to work, Mr. Hartnett said there had been "a few isolated cases" resulting from mistaken identities. He said he always did what he could to straighten these cases out.

Roy M. Brewer of New York also assailed the Fund's report for what he called omissions, errors, distortions and "complete falsification."

Mr. Brewer is an official of Allied Artists Pictures Corporation and until recently was an officer of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes in Hollywood, Calif.

He told the committee that the report "ignores the basic problem" confronting the movie industry.

"That is the problem of Communist infiltration of the industry, which the Fund prefers to brush off," he said.

Mr. Brewer said:

"The Communists are finding it very hard to maneuver in Hollywood today and so far as I know there is no effective effort being carried on."

He said, however, that the picture was different on Broadway.

"There is no doubt there is a substantial Communist infiltration in the Broadway theatre," he said, and added that this included top players and producers.

Federation Answers Charge

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, July 12—An answer to an accusation that 150 Communists were among the members of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists was given today at the federation's convention.

The reply was made by David F. Conaway, national executive secretary, in reply to Mr. Hartnett's testimony.

"The New York local of A. F. T. R. A.," said Mr. Conaway, "has already instituted proceedings against a New York member who was uncooperative last fall when questioned by a Congressional subcommittee. If Mr. Hartnett knows of '150 Reds' who are active members of A. F. T. R. A. he has only to submit a list of names and A. F. T. R. A. will proceed to act under its national constitution."

Statement From Cogley

Mr. Cogley denied yesterday that he had hired Elizabeth Poe because she was "friendly" to the Communist cause.

Frederick T. Woltman, a newspaper columnist who testified before the House committee on Wednesday, quoted Mr. Cogley as having said that there was a strong anti-Communist on his staff and that he had hired Miss Poe because someone "friendly with them" was needed to achieve an objective balance.

In a telegram to The New York Times, Mr. Cogley replied through a spokesman that "Mr. Woltman * * * seems to have forgotten the substance of that conversation." Their talk, he said, had taken place last November at a press conference in New York.

"I would be particularly stupid," Mr. Cogley said, "if I were to make such a statement to so famous an anti-Communist as Mr. Woltman.

"Mr. Woltman asked me whether I knew Elizabeth Poe had written an article about blacklisting, which he considered to be biased and slanted. I said I had read the article, and that Miss Poe's opinions were not necessarily the same as mine * * * but that I felt that the very fact that they differed so sharply would be helpful to me in reaching a final judgment.

"I resent heartily any implication that the report in any way expresses approval of communism. The report states the facts, as I learned them."

COGLEY QUIZ

If the House Committee on Un-American Activities were really interested in examining all un-American activities it might long ago have used its great powers as an investigative arm of Congress to look into the thoroughly un-American art of blacklisting in the entertainment industry. Instead, it left that thankless job to the Fund for the Republic, but it has now suddenly raised its hackles because it didn't like what the Fund's independent inquiry produced.

Exactly three days after the Fund had made public its two-volume report on Blacklisting, the House Committee peremptorily subpoenaed—did not invite—John Cogley, director of the study, to appear before it in Washington. The intention, according to Chairman Francis E. Walter, was to determine among other things "what the purposes of the Fund and of Mr. Cogley truly are." Mr. Walter's strict objectivity may be considered against the background of his earlier query in announcing a forthcoming investigation of the Fund itself: "Is this foundation * * * a friend or a foe in our nation's death struggle against the Communist conspiracy?" Paul G. Hoffman, President George N. Shuster of Hunter College, Chester Bowles, Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School and other noted Americans on the Fund's Board of Directors must have deeply appreciated that comment by the Democratic statesman from Pennsylvania.

Be that as it may, the context and tone of questions put by the committee counsel to Mr. Cogley on the subject of his blacklisting report raise the strongest suspicions that here was an obvious effort to harass a writer for what he had written. Mr. Cogley himself is former executive editor of the highly respected liberal Roman Catholic weekly, The Commonweal, and he is capable of defending his own works. But we are concerned over any and every effort, no matter how it may be disguised, to intimidate a man for writing what he believes; and when a committee of the House of Representatives skates perilously close to doing that, we think it comes equally close to violating the First Amendment.

F for R

From: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Civil Liberties Committee,
Religious Society of Friends
1515 Cherry St., Phila 2, Pa.
For additional information call:
Olcutt Sanders, RIttenhouse
6-9372

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY MORNING
(July 26, 1956)

Quaker Leaders Protest Congressional

Investigation Of Plymouth Meeting

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Philadelphia, July 26 -- Nine Philadelphia Quaker leaders have protested Congressional interference with their religious affairs. In letters to seven absent members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, they challenged the procedure of a two-member subcommittee hearing in Philadelphia last week.

The letters charge that under the guise of investigation, Congressmen Francis Walter (D-Pa) and Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio) criticized the conduct of Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends.

The Congressmen questioned a grant from the Fund for the Republic to the Meeting in recognition of retaining Mrs. Mary Knowles as librarian of a community library which the Meeting operates. The local decision has been endorsed in a Yearly Meeting action, the writers point out. "In a real sense, therefore, any implied reflection upon the action of Plymouth Meeting on this matter is a reflection on our whole Religious Society in Philadelphia."

The nine Friends questioned the attempt of the Congressmen to judge as to whether the Meeting "has followed the requirements of

-- more --

good order" according to Quaker business procedure. "We regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division between church and state, which is one of the important foundations of our democracy," they wrote.

The following letter has been sent to members of the House Un-American Activities Committee who were not present at the Sub-Committee hearing in Philadelphia last week.

July 24, 1956

Dear Friend:

As members of the Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and vicinity, we desire to communicate to you as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities our sense of profound grievance at the proceedings of Francis Walter and Gordon Scherer as a sub-committee in Philadelphia last week.

Some of us attended the hearings; all of us have received reports concerning them. It is our opinion that what took place was a travesty upon the word "investigation" and a mockery of the idea of inquiry. It appears rather to have been an organized attempt to present selected facts in the light most discreditable to the Fund for the Republic, Inc. We refer in part to the number and order in which witnesses were called; the close questioning of witnesses of one point of view, and the obvious sympathy with those of another; the repeated rejection of proffers of fact by individual witnesses; the deliberate cultivation of hearsay testimony which fitted their thesis; and like irregularities. These are matters, however, which concern primarily the Fund for the Republic.

What concerns us chiefly is that the whole thrust of the argument presented by Francis Walter and Gordon Scherer under the guise of investigation was a criticism of the conduct of Plymouth Monthly Meeting, one of the constituent bodies of our Religious Society, and of the Library Committee charged with responsibility to the Meeting for the Library under the Meeting's care.

In 1954, the Meeting approved hiring Mrs. Mary Knowles as a librarian. It was known at the time that she had been under attack for her past associations, but the Meeting was satisfied as to both her qualifications and her integrity, and approved her employment as a means of expressing, we believe, the Christian testimony of our Religious Society. Opposition to this appointment, led by someone entirely outside the Society of Friends, has developed within the community and the Meeting, although to this day there has never been any complaint from anyone regarding Mrs. Knowles' conduct of her duties.

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Naturally we are pained that controversy should arise within the ranks of Plymouth Meeting, but we would respedtfully point out that an important point was not brought out at last week's hearings; namely, that the decision to retain Mrs. Knowles has been endorsed by the Civil Liberties Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, whose report on this subject was later approved by the Yearly Meeting itself. In a real sense, therefore, any implied reflection upon the action of Plymouth Meeting on this matter is a reflection on our whole Religious Society in Philadelphia. The support of the Yearly Meeting, together with the sobriety and dignity with which the official position of Plymouth Meeting has been defended, lends weight to the decision of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., to award $5000 to the Meeting in recognition of its principled defense of conscience.

The ostensible aim of the investigation by your sub-committee was to show that the Fund's award was a mistake. A necessary premise to such a conclusion is that the conduct being rewarded does not deserve it. In an effort to establish this point, the sub-committee allowed three principal points of evidence with respect to the conduct of Plymouth Meeting and its Library Committee: first, that these bodies did not follow good order in hiring the librarian; second, that division had developed in the Meeting about the matter; and third, that there was opposition in the community.

It is a matter of sorrow to us that division in a religious group should be the subject of investigation by civil authority. We do not doubt that in due time, with love and forbearance, Plymouth Meeting Friends will compose their differences. This will be much more difficult because of the excursion of Francis Walter and Gordon Scherer.

It is much more difficult for us to believe that you would approve the imputation conveyed by the proceedings that an effort to express Christian belief by giving Mrs. Mary Knowles employment should be abandoned because of outside protest. Is the conscience of the church to be subject to the organized pressure of groups of people who differ from it?

But it is utterly incredible to us that your Committee should approve the apparent intention of the sub-committee to judge the actions of our Meeting at Plymouth or of any of its committees as to whether they have followed the requirements of good order in our Society. Yet that is precisely the thrust of some of the accusations which they permitted to be made of record under the guise of evidence. The principles on which our Society conducts its affairs and all questions whether they have been observed, as well as all other matters of regularity and propriety among us, we reserve to ourselves to judge, and we reject as presumptious the imputations addressed to us by members of your Committee last week. We regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division between church and state, which is one of the important foundations of our democracy.

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You are no doubt a church man. We ask that you inquire of yourself with what feelings you would view an attempt to subpoena the minutes of your Synod, Consistory, Presbytery or Diocese, or the public presentation before television of one-sided evidence imputing departure in affairs concerning your church from the principles upon which your church professes to conduct its business.

We earnestly bespeak your individual consideration of these issues so that we may convey your views to other members of our Religious Society. Your reply should be addressed to anyone of us at Room 306, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. We are releasing this communication to the press at the time it will reach your hands because we earnestly believe that the issues raised by the conduct of this hearing are of grage significance to democracy.

Very truly yours,

s/Anna Coxe Brinton
s/C. Reed Cary
s/Elizabeth Scattergood Chalmers
s/Charles J. Darlington
s/William Eves, 3rd
s/Clarence E. Pickett
s/Howard C. Taylor, Jr.
s/James F. Walker
s/D. Robert Yarnall

(Note for editorial information: Each of the above Quaker leaders (signs this communication as an individual. Their relationship to (the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (is as follows: Anna Coxe Brinton, Clerk of the Meeting on Worship (and Ministry; C. Reed Cary, member of Representative Meeting (Ex-(ecutive Committee) of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; Elizabeth S. (Chalmers, retiring Chairman, Women's Problems Group of Phila. Year-(ly Meeting; Charles J. Darlington, Clerk of Phila. Yearly Meeting; (William Eves, 3rd,, Treasurer and General Secretary of Phila. (Yearly Meeting; Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary Emeritus (of the American Friends Service Committee; Howard C. Taylor, Jr., (Associate Secretary of Phila. Yearly Meeting and Secretary of the (Representative Meeting; James F. Walker, Clerk of the Represen-(tative Meeting; D. Robert Yarnall, member of Representative Meeting and past Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.)

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
August 29, 1956

New York, N. Y. -- Elmo Roper, chairman of the public information committee of the Fund for the Republic, today called on Rep. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, for an apology for his conduct in his "investigation" of the Fund.

In a statement published in the September issue of the Fund's Bulletin, Roper declared that Congressman Walter "has engaged in a deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund and its objectives in the eyes of the American people".

Joining Roper in issuing the statement were the other members of the public information committee: George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College; Chester Bowles, former governor of Connecticut; Oscar Hammerstein, II, co-author of "Oklahoma", "South Pacific", and other stage productions; Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst College; and Jubal R. Parten, president of the Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Texas. The statement was made on behalf of the Fund's Board of Directors.

The statement declared: "The public is entitled to know that Mr. Walter's charges and insinuations are false. They would have

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been proved false if the Fund for the Republic had been given the full hearing demanded by the American tradition of fair play, due process, and common decency....The Fund has cooperated fully with Mr. Walter and his representatives. It seems apparent that Mr. Walter's intention is to deny the Fund a hearing or delay one until it is too late to counteract the widespread circulation of these unfounded accusations."

The Bulletin began its chronological report on the Fund's relations with Mr. Walter as of November 1955, when a radio commentator announced that Mr. Walter had informed him that an investigation of the Fund would be made by Mr. Walter's committee. The Fund continued its report to the evening of August 6, 1956, when the same commentator read to his radio audience private documents obtained by Mr. Walter by subpoena from the Fund.

The Bulletin contained the text of a telegram sent by Bethuel M. Webster, legal counsel for the foundation, to Mr. Walter on August 7. The telegram read:

"IT IS AN INEXCUSABLE VIOLATION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO A RADIO COMMENTATOR DOCUMENTS OBTAINED UNDER SUBPOENA FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC THAT WERE NEVER MADE A PART OF THE RECORD. THE FUND CANNOT BE HARMED BY YOUR IRRESPONSIBLE USE OF THIS MATERIAL, BUT THE PRESTIGE OF CONGRESS CANNOT

(MORE)

FAIL TO BE DAMAGED BY THIS ABUSE OF THE POWERS LODGED IN YOU."

The statement pointed out that Mr. Walter announced his intention to begin hearings on the Fund through a press statement released on June 11 before any official notice had reached any officers or directors of the Fund.

The statement declared that in his press announcement Mr. Walter had raised questions that cast doubts upon the integrity and patriotism of the directors and officers of the Fund. He asked whether the Fund for the Republic "with its vast reservoir of funds and power" was "a friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy." Then Mr. Walter added that he was not at that time passing judgment on the Fund--"a curious disclaimer", the Fund Bulletin points out, "since the hearings on which committee judgments are supposedly based had not yet taken place"--but was seeking only "objective facts".

"The Board of Directors of the Fund had taken every possible step to keep the American public informed about the activities of the Fund during its entire existence", Mr. Roper said, in commenting on this assertion. "The record of the Fund was an open book. The Directors--all well-known Americans whose patriotism had never been questioned--were fully responsible for the programs and policies of the Fund. We felt that we were engaged in activities which were

(MORE)

completely American and completely patriotic. Consequently we were shocked when questions were raised about our patriotism by the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

Concluding the chronological report, the Bulletin says that on August 21 counsel to the Committee by telephone offered Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson an "opportunity" to appear on August 29. Mrs. Stevenson, chairman of the Fund's Special Awards Committee, declined the offer through counsel, who reiterated the Fund's desire for a "full and fair hearing" by Mr. Walter's Committee.

Mr. Roper said that the statement in the Fund's Bulletin was intended to present to the American people the tactics that were employed by Mr. Walter in his attack on the Fund. In addition to Mr. Roper and the other members of the information committee, the directors of the Fund are:

Paul G. Hoffman (Chairman of the Fund's Board); U.S. delegate to the United Nations; former Chairman of the Board of Studebaker-Packard Corporation

Russell L. Dearmont; Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad

Erwin N. Griswold; Dean, Law School of Harvard University

Robert M. Hutchins; President, the Fund for the Republic, Inc.; former chancellor of the University of Chicago

William H. Joyce, Jr.; Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.

Meyer Kestnbaum; President, Hart Schaffner & Marx

Roger D. Lapham; former Mayor of San Francisco

(MORE)

M. Albert Linton; Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.

J. Howard Marshall; Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.

John Lord O'Brian; attorney, Covington & Burling

Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, of Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach; President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.

(The September Bulletin of the Fund is attached)

* * * * * * *

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
NEWSFILM PROJECT
1213 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA HOLLYWOOD 9-2724

Discussed in NYC 9-26-56

September 5, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Hal,

Enclosed is a copy of the first draft for the proposed treatment of the South which Jim Peck and I worked out together. I thought you would be interested in seeing it. We would very much welcome your comments. Thanks.

Sincerely,

George

George Martin, Jr.

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

PROPOSED TREATMENT OF SOUTH

WHAT WE SHOW:	WHAT WE SAY:
NEGROES, MONTGOMERY MASS MEETING, RESPONSIVE READING: "THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH."	
OPENING TITLES	MUSIC
THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH: NEGROES IN VARIOUS SCENES	THESE ARE SOUTHERN NEGROES...WHO HAVE MET NEW PROBLEMS IN THEIR GROWING DESIRE FOR EQUALITY. PHYSIOLOGICALLY, THEY ARE LIKE NEGROES ANYWHERE; BUT THEY LIVE UNDER A DIFFERENT SET OF RULES.
CUS, SIGNS "WHITE" AND "COLORED" DRINKING FOUNTAINS, OTHER EVIDENCES OF SEGREGATION INCLUDING SCHOOLS	
WHITES: VARIOUS SCENES, TENDING TO SHOW THE SAME THINGS	THESE ARE SOUTHERN WHITES; THEY, TOO, HAVE PROBLEMS DEALING WITH RACE. THEY, TOO, ARE BOUND BY CERTAIN RACIAL RESTRICTIONS.
WALKING FEET	EVER SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, NEGROES IN THE SOUTH HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR ACCEPTANCE AS CITIZENS AND HUMAN BEINGS.

SIGN, SHOWING SUPREME COURT DECISION; SUPER COURT BUILDING OR JUSTICES?	THE PRESSURE ON BOTH RACES WAS INTENSIFIED BY THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OUTLAWING RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS. THE QUESTION COULD NO LONGER BE IGNORED.
INTERCUTS, WHITES AND NEGROES SOUNDING OFF: KKK MEETINGS, NAACP LEADERS, "ROCK 'N ROLL" OPPONENTS, MORE MARCHING FEET WITH SOUND, OTHER OPPOSED VIEWS.	NATURAL SOUND
DALLAS BUSSES, INTEGRATED SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, OTHER SCENES SHOWING PEACEFUL INTEGRATION	IN SOME PLACES, INTEGRATION CAME PEACEFULLY, ALMOST WITHOUT NOTICE... ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, EVEN IN SCHOOLS. (POINT OUT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEEP SOUTH AND BORDER AREAS.)
MONTGOMERY STORY	IN OTHER AREAS, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO RESOLVE EVEN THE SIMPLEST QUESTION... SUCH AS SEATING ARRANGEMENTS ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION. (MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT STORY IN DETAIL.) DESPITE THE TENSION, IN MONTGOMERY NO BLOOD WAS LET. BUT OTHER AREAS WERE NOT SO FORTUNATE.

SCENES OF CLINTON, TENN., MANSFIELD, TEXAS, HOUSTON RESTAURANT SCUFFLE, TILL CASE (WITH DISCLAIMER THAT IT NOT ALTOGETHER RELATED TO CIVIL LIBERTIES), TUSCALOOSA, OTHER SCENES OF VIOLENCE.	(DESCRIPTIONS AND NATURAL SOUND)
	SCENES LIKE THESE WERE THE MAJOR PART OF THE PICTURE OF THE SOUTH SEEN BY THE REST OF THE WORLD...BUT THERE WERE OTHER SCENES...QUIETER, MORE HOPEFUL, THAT WENT ALMOST UNNOTICED. RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF BOTH RACES REALIZED THAT SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE TO LESSEN RACIAL TENSIONS. (BRIEF DESCRIPTION TUSCALOOSA MEETING LESS THAN TWO MILES FROM UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA CAMPUS.)
TUSCALOOSA INTER-RACIAL MEETING SILENT AND SOUND	
SILENT TALLADEGA	ON THE CAMPUS OF TALLEDAGA COLLEGE IN ALABAMA, STUDENTS FROM ALL OVER THE STATE MET UNDER RELIGIOUS AUSPICES TO EXAMINE THEIR CONSCIENCES ABOUT THE RACIAL QUESTION.
TALLADEGA MEETING SOUND	NATURAL SOUND
CLARKSDALE SILENT	EVEN IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA—AN AREA WHERE THERE IS ALMOST NO COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE RACES—THINGS LIKE THIS HAPPENED.

CLARKSDALE STORY

(CLARKSDALE MEETING AND COMMENTS WITH BOTH NARRATION AND SOUND ON FILM. AT SOME POINT WE INDICATE THAT THIS IS FAR FROM AN EFFORT AT INTEGRATION, BUT THAT CERTAINLY THE OPENING OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS HAD TO START SOMEWHERE.)

THUS, EVEN IN THE PART OF THE SOUTH MOST OPPOSED TO INTEGRATION, THERE IS A GROWING REALIZATION THAT BOTH GROUPS MUST "GIVE" IN THEIR DEMANDS AND ATTITUDES IN ORDER TO RELIEVE RACIAL TENSIONS. BUT THE SOUTH IS NOT ALONE IN ITS TRIALS. PATRICK MURPHY MALIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, SAID THIS IN A SPEECH IN WASHINGTON.

MALIN SILENT

MALIN SOUND, CUT AWAY TO ILLUSTRATIVE SCENES

(MALIN SOUND ON FILM: THIS IS NOT A SOUTHERN PROBLEM, IT IS AN AMERICAN PROBLEM. FIRST SCHOOL RIOTS WERE IN MILFORD, DELAWARE. POLICE WERE NEEDED ON CONTINUOUS DUTY TO MAINTAIN ORDER AT A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IN THE HEART OF THE NORTH, IN CHICAGO. THE NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY HAVE GIVEN THE

ANSWER ONLY A DEMOCRACY CAN GIVE... NO TOTALITARIAN REGIME, EITHER COMMUNIST OR FASCIST, COULD GIVE SUCH AN ANSWER. DEMOCRACY IS THE OPPORTUNITY OF WORKING TOGETHER.)

AARON HENRY SILENT

AARON HENRY SOF

(HENRY SOUND ON FILM: HE IS ASKED: "DO YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A SITUATION?" HE REPLIES: "YES, WE THINK WE SEE THE BUD OF SUCH A FLOWER.")

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9/13/56

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TU

EDUCATION FUND FACING INQUIRY

Senate Subcommittee Calls Southern Group Revival of Red-Run Organization

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12—The Senate Internal Security subcommittee asked the Justice Department today to determine whether the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was a Communist-front organization.

The fund describes its purpose as the use of education to improve race relations through conferences, publications and films.

Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, who heads the panel, charged that the fund was a revival of the disbanded Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been accused of being Communist-dominated.

He contended that the governing body of the educational fund was largely the same group that had run the welfare organization.

The Senate panel appeared to be preparing to investigate another fund organization in a different category. This was the Fund for the Republic, which was started in 1952 by the Ford Foundation. It is headed by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

A tax-exempt foundation, it declares its purpose is to defend the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. One of its recent projects was a study of fifty cases involving security charges against Federal employes.

Legion Chief Steps In

The Fund for the Republic was brought into controversy yesterday when Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the American Legion, urged the legion's 3,500,000 members o "have no truck with it."

In a statement from legion national headquarters here, he charged that the fund was being used to tell the American people that communism was nothing to worry about. Dr. Hutchins and the fund are "threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security," Mr. Collins asserted.

The Fund for the Republic is involved as follows in hearings that the Senate unit will start Thursday:

Mrs. Mary Knowles, a librarian at Norwood, Mass., was cited in testimony in 1953 by Herbert Philbrick, an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as a person he knew as a Communist. Mrs. Knowles invoked the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer questions pertaining to the testimony.

She was dismissed from her position, after which she took a temporary post at Plymouth Meeting, Pa., a Quaker community. She later was given a permanent job there.

Last June, the Fund for the Republic announced a $5,000 award to the Plymouth Meeting library for the "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in having refused to discharge Mrs. Knowles despite demands by the American Legion and community groups.

It was indicated that the award would be a starting point for further inquiry into the fund's operations.

Mrs. Knowles returned to Washington last July to appear again before the subcommittee. But Congress then was rushing to adjourn and her appearance was postponed.

As to the Southern fund group, Senator Eastland said that public hearings in New Orleans in March, 1954, showed "a shocking history" of that organization and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

"The testimony brought out that one individual, now identified as a Communist, induced President Franklin Roosevelt to write a letter to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and persuaded Mrs. Roosevelt to speak at the launching of that organization in 1938," Mr. Eastland said.

"Neither of the Roosevelts, the witness said, was aware of the Communist connection of this individual, or of the Communist origin of the organization they were encouraging."

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Monday, October 1, 1956

The second annual competition for the Robert E. Sherwood Awards for television programs dealing with freedom and justice was announced today by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic.

The Fund established the awards last year in memory of the noted playwright. Mr. Sherwood was a director of the Fund at the time of his death.

A panel of jurors will make three awards: $20,000 for the best drama and $20,000 for the best documentary produced on a network, and $15,000 for a production in either class appearing on an independent station.

Programs presented on commercial television between today and May 31, 1957 are eligible for the competition. Last year's competition attracted some 125 nominations. The subjects of those recommended ranged from integration to censorship, from the problem of loyalty and security to the freedom of the press.

The Fund has invited the public to submit nominations by writing or telephoning the Fund offices at 60 East 42nd Street, New

(MORE)

York City. Nominations in advance of the showings on television are especially solicited.

The jury of awards will be the same as last year's with one addition--James J. Rorimer, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The other jurors are: Kermit Bloomgarden; Buell G. Gallagher, President, College of the City of New York; Robert M. Purcell, President, KEVE, Minneapolis; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Gilbert Seldes; Robert Taft, Jr., attorney, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Harrison Tweed, attorney, of New York City; Philip H. Willkie, President, Rushville, Indiana, National Bank.

The rules of the contest as released today are:

1. All dramatic or documentary programs dealing with a topic related to freedom and justice telecast on commercial stations in the United States and its territories between October 1, 1956 and May 31, 1957 are eligible for consideration, with the exception of programs in which the Fund for the Republic may be involved.

2. The producer, director and writer of a winning program will share in the award on a basis to be determined by the jurors. The winning network or station will receive a citation.

3. In the case of a tie, the award will be divided equally between the winning programs.

4. Kinescopes or films of nominated programs must be available if requested by the jurors.

5. The decisions of the jury will be final.

(MORE)

Last year's Robert E. Sherwood prize winners were:

Best network drama, "Tragedy in a Temporary Town", written by Reginald Rose, directed by Sidney Lumet and produced on the NBC Alcoa Hour by Herbert Brodkin.

Best network documentary, "I Was Accused", written by Jerome Coopersmith, directed by William Corrigan and produced on the NBC Armstrong Circle Theatre by David Susskind.

Best independent production, "Desegregation: Baltimore Report", written by Mrs. Gray Johnson Poole, directed by Kennard Calfee and produced on Station WAAM, Baltimore, by Herbert B. Cahan.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Friday, October 5, 1956

San Francisco, Calif. -- A Fund for the Republic grant of $25,000 to the University YMCA at Berkeley was announced today by Roger D. Lapham of San Francisco, a Director of the Fund. The grant will finance a two-year project in education in civil liberties for students at the University of California.

The project is intended to 'illuminate and vitalize the meaning of the Bill of Rights for young Americans,' and will be conducted through seminars, conferences, and discussion programs at Stiles Hall, the University YMCA headquarters at the Berkeley campus.

The project will be integrated into the activities of Stiles Hall, but would have a separate director assigned exclusively to it. He would construct his educational activities around civil liberties issues affecting members of the University community, such as: racial discrimination in athletic events; restraints on freedom of speech and assembly of students; racial problems in housing, employment and social life both on and off the campus; loyalty oaths

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and other phenomena that some professors and students regard as infringements on freedom to teach; the question of how Berkeley students might help their counterpart student "Y" members in Southern universities turn to more constructive action in race relations.

This is the second time the Fund for the Republic has taken note of the contributions of Stiles Hall to civil liberties and race relations. Last November, the Fund made a $5,000 award to Stiles Hall for 'distinguished service to freedom of expression, and equality of opportunity.' The presentation was made at a University Convocation by Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Fund's Board of Directors.

The new grant, Lapham stated, will enable Stiles Hall to employ a project director, and will cover his program budget. The Fund regards the project as a 'pilot' venture; the report of this project will be made available to other student YW and YMCA's throughout the country, and to other voluntary agencies.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Monday, October 29, 1956

REPORT LISTS INTEGRATION PROGRESS THROUGHOUT U.S.

New York, N. Y. -- Details of extensive progress toward reduction of racial segregation and discrimination throughout the United States were reported today in "Integration: North and South," published by The Fund for the Republic.

The 120-page book, by Harold Fleming and David Loth, lists state-by-state and community-by-community cases where bars against Negroes have been dropped in public and private schools, employment, public accommodations, places of worship, hospitals, social organizations, military establishments, housing and recreation.

The report covers the period since the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 against segregation. It reveals that, in the non-Southern states remaining racial segregation and discrimination is not only being reduced steadily but also that Negro citizens are obtaining positions of leadership in all walks of life.

(MORE)

The report on the South records 1100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment, and public accommodations, leading to the conclusion that there is "no longer a Solid South of Segregation."

Preparation of the report was financed by a grant from The Fund for the Republic. Fleming is responsible for the section of the report which deals with the Southern states. He is director of the Southern Regional Council, a 12-state organization which is working to promote better race relations in the South. Loth, a former newspaper-man, prepared the material on the Northern and Western states.

In a foreword, Morris L. Ernst, attorney and a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, declared that "this volume is news of a high order, untinged by subjective editorial comment...in every hamlet and city, in every state of the union, there are people of good will who will be heartened to action by reading of peaceful progress elsewhere."

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Mr. Loth's inventory of integration was taken in the 31 states outside the Solid South and the border states of Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware.

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In New York City, Mr. Loth issued a statement commenting on his findings, declaring that his report demonstrates for many people in many Northern communities that integration "can be done successfully by people of good will in virtually every phase of life.

"While no attempt is made in the study to determine how well the instances of desegregation have worked out, in the great majority of cases there was evidence to show that integration was accomplished without ill will or protests."

Mr. Loth pointed out, on the other hand, that "the study should not lead to complacency. Many of the instances cited are no more than opening wedges in breaking down discriminatory practices, particularly in the key fields of employment and housing."

On this point Mr. Loth's section of the report says that if complete integration could be accomplished in jobs and housing "all the other racial problems would solve themselves."

The report emphasizes that desegregation has come about through voluntary action, group pressure, legislation or court or other official order or a combination of several of these elements.

The following are some of the highlights of the inventory of integration in the non-Southern states:

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1. EDUCATION - The four non-Southern states authorizing segregation prior to 1954 - Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, and Wyoming - had all practically eliminated segregation in schools at the time of the report.

2. PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT - Instances of integration in 18 states were reported, including newspapers, labor unions, factories, department stores, transportation, professions, managerial posts.

3. PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT - The report says that "much of the record of interracial employment in the public service has followed desegregation of schools." Twenty states provided such instances as integration of school faculties, appointment of Negroes to commissionerships, law enforcement posts, supervisory positions, and judicial posts. A Negro served as acting mayor of Hartford, Connecticut, another as the commander of a National Guard Unit in Illinois, another as vice-mayor of Cincinnati, another as deputy police commissioner of New York City.

4. HOUSING - Most of the instances cited in 20 states provided evidence that desegregation was accomplished without bitterness or incidents. Different types of integration were reported: a white housing unit admitted Negroes for the first time, new interracial units are being established, and formerly all-white neighborhoods are becoming mixed in such varied locations as Arizona, California, the Middle West, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Rhode Island.

5. ORGANIZATIONS - The report points out that many cases where integration has taken place have received no publicity. "If the experience of integration has been good, a fairly common reaction is that it would be unnecessarily risky to report the fact. Many organizations, fortunately, are not of this opinion, so that representative examples can be listed."

Organizations on the national level which have recognized Negro achievements are the YMCA the Boy Scouts, Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Library Association. For the first time the Association of Negro Elks awarded a $1,000 scholarship to a white high school student.

On a state level, organizations which have eliminated discriminatory practices are the PTA's, YMCA's, Exchange Clubs,

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dental and medical societies, college fraternities, Girl Scouts, CARE, political organizations, chambers of commerce, and Kiwanis Clubs.

6. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS - The report says that "segregation in transportation, waiting rooms, and similar publicly used facilities does not now seem to be a feature of Northern life any longer; no instance of their desegregation, therefore, was discovered." Examples listed related chiefly to hotel accommodations, eating places, and meeting places.

7. RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT - The inventory includes instances of desegregation not only in audiences but among performers in places of entertainment. Examples cited in states from coast to coast included baseball teams, golf tournaments, recreation clubs, swimming pools, children's camps, opera companies, skating rinks, and riding schools.

8. HEALTH FACILITIES - Discrimination rather than segregation is more prevalent in this area. Discrimination against Negro patients, nurses, and physicians was dropped in many private and public hospitals. In Milwaukee, St. Anthony's Hospital appointed a Negro physician to be its Chief of Staff. A notable instance of progress was the end of segregation in all Veterans Administration hospitals.

9. RELIGION - This is the largest single category in the inventory and offers examples in a great many denominations, under a wide variety of circumstances, in virtually all parts of the North. Most cases cited involve admission of Negroes to Sunday Schools, choirs, church camps, ministerial posts, and congregations.

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In an introduction to the section on Integration in the South, Mr. Fleming declares that "the common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings. The nearly 1100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'Border' states, on the one hand,

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and the twelve 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

"While court decisions and other legal directives prompted desegregation in certain fields - notably in public education, transportation, and recreation - many changes were the result of voluntary decisions. Obviously, a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harshly defiant.

"There is no longer a solid South of segregation. In the last two years, eight states have achieved a semblance of unity on pro-segregation policies. But there is a tremendous diversity of conditions and attitudes from one of these states to the other, and from area to area within a given state. The findings clearly reflect these varying degrees of readiness to desegregate, and probably foreshadow a further splintering of the segregation orthodoxy.

"Finally, the results of the survey suggest that beneath the surface turmoil of Southern resistance, deep-running currents are steadily eroding the undemocratic patterns of the past. The causative forces are many - moral, economic, political, and international - but not the least of them is the insistent stirring of a broader conception of human dignity among Southerners, white and Negro."

(MORE)

The following are highlights of Integration in the South:

1. PUBLIC SCHOOLS - "Since the Supreme Court handed down its historic school-segregation decision in May 1954, more than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 states surveyed have integrated schools to some degree...Some of the school districts cover a single community, others entire counties.

"In a number of areas where the schools were still segregated, the school transportation system was integrated and school buses began carrying white and Negro children together.

"As of May 1956, there were no integrated public elementary or secondary schools in eight states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Legislatures in each of these states have adopted measures to circumvent the Supreme Court decision, varying from pupil-assignment plans to blueprints for converting public schools to private status."

2. PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS - "In six Southern and Border states, Negroes were enrolled along with whites in Catholic elementary and secondary schools before May 1954.

"During the 1954-55 school year and in the following term, Negro children began attending formerly all-white Catholic grammar and high schools in 21 Southern cities, as well as in many smaller communities. States in which Catholic school integration occurred, in whole or in part, are Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

"A Friends' School in Delaware admitted Negro pupils, and another Quaker school in Baltimore announced it would begin admitting Negroes to its nursery school and kindergarten in 1955, opening up another grade with each new term until integration is complete.

"An Episcopalian school in Baltimore has also been integrated since May 1954."

3. SCHOOL-RELATED GROUPS - "White and Negro teachers began meeting together in eight of the Southern and border states within the past two years...

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"State associations formerly of white teachers offered membership to Negroes in Oklahoma, Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky; similar changes occurred locally in several widely scattered communities.

"Some white and Negro parents could meet together for the first time to discuss common problems. . ."

4. HIGHER EDUCATION - "The admission of Negroes to formerly all-white colleges and universities in recent years is one of the most impressive examples of successful desegregation on record. Since the first Negro student was admitted to the University of Maryland in 1935, some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. And, in every instance included in this total, the adjustment was made smoothly and quietly, unmarred by a single serious incident. . .

"As of May 1956, five states - Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina - still enforced complete segregation in state-supported colleges. However, all but South Carolina had at least one private college which admitted students of both races."

5. ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS - "... A growing number of Negroes have sought public office in the South, with mounting success, during recent years."

"For example, as of 1954 Negroes were already serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held other elective or appointive offices in more than 20 other communities. Of the latter, approximately 15 - including such deep-South cities as Atlanta and Nashville - had Negro members on their boards of education. Negroes were also serving on state boards of education prior to May 1954 in North Carolina, Maryland, and West Virginia.

6. EMPLOYMENT -"... A small but growing number of Southern employers are disregarding the taboo against use of Negroes in skilled, professional, and white-collar jobs."

The eight Southern cities which hired Negro law enforcement officers for the first time or in a new capacity during the survey period continued a major trend of the last ten years. Between 1945 and 1954, the totals increased from 29 Southern cities using 134 Negro policemen to 143 cities and 22 counties employing 822. The additions carried in the report reflect a continued trend in this direction.

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7. HOUSING - "This section of the survey, unlike most of the others, found segregation not only deeply entrenched, but virtually unchallenged, in the South. Some instances of desegregation were found - mostly in publicly financed, low-rent housing in border states and the District of Columbia. A few examples involving private subdivisions were discovered in Delaware and Texas."

8. HEALTH AND MEDICINE - "A marked change in staff policies was found in hospitals in nine of the 17 states surveyed, with Negroes there practicing and working for the first time in both private and public institutions.

"In all, at least 34 hospitals began utilizing the professional services of Negroes..."

9. TRANSPORTATION -"... Local transit systems known to have dropped segregation were found in Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. In many communities transit practices were still unclear as litigation in the Federal courts continued...It seemed apparent that legal segregation on all public carriers was destined for an early death..."

10. SPORTS AND RECREATION - One of the most notable changes in the traditional Southern pattern of separation of the races has occurred in the field of sports and recreation, both in professional and in high school and college levels.

11. RELIGION - "The most widespread change in the Protestant religious field in the South between May 1954 and May 1956 was the integration of ministerial associations. Twenty such instances were found.

"...The Catholic Church moved vigorously in several Southern areas to implement its pro-integration position. The most noteworthy action was the integration of many parochial schools, discussed in another section, and various church-affiliated lay organizations."

12. MILITARY - "...With the merging of the remaining white and Negro schools on bases in Texas, Florida, Alabama, Virginia, and Maryland, the Department of Defense reported that only three segregated post schools in the country - all in the South - remained. (On these posts, local leases have delayed action but in each case negotiations continued.)"

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13. HOTELS, RESTAURANTS, AND THEATRES - "Desegregation in public accommodations and theatres has been confined so far mainly to cities in the border states. The few exceptions found in the South proper were generally limited to special occasions for which hotels agreed to relax temporarily their segregation policies. However, during the two-year survey period, hotels in such border cities as Louisville and St. Louis began accepting Negro guests on an individual, if frequently selective, basis."

14. ORGANIZATIONS - Voluntary organizations, even those with a national policy of non-discrimination, continued to deal with the question of admitting Negroes on a local level. Groups which liberalized policies included such organizations as Community Chests, American Association of University Women, League of Women Voters, Boy and Girl Scouts, Chambers of Commerce, American Automobile Association, St. Louis Bar Association, and the South Carolina Association of Psychologists.

15. OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES - "...The most widely effective change was action by the West Virginia Legislature in 1955 directing integration of state-supported institutions; to insure compliance, the Legislature provided that institutions still segregated in June 1956 would be denied state funds. As a result, facilities for delinquents, orphans, the mentally ill, and tubercular patients in the state were being merged as this survey was made."

16. WASHINGTON, D.C. - A special section is devoted to the Nation's capital because of its "unique governmental status and the symbolic importance of its racial practices." This section reports on integration of public and private schools, appointments of Negroes to governmental agency posts, and reduction of discrimination in private employment, recreation facilities, organization memberships, and religious bodies.

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AIRMAIL

November 6, 1956

Miss Ruth Knopf
Fund for the Republic News Film Service
619 West 54th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ruthie:

By hot wire from Hollywood last night, Herb and George asked me to send off to you some background dope on Negro voting in Randolph County, Georgia. Here it is.

Frank Willard called this morning to say that his man was headed for location.

Hear you are going to become a Mrs. Many happy returns.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Monday, December 10, 1956

Fund Publishes Study of Khruschev,

U.S. Communist Party Statements.

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- Elmo Roper, Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, today announced publication of an analysis of communism and civil liberties, prepared by Walter Millis, a consultant for the Fund.

"Since the activities of the Communists in America always create problems for advocates of civil liberties, the Fund asked Mr. Millis to analyze the situation created by the revelations of Khrushchev and the subsequent shift in the Communist party line," Mr. Roper said.

Mr. Millis, who was the assistant chief editorial writer of the New York Herald Tribune for many years, has been a consultant for the Fund since 1954.

His pamphlet is divided into two sections, one analyzing the declaration of policy made by the executive committee of the U.S. Communist

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Party, and one comparing the reign of terror revealed by Khrushchev with the rule of law existing in the United States under the Constitution.

In the first section, Mr. Millis points out that the Communist Committee's "draft resolution" adopted in mid-September "provides interesting confirmation of the party's character as a conspiratorial agent of the Soviet Union" and "indicates the extent to which the new policies have been devised as a means of escaping the consequences."

"It seems clear that the new assumption of virtue has not converted this group, still conspiratorial in nature and in certain of its activities, into 'just another American political party,'" Mr. Millis wrote. "But it is already acting like one. There is reportedly a renewal of Communist activity on the campuses and in those labor organizations where they retained a beachhead. There have been several attempts to bring Communist-influenced unions back into the AFL-CIO through mergers. It seems obvious that the new policies, with their assumption of legality, democracy and a more American outlook, would in any event be likely to raise again many of the civil liberties issues which have proved so difficult in the recent past."

"Nikita S. Khrushchev's now famous and terrible indictment of Stalin in his speech to the Twentieth Communist Party Congress was not only a shattering confession to the true nature of Communism; it was also one more exhibit in the long tale of tyranny and oppression written through the centuries by unlimited power and unbridled fanaticism.

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" In 1789, Karl Marx was unborn and there were no dictatorships of the proletariat, but the authors of the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights were as familiar with the crimes of despotism as anyone is today. It was against just such perils that they wrote into the Constitution its specific guarantees of civil liberty and freedom of thought and belief.

"They knew that dogmatic tyranny over the mind was as dangerous as the tyranny over the person, to which it had so often led; and that the protection of individual right and dignity were essential to the protection of the community itself against just such horrors as Khrushchev has described.

"The Khrushchev speech can be taken not only as a grim illustration of the meaning of civil liberties in general. Passage after passage can be set beside the relevant clauses of the Constitution to show why those clauses were drafted, what they were intended to guard against and specifically what their significance is today. "

Copies of the pamphlet are available from the Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York City 17.

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Since the publication of this analysis by Mr. Millis, the following new Directors have been elected as members of the Board of the Fund for the Republic:

HARRY ASHMORE
Executive Editor, Arkansas Gazette

BRUCE CATTON
Editor, American Heritage Magazine

ALICIA PATTERSON
Editor and Publisher, Newsday

The following members of the Board have retired:

CHESTER BOWLES
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN
JAMES D. ZELLERBACH

Communism and *Civil Liberties*

by
WALTER MILLIS

The Fund for the Republic
November, 1956

WALTER MILLIS *is presently an independent writer and consultant, and since 1954 has served as a consultant for the Fund for the Republic. He was for many years the assistant chief editorial writer of "The New York Herald Tribune" and is the author of numerous books on military and diplomatic subjects. His most recent book, "Arms and Men," a study of American military policy, was published in October, 1956.*

Additional copies of this booklet are available on request from the Fund for the Republic, 60 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I. *The New Communist Line in America*

THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS' constant use of the constitutional guarantees in furtherance of a cause fanatically devoted to the destruction of those guarantees has always raised difficult problems for those interested in the maintenance of our civil liberties. The new "soft" line, finally announced in September, 1956, after much soul-searching by the national committee of the American Communist Party, promises to make these issues more difficult still. "Their new line," as Judge Harold R. Medina put it in an interview, "is more dangerous than the subversive one of the past. The really dangerous ones in the hard core center have simply changed their strategy; it would be a very grave mistake for America to become less vigilant." But he immediately added: "I'd rather see every Communist go scot free than abandon, dilute or diminish a single one of our constitutional freedoms, and that includes the Fifth Amendment."

The national committee's "draft resolution," adopted in mid-September, includes a long analysis of past "errors and weaknesses" of the party. While this provides interesting confirmation of the party's character as a conspiratorial agent of the Soviet Union, it also indicates the extent to which the new policies have been devised as a means of escaping the consequences. The over-all "error" was an excess of "left-sectarianism"—which appears to mean a fanatical devotion to the political interests of Communist Russia—that has resulted in the "isolation" of the American party.

"To end its isolation and expand its mass work, the main task of the party today is to overcome completely the influence of left-sectarian estimates, policies and tactics in all fields of work," the committee said.

In the "fight for peace" left-sectarianism led them to overestimate the peril of "Wall Street's drive for world domination," and to concentrate too exclusively on saving Russia from such "war-mongers" as Eisenhower and Dulles, without realizing the strength of forces tending to "compel the Eisenhower Administration to enter into peaceful negotiation with the socialist world."

In the "fight against the Fascist danger," the Communists felt that they again overestimated the forces of evil; they too easily "gave up the fight for legality" and "tended to accept a status of illegality" from which they would now like to escape. In their estimate of the economic situation (and economic infallibility is the great claim of the Communist gospel) the party "never made an adequate analysis of the specific features of American capitalism." Instead, "it based itself on a one-sided and incomplete study of economic data, applying the Marxian theory of economic crisis in a routine, formal and doctrinaire manner."

Left-sectarianism, according to the committee, led to mistakes in tactics. Their infiltration of the labor unions ended in failure because "we did not view the labor movement realistically. . . . Our point of departure was our own concept of what the labor movement should be," and in their battles within the CIO they failed to realize that their pro-Soviet policies in matters "relating to political action, foreign affairs, economic outlook and trade union democracy" were only "laying the groundwork for expulsion."

Again, their attempts to infiltrate "the Negro people's struggle for equality and freedom" were "hobbled" by their left-sectarian effort to exploit the Negro community to their own ends. "We clung to negative attitudes toward non-Left led Negro organizations of the Negro people and their leaders," the committee said, while Left-led Negro organizations "were often burdened with 'special pleadings' in behalf of the general program of the Left." In particular their slogan: "Self-determination for the Negro nation of the Southern Black Belt" lacked validity "as a theoretical premise for our political estimate of the direction in which the Negro people's struggle in the South is developing"—in other words, was a bad tactical mistake.

In political action, again, "the support which the Party gave to the formation of the Progressive Party, for which no serious base existed in the trade union movement, was one of the most harmful sectarian mistakes of the past period. It flowed from and was conditioned by the sectarian estimates and policies which characterized the work of the Party in all other fields." More generally, the "sectarian" absorption in the interests of Soviet Communism has had lamentable results: "Our Party has also suffered from an oversimplified approach to and uncritical acceptance of many views of Marxists and Marxist parties in other countries. . . . The Party also viewed uncritically developments in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. It mistakenly thought that any public criticism of the views or policies of the Marxist parties of these countries would bring comfort to the enemies of peace and socialism."

A group which can confess to "error" such as these can certainly lay no claim to having been a normal American political party. But

the essence of the new policies announced by the draft resolution is an attempt to restore to it a greater appearance of being one. The Party's objective now is "to end its isolation and expand its mass work," in other words, to re-establish a position in the labor unions, with the Negro community, in schools and colleges. To this end it will resume "the fight for legality;" it will now operate in the open; it will eschew "left-sectarianism;" it will endeavor to strengthen its appeal to Americans by working less exclusively in the interests of Soviet Russia and in blind adherence to Marxist-Leninist dogma. The "fight for peace" will concentrate less completely upon the perils of "Wall Street's war-like, anti-American policy" and emphasize, rather, the promise of "the new perspectives of peaceful co-existence." In its economics it will look more closely at the actual facts of the American scene rather than at the prophecies of Marx and Lenin. It will attempt to re-infiltrate the labor movement by endorsing and supporting "the forward looking domestic and legislative proposals" of the labor movement itself. It will endeavor to further the major interests of the American Negro community, not try to subvert it into a weapon of Soviet Communist propaganda. The Communist Party itself will be preserved but it will henceforth endeavor to work with other "socialist-oriented and pro-Marxist currents and groupings," thus substituting a united front policy for the old one of capture, rule or ruin.

All this was too much for William Z. Foster, the national chairman, who cast the one vote in the national committee against the resolution and has now attacked it. It is all right, he has argued, to try to "Americanize" the party, but to abandon the thesis that "American imperialism" is a "real danger, and that American

policy is warlike and aimed at world domination" is to undermine "the whole political line of the party." Mr. Foster has logic on his side; but it is a logic which calls in question the reality of the new party line.

It seems clear that the new assumption of virtue has not converted this group, still conspiratorial in nature and in certain of its activities, into "just another American political party." But it is already acting like one. There is reportedly a renewal of Communist activity on the campuses and in those labor organizations where they retained a beachhead. There have been several attempts to bring Communist-influenced unions back into the AFL-CIO through mergers. It seems obvious that the new policies, with their assumption of legality, democracy and a more American outlook, would in any event be likely to raise again many of the civil liberties issues which have proved so difficult in the recent past. But when the new party promises to undertake "a new extension of the struggle to defend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights against their reactionary enemies of all types, "with a civil liberties program calling for repeal of the Smith act, the McCarran act, the Taft-Hartley act, "curbing or abolishing the Congressional witch-hunt committees," defending the Supreme Court against "Dixiecrat-McCarthyite attacks" and so on, those who are genuinely and deeply interested in the Constitution and its Bill of Rights have reason for some alarm. Since the Constitutional guarantees must impartially cover every citizen, whether Communist or not, we confront some hard issues of principle. Civil liberties organizations are likely also to find themselves facing some very dangerous would-be allies.

II. *The Fate of Civil Liberties Under Communist Rulers*

Nikita S. Khrushchev's now famous and terrible indictment of Stalin in his speech to the Twentieth Communist Party Congress was not only a shattering confession to the true nature of Communism; it was also one more exhibit in the long tale of tyranny and oppression written through the centuries by unlimited power and unbridled fanaticism. In 1789, Karl Marx was unborn and there were no dictatorships of the proletariat, but the authors of the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights were as familiar with the crimes of despotism as anyone is today. It was against just such perils that they wrote into the Constitution its specific guarantees of civil liberty and freedom of thought and belief. They knew that dogmatic tyranny over the mind was as dangerous as the tyranny over the person, to which it had so often led; and that the protection of individual right and dignity were essential to the protection of the community itself against just such horrors as Khrushchev has described.

The Khrushchev speech can be taken not only as a grim illustration of the meaning of civil liberties in general. Passage after passage can be set beside the relevant clauses of the Constitution to show why those clauses were drafted, what they were intended to guard against and specifically what their significance is today.

Thus Khrushchev explains the results of Stalin's use of the concept of treason, or the crime of being an "enemy of the people":

> Stalin originated the concept "enemy of the people." This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel

repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations.

We must assert that, in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their physical annihilation. The formula "enemy of the people" was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals.

These were precisely the abuses in the minds of the authors of the Constitution when they drafted its narrow definition of treason:

Art. 3, Sec. 3: Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the evidence of two persons to the same overt act.

Khrushchev illustrates the importance of regular meetings of the legislative authority:

Whereas during the first few years after Lenin's death party congresses and Central Committee plenums took place more or less regularly, later, when Stalin began increasingly to abuse his power, these principles were brutally violated. This was especially evident during the last fifteen years of his life. Was it a normal situation when thirteen years elapsed between the eighteenth and nineteenth party congresses, years during which our party and our country had experienced so many important events?

The Constitution provided against this sort of thing:

Art. 1, Sec. 4: The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year.

Khruschev indicates what happens when the Executive becomes supreme:

> [Stalin] discarded the Leninist method of convincing and educating: he abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions, and terror. He acted on an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive organs, at the same time often violating all existing norms of morality and of Soviet laws.
>
> Arbitrary behavior by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation.

The Constitution was careful to keep the Executive under limitations:

> Art. 2, Sec. 1, 4: The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold office during the term of four years, and . . . be elected, as follows . . . . . Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath . . . . . He shall from time to time give the Congress information on the state of the Union . . . . . He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed . . . . . [and] shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Krushchev gives many examples of the necessity for the procedural protections embodied in the American Constitution: For instance:

> The commission has become acquainted with a large quantity of materials in the N.K.V.D. archives and with other documents and has established many facts pertaining to the fabrication of cases against Communists, to false accusations, to glaring abuses of Socialist legality which resulted in the death of innocent people. It became apparent that many party, Government and economic activists who were branded in 1937-38 as "enemies," were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists.

They were only so stigmatized and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges—falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes.

It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the seventeenth congress, ninety-eight persons, i.e., 70 per cent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38). (Indignation in the hall.)

That is ample to show why the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was adopted:

5th Amendment: No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime except on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, ... nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Here is Khrushchev's description of the terror in the Soviet Union:

On the evening of Dec. 1, 1934, on Stalin's initiative the secretary of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, Abel S. Yenukidze, signed the following directive:

1. Investigative agencies are directed to speed up the cases of those accused of the preparation or execution of acts of terror.

2. Judicial organs are directed not to hold up the execution of death sentences pertaining to crimes of this category in order to consider the possibility of pardon. . . . .

3. The organs of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs are directed to execute the death sentences against criminals of the above-mentioned category immediately after the passage of sentences.

This directive became the basis for mass acts of abuse against Socialist legality.

Here is the judicial process guaranteed to all Americans under the Constitution:

Art. 3, Sec. 1: The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme

Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain. . . . The trial of all crimes shall be by jury.

Khrushchev:

But as soon as we attained a decisive victory [in the Civil War of the '20's] we gave up the use of the death penalty and thus proved that we intend to execute our own program in the manner that we promised. We say that the application of violence flows out of the decision to smother the exploiters, the big landowners and the capitalists; as soon as this was accomplished we gave up the use of all extraordinary methods. We have proved this in practice.

Stalin deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin. Stalin put the party and the N.K.V.D. up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror.

The Constitution:

8th Amendment: Cruel and unusual punishments [shall not be] inflicted.

Another example from Khrushchev:

Comrade Eikhe was arrested April 29, 1938 on the basis of slanderous materials, without the sanction of the prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., which was finally received fifteen months after the arrest. . . . Eikhe wrote in his declaration:

"On October 25 of this year I was informed that the investigation in my case has been concluded and I was given access to the materials of this investigation. Had I been guilty of only one-hundredth of the crimes with which I am charged, I would not have dared to send you this pre-execution declaration; however, I have not been guilty of even one of the things with which I am charged and my heart is clean of even the shadow of baseness . . .

"I am now alluding to the most disgraceful part of my life and to my really grave guilt against the party and against you. This is my confession of counter-revolutionary activity . . . The case is as follows: not being able to suffer the tortures to which I was submitted by Ush-

akov and Nikolayev—and especially by the first one—who utilized the knowledge that my broken ribs have not properly mended and have caused me great pain—I have been forced to accuse myself and others.

"The majority of my confession has been suggested or dictated by Ushakov, and the remainder is my reconstruction of NKVD materials from Western Siberia for which I assumed all responsibility. If some part of the story which Ushakov fabricated and which I signed did not properly hang together, I was forced to sign another variation. . . .

"I am asking and begging you that you again examine my case and this not for the purpose of sparing me but in order to unmask the vile provocation which like a snake wound itself around many persons in a great degree due to my meanness and criminal slander. I have never betrayed you or the party. I know that I perish because of vile and mean work of the enemies of the party and of the people, who fabricated the provocation against me."

On Feb. 4 Eikhe was shot. It has been definitely established now that Eikhe's case was fabricated; he has been posthumously rehabilitated.

The Constitution:

5th Amendment: No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. 6th Amendment: In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses . . . and to have the assistance of counsel.

Still another case to show what the 5th and 6th Amendments mean:

When Rozenblum was arrested in 1937 he was subjected to terrible torture, during which he was ordered to confess false information concerning himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Leonid Zakovsky,

who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the NKVD concerning "sabotage, espionage and diversion in a terroristic center in Leningrad.

"You, yourself," said Zakovsky, "will not need to invent anything. The N.K.V.D. will prepare for you a ready outline for every branch of the center; you will have to study it carefully and to remember well all questions and answers which the Court might ask. This case will be ready in four-five months, or perhaps a half year. During all this time you will be preparing yourself so that you will not compromise the investigation and yourself. Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you begin to lie and to testify falsely, blame yourself. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head and we will feed and clothe you at the government's cost until your death."

Again:

In those years repressions on a mass scale were applied which were based on nothing tangible and which resulted in heavy cadre losses to the party. The vicious practice was condoned of having the N.K.V.D. prepare lists of persons whose cases were under the jurisdiction of the Military Collegium and whose sentences were prepared in advance. Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin personally for his approval of the proposed punishment. In 1937-38, 383 such lists containing the names of many thousands of party, Soviet, Komsomol, Army and economic workers were sent to Stalin. He approved these lists. . . .

Because of his extreme suspicion, Stalin toyed also with the absurd and ridiculous suspicion that Voroshnov was an English agent. (Laughter in the hall.) It's true, an English agent. A special tapping device was installed in his home to listen to what was said there. (Indignation in the hall.)

The Constitution:

4th Amendment: The right of people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and

effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath.

For obvious reasons Khrushchev nowhere accused Stalin of violating the freedoms of speech and press, but two extracts from the Khrushchev speech are at least illustrative:

> Comrades: The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his "Short Biography," which was published in 1948. . . We should in all seriousness consider the question of the cult of the individual. We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits; we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes. I think that the delegates to the Congress will understand and assess properly all these proposals.

The Constitution:

> 1st Amendment: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion . . . ; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

The Constitution and its carefully-wrought guarantees had more than a paper meaning in the context of its own times. It has more than a paper meaning today. The evils which it was specifically intended to prevent have in great areas of the earth grown to colossal proportions; and they could conceivably appear within our own community unless more than lip-

service is given to the basic principles which the Constitution enshrines—the limitation of power, the reign of law, and the protections of due process to preserve the individual against the tyranny of the state, to maintain the freedom of thought, of belief and of speech without which a people cannot hope either to know the road it is travelling or shape its own destinies.

The Directors of the Fund for the Republic:

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Former Governor of Connecticut

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd St
New York 17, New York

January 2, 1958

The following program has been nominated for the ROBERT E. SHERWOOD AWARDS. You may wish to watch for your own interests.

PROGRAM: **SEE IT NOW - "Clinton and the Law"**

DATE: **Sunday, January 6, 1957**

TIME: **5:00 P.M., EST**

STATION: **CBS - Channel 2**

Sincerely yours,
Sylvia Spence
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD AWARDS
The Fund for the Republic

This is a documentary on the problems of desegregation in Clinton, Tennessee.

File

BULLETIN · JANUARY 1957

The fourth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

REDEFINING CIVIL LIBERTIES

The three and a half years' experience of the Fund for the Republic in the field of civil liberties has emphasized what is perhaps a truism: that the really basic issues involved are those of definition, rather than of fact-finding or of publicity.

On the broad principles of free, popular government under due process of law—as embodied for Americans in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights—there is no appreciable dispute. Nowhere are they explicitly challenged; and even those who, like the Communists, most plainly reject them do not fail to give them devoted lip-service. There is no doubt of the value of fact-finding, public discussion and popular education in the furtherance of great principles. Yet these are only tools and they are tools that can be used effectively only where there is general agreement upon the interpretation of the facts disclosed or the meaning of the principles which are being publicized. The fundamental and most significant task in the field of civil liberties is to obtain as clear and widely-agreed a definition of the basic principles, as applied to contemporary conditions, as may be possible.

No doubt this has always been true. It is a commonplace that each generation has been compelled to redefine the constitutional rights and guarantees in accordance with its own conscience and the conditions confronting it. Many of those who in 1776 put their signatures to the statement that "all men are created equal" and are endowed with an "unalienable" right to liberty were slave-owners; and the modifying definitions which they gave to that statement in order to perpetuate chattel slavery had to be wholly revised by a later age. While the Sedition Act of 1798 was

"palpably" unconstitutional to Jefferson, the Federalists who adopted it could bring a weighty constitutional argument to its defense; it was only later that the Jeffersonian definition of the principle of the First Amendment was firmly established.

This task of redefinition is unending. But it seems peculiarly difficult today as we seek to apply principles formulated in the simple and mainly agrarian society of the late 18th Century to political, social and material conditions which have been so vastly transformed since that day. The guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure could not foresee the telephone or the electronic wire-tap. The guaranteed freedom of speech and press could not provide for the radio and TV, where government regulation is unavoidable because of the physical limitation of the channels. The authors of the First Amendment could not foresee the enormous increase in the cost and concentration of all the mass media; nor the development of subtle advertising and propagandist techniques in government and politics as well as in commerce; nor the polarization of international society and the development of the mass-destruction weapons, which have put so frightful a premium on governmental secrecy, "security" and the extirpation of subversion. The Fourteenth Amendment sought to protect the political rights of Negroes; it did not foresee those changes in the moral climate and in the Negro citizen's economic, political and intellectual status which would lead the Supreme Court to extend the "equal protection" clause to forbid segregated schooling.

The very idea of civil liberty implies a sound reconciliation of the conflicting claims of the diversified individual, the pluralistic community and the unitary state. The balance must be always shifting; but to place it accurately today is extraordinarily difficult. The state has acquired a centralized power beyond anything before known under a free government; the pluralistic organizations expressing the many interests of the community—political parties, industrial corporations, labor unions, pressure groups, the apparatus of education and research, churches, racial minority organizations, voluntary associations—have in general grown larger, more impersonal, less hospitable to individual initiative and variety than their counterparts of the past. In what way the constitutional and traditional protections of the individual—protections which have always stood as the singular heritage of a free and responsible people—must be redefined to meet these situations is a highly complex problem. It is the central and basic problem of civil liberties today.

Civil Liberty and the Law

Traditionally, lawyers have a central function in the process of redefinition. No matter where the process begins, at some point it is almost sure to be expressed in the language of the law, whether in a legislative enactment or a judicial decision, or even in the by-laws of a private organization. This is not to say that lawyers have always been equal to their responsibilities. Too often the Bar has been pushed into law reform by the indignation of the lay public. The law appears to catch up with society only by spasmodic efforts. The legislative power is ponderous and uncertain in its exercise. And when a basic redefinition is at last achieved, as in the Supreme Court's decision against segregated schooling, it may take much more than the courts and the legal system to secure its effective application.

Yet the lawyer's art is important to the redefinition of minimal rights and decencies in a changing society. It is for this reason that the Fund for the Republic has put a considerable amount of effort into encouraging work in the civil liberties field by law schools and bar associations. The Fund does not attempt to influence legislation, and it is not its function or its policy to

intervene directly in civil liberties cases (as does the American Civil Liberties Union, for example), to furnish counsel or offer *amicus curiae* briefs. But it has supported, or helped to support, numerous special studies by law schools and bar groups; its fellowship grants have assisted individual legal scholars; it has tried to awaken a greater interest among lawyers generally in the legal aspects of the more significant civil liberties problems of the time.

The Fund and the Legal Profession

Some of the legal studies which the Fund has financed or assisted have already demonstrated a remarkable practical impact on affairs. Doubtless the most important is the study of the Federal loyalty-security programs, financed by a grant of $100,000 from the Fund but conducted independently by a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under the chairmanship of Mr. Dudley B. Bonsal. Its findings not only received wide public approval, but some of them seem to have been reflected in recent Federal policy.

Other of the Fund's grants and projects in this field are as follows:

Vanderbilt University Law School: To establish "Race Relations Law Reporter," a bi-monthly publication of legal developments relating to school desegregation and other race relations problems $200,000

Case Studies in Personnel Security: A collection of some 350 such cases (fifty of which have been published) compiled under the direction of Adam Yarmolinsky with the cooperation of lawyers throughout the country 92,150

Two Reference Volumes on Communism in the United States, prepared under the direction of Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School: "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States" (a collection of abstracts of decisions, laws, hearings and other public documents relating to Communism in the U.S.) 62,882

Stanford University Law School: For an analysis of the testimony of prominent anti-Communist witnesses in courts and before investigating committees 55,000

For a study by members of the *Stanford Law Review* of the industrial security program at selected plants in California 5,000

Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP: For education of the Negro community in its rights, and defense of equal rights for Negroes 50,000

Bar Association of St. Louis Foundation: To sponsor open forum TV programs on civil liberties subjects 47,000

Bureau of National Affairs: To assist in the publication of "Government Security and Loyalty," a manual of laws, regulations and procedures. 41,932

Pennsylvania Bar Association Endowment: For a study of the rights of privacy as affected by law enforcement methods 40,000

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund: For a joint study of representation for indigent defendants in criminal cases by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the National Legal Aid Association 40,000

For a legal referral service on personnel security cases (jointly with the New York County Lawyers Association) 15,000

For an experimental program in the representation of defendants in civil liberties cases 5,000

Voluntary Defenders Committee of Boston: To assist in expanding its work for indigent criminal defendants 40,000

University of Pennsylvania Law School: For a study by the Institute of Legal Research of postal and customs censorship of obscene, subversive and other non-mailable matters 33,900

For a student research program in civil liberties subjects 5,610

American Bar Foundation: For a study by the Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security of the American Bar Association of the procedures of Congressional investigating committees 25,430

Toledo Bar Association: For support of a referral service in civil liberties cases and other educational activities 10,000

University of Virginia Law School: For a summer research program by students on civil liberties topics in the field of municipal law 3,500

Columbia University Law School: For a study by the *Columbia Law Review* of the legal problems of U.S. soldiers accused of misconduct while prisoners of war in Korea 1,670

The Fund has expended $245,917 on its programs of fellowships and grants-in-aid to assist individual scholars in work upon civil liberties subjects. Among these have been a number of lawyers and legal students. In addition, several of the Fund's major projects in fields not directly connected with the law—as, for example, the Report on Blacklisting—have necessitated extensive legal study.

"Integration North and South" by David Loth and Harold Fleming, recently published by the Fund for the Republic, has been extensively reported in the press and has received wide editorial coverage as well. Excerpts from an editorial in the *Hartford Courant* follow:

"The Fund for the Republic has just finished a worth-while study of the progress being made in desegregation. It finds that the old Solid South of segregation and Jim Crow no longer exists. Despite the noise and the fiery statements coming from below the Mason-Dixon line, desegregation is a reality more often than not. And the rigid caste lines that once existed throughout the South have largely been eroded, with compromises being made even in the most backward areas.

"The compilers of the study say in a foreword, 'The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings.' They found 1,100 separate instances of desegregation, almost evenly divided between the border states on the one hand and the 12 Southern states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly. . .

"If one views the progress we have made here in Connecticut in the past 20 years, it is possible to get the proper perspective. For as recently as two decades ago Negroes were barred from nursing schools in Connecticut, were employed only as porters or elevator operators in department stores, and were banned from trade unions. All these taboos were knocked down, and still the heavens did not fall.

"That same pattern of progress will be observed in the South, more slowly to be sure, for there the prejudices are deeper. But progress is inevitable, and will be accelerated as the older generation steeped in the Old South's ways dies off, to be replaced by another generation more used to seeing the Negro treated with decent fairness. . . ."

Elmo Roper

Alicia Patterson

Bruce Catton

Harry S. Ashmore

Directors Elected

At the annual meeting of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic on November 15, Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst, was elected Chairman of the Board, succeeding Paul G. Hoffman, who will continue as a Director.

Three new Directors were elected: Alicia Patterson, editor and publisher of *Newsday*, Long Island newspaper; Bruce Catton, Pulitzer prize-winning historian, of Bethesda, Md.; and Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, Ark.

These three Directors replaced the following former members of the Board: Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India; John Lord O'Brian, attorney; and James D. Zellerbach, president of Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

Printed Materials

Copies of the following are available in limited numbers on request to the Fund for the Republic:

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
- Report May 31, 1955.
- Three-Year Report, May 31, 1956.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
- Bulletin, May 1956, "Civil Liberties and Race Relations."
- Bulletin, June 1956, "Civil Liberties: A Three-Year Effort."
- Bulletin, September 1956, "Congressman Walter Investigates."

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
- Facts No. 1, "Aims and Organization."
- Facts No. 2, "Three-Part Study: The Communist Record in the United States."
- Facts No. 3, "Grants to Religious Organizations."
- Facts No. 4, "Freedom Agenda."
- Facts No. 5, "Distribution of Publications."

THE BILL OF RIGHTS YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW
- Talk by Robert M. Hutchins.

THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS
- "Three Views" by William Faulkner, Benjamin E. Mays and Cecil Sims.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY
- Article by Omer Carmichael, Louisville, Ky., Superintendent of Schools, reprinted from *The New York Times.*

A TALK FOR STUDENTS
- By Robert Frost.

LITERATURE AND CENSORSHIP
- Talk by Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., reprinted from *Books on Trial.*

THE BALANCED AMERICAN
- Talk by Ray Murphy, Past National Commander of the American Legion.

The following Fund publications are for sale through Meridian Books, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.:

A REPORT ON BLACKLISTING
- By John Cogley. Vol. I, Movies; Vol. II, Radio-TV. $1.25 each.

INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH
- "Progress Memorandum" by David Loth and Harold Fleming. 40 cents. Prices on bulk orders available on request.

February 1, 1957

Mr. George Martin
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
News Film Service
619 West Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear George:

I've been meaning for some time to write you that the "changing of the guard" newsclip on SRC evidently got good use. I missed it myself, but others saw it on Atlanta's WAGA-TV, and George Mitchell and I have had word from friends scattered from Spartanburg, S. C., to Kansas City, who also saw it.

Many thanks for giving us so good an opportunity to plug the Council, and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Circulate to Staff + file

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
~~60 East 42nd Street~~
New York 17, N. Y.

RELEASE AT 6 P. M. EST FEB. 9, 1957 (MORNING PAPERS OF FEB. 10, 1957)

STATEMENT BY ELMO ROPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, ON CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE FUND BY REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER IN THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE; RELEASED FOR PUBLICATION ON FEBRUARY 10, 1957

TELEGRAM TO

REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER
CHAIRMAN, HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

We understand that you have issued a public statement in which you once again try to cast a reflection on the integrity and patriotism of the Fund for the Republic and all those associated with it. We find this incredible, in view of the fact that you have repeatedly denied us the right to be heard.

The Fund's total program in the civil liberties field represents a record of great achievement. Our grantees include numerous church organizations - Catholic, Jewish and Protestant - bar associations, veterans' groups, law schools, universities and social service organizations. In cooperation with these groups,

(MORE)

whose membership includes millions of patriotic Americans, the Fund has worked to uphold the liberties guaranteed by our Constitution.

The policies of the Fund are determined by the Board of Directors, of which I now have the honor of being chairman. The Directors include Paul G. Hoffman, now serving by Presidential appointment as a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N., George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College; Harry S. Ashmore, Executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette; Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winning historian; Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College; Russell L. Dearmont, Vice-President Missouri Pacific Railroad; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of Harvard University Law School; Oscar Hammerstein II, New York; Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago; William H. Joyce, Jr., San Marino, California, Meyer Kestnbaum, President Hart Schaffner & Marx, Chicago, Illinois; Roger D. Lapham, former Mayor of San Francisco, California; M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. Howard Marshall, Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co., Fort Worth, Texas; Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Co., Houston, Texas; Alicia Patterson, Editor and Publisher, Newsday, Garden City, L.I.; and Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio.

To suggest that these Americans would give "great aid and comfort to the Communist apparatus" is completely fantastic. Everything we have done is open to public inspection. We feel confident that anyone who takes a look at the Fund record will see how ridiculous your charges are.

These are the same old warmed over charges which you made last summer - and

(MORE)

which led the New York Times to declare editorially that it was time that you were called up short for your "arrogant, hit and run tactics."

ELMO ROPER
Chairman of the Board of Directors
Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Encls: Article "Secrecy Veils Mississippi's
Anti-Integration Commission"
Atlanta Journal, 2/10/57

Article Jackson, Miss. Daily News, re
Public Affairs Pamphlet "What's
Happening in School Integration?"

February 13, 1957

AIR MAIL

Mr. James Peck
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Newsfilm Project
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, California

Dear Jim:

You will be interested in this report from Mississippi, which appeared in last Sunday's Atlanta paper.

Did you ever track down that colorful statement about you that allegedly appeared in the Jackson Daily News? I just had a grave notice in the same publication, a copy of which is enclosed.

What's happened to the documentary?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 15, 1957

Mr. James Peck
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Newsfilm Project
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, California

Dear Jim:

I am glad that you think well of the chronology, notwithstanding the competing attractions of the blue skies and sunny beaches. Eight copies are coming to you, and one is being sent to New York for George's use.

I guess I will be seeing George at the shindig in Washington and/or the following week in New York, since I am to be on deck then.

I could do with some of that lethargy you are generating out there. If and when you come back to your ancestral region, bring me some.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Chronology under separate cover this date.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
NEWSFILM PROJECT
1213 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA HOLLYWOOD 9-2724

RECEIVED FEB 15 1957

February 13, 1957

Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

Your excellent chronology, "The South and the Supreme Court's Decisions," is certain to be useful to many people; it is especially useful to us in the present project.

Would you be a real fine guy and let us have six or eight more copies? Also, if it isn't too much bother, George would appreciate your sending him one copy care of the New York Office. He's heading east for the big board meeting.

The film is coming along rather well, but it's in real jeopardy today. Eighty-eight degrees, blue skies and penetrating sun. Beaches tempt me with siren moan. Regards from your lethargic, but devoted, friend.

Jim

James Peck

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: Thursday, February 21, 1957
6 P.M.

FUND ANNOUNCES WINNERS IN

$10,000 AMERICAN TRADITIONS PROJECT

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The actions of a young Florida state legislator, two waitresses from Ohio and a woman newspaper editor from Mississippi are the subjects of the top prize-winning letters in the Fund for the Republic's nation-wide $10,000 American Traditions Project contest.

The first citation goes to a 37 year old air force veteran, Rep. John B. Orr, Jr. of Miami who was the only member of the Florida State Legislature to speak in support of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling for desegregation of the public schools.

The second citation goes to Mrs. Ann Harr and Mrs. Bessie Dick, waitresses in Akron, Ohio, whose efforts on behalf of a Catholic refugee

(MORE)

from Communist Poland resulted in his being cleared of false charges.

The third citation has been received by Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser, whose newspaper has consistently maintained the highest standards of a free press in the face of community criticism.

The Fund accompanied its announcement that Rep. Orr's action was the subject of the top prize-winning letter with the following citation:

> "Rep. Orr reinforced and strengthened the American tradition by refusing to remain silent on a question of civil rights in the face of overwhelming opposition; by risking his political life to remain true to his beliefs; by giving heart to many others of like conviction but lesser courage; by contributing to the free and open exchange of views which is at the heart of the democratic process; by giving the public the right and opportunity to hear both sides of a controversial subject; by providing once again that freedom of speech and discussion are held dear by the American people -- that an elected official can break with prevailing popular opinion, take issue with a local custom of long standing and, in so doing, earn the respect and the votes of his constituents."

The selection of the award-winning letters, announced at a Fund for the Republic dinner tonight at the Mayflower Hotel, was made by a panel of jurors headed by Major General William F. Dean, USA (Ret), holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry in action during the Korean War.

The American Traditions project, announced last September by the Fund, offered prizes of $2,500, $1,000, $500 and ten prizes of $100 to persons writing the best letters giving true stories about Americans whose actions have made an unusual contribution to advancing the principles of freedom and

(MORE)

justice in the Bill of Rights.

Amounts equal to each of the prizes will be donated to a tax-exempt religious, charitable, educational or philanthropic organization to be designated by the winner.

Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Harr, Mrs. Dick and Mr. Orr were the guests of honor at the Fund dinner which was attended by approximately 500 invited guests. They were introduced by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a member of the panel of jurors.

The speaker of the evening was Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winning historian, editor of the American Heritage Magazine and a director of the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Catton spoke on "The American Tradition." (Text available).

The invocation at the dinner was delivered by Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld of Washington, D. C. Judge Rosenman was introduced by Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston Pilot. The benediction was delivered by Bishop Angus Dun of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D. C.

Several hundred letters were entered in the American Traditions contest and came from 40 states, the District of Columbia and Canada. Members of the clergy were cited most often by the letters as persons who had, by their deeds, advanced the cause of freedom. Next, in order, came educators, journalists, lawyers, businessmen and doctors.

(MORE)

In addition to Mr. Orr, three elected officials -- two U.S. Senators and a State Governor -- were described in letters as having performed unusual acts in defense of civil liberties. The occupations of other persons cited in letters included labor, law enforcement, the judiciary, veterans groups, civic leaders, government employees, students, nurses, writers, social workers, nuns and scientists.

The greatest number of letters received dealt with the efforts of individuals to combat discrimination based on grounds of race, religion or national origin (equality of opportunity in employment; racial integration in the schools, churches, civic and social organizations, etc.)

A large percentage of letters touched First Amendment issues such as freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience and issues connected with security procedures and loyalty oaths.

In addition to General Dean and Judge Rosenman, other members of the American Traditions Project panel of jurors were: James Carey, President, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO; Mildred McAfee Horton, former President, Wellesley College; Mr. Henry L. Nunn, retired President, Nunn-Bush Company; the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church and Most Rev. John J. Wright, Catholic Bishop of Worcester, Massachusetts.

Descriptions of the actions of Mr. Orr, Mrs. Dick, Mrs. Harr and Mrs. Smith are attached.

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FIRST AWARD WINNER

The story of the Honorable John B. Orr, Jr. has been selected for first prize by the panel of judges for the American Traditions Project.

Mr. Orr is a native of Florida, a graduate of Duke University and the University of Florida, is a practicing attorney, a veteran of the Air Force, and a member of the Florida House of Representatives. He is thirty-seven years old.

Six entrants wrote to the American Traditions Project about Mr. Orr's record as a champion of free speech and of the other basic freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The first prize therefore will be divided among the six entrants.

The writers of the six letters that led to the awards cited Mr. Orr's consistent efforts on behalf of minorities and in defense of civil liberties against attempts at suppression and denial. They praised his courage; his refusal to forsake principle in the interests of political expediency; his readiness to stand up and be counted; his faith in "the American way" of taking legal issues to the courts; and then abiding by the law of the land.

These qualities and convictions were displayed dramatically during a special session of the Florida Legislature in 1955, called to consider resolutions designed to preserve racial segregation in the State's public schools. A freshman Legislator at the time, Representative Orr stunned his colleagues by taking the floor in opposition to the measures and by casting the only vote against them. In mild and patient terms he told the members of the House:

"I believe that...had we devoted as much energy, time and talent to discovering means to live within the law instead of defiance of it, we could have found a way...

"Perhaps the most dangerous by-product of our activity in this Special Session is the attitude of disrespect for our laws and the principles of common decency that is developing. To defy the highest court in our land is unthinkable to me...

"I hope that God gives us the wisdom and strength to conquer prejudice and bigotry and to renew our faith in our Constitution."

His address promptly brought calumny, insults, and threats of violence. It was taken as a foregone conclusion that Representative Orr, who at the time was a candidate for re-election, had committed certain political suicide -- that he could not, as one correspondent predicted, get enough votes "to make pall-bearers at your political funeral."

But by setting this example of free speech, Mr. Orr encouraged others who had been stilled by fear, and he stimulated public discussion of what had been virtually a forbidden topic. Community leaders and plain citizens who previously had been silent, wrote to express their agreement with his views; and many civic, fraternal, church, veteran and other groups invited him to speak openly on a subject that had been taboo. This he did during his election campaign -- reasonably, candidly, understandably, and without heat. And when the election returns were in, Representative Orr had been re-elected by 27,000 votes.

Apparently the voters in his district shared the view of another member of the Florida Legislature who, though disagreeing with Mr. Orr on the issue in question, rose on the floor of the House to tell his colleagues:

"...I want you to know that I respect this man. He refused to compromise with his conscience. If I am ever faced with the same problem I hope I have the same courage."

Representative Orr reinforced and strengthened the American Tradition by refusing to remain silent on a question of civil rights in the face of overwhelming opposition; by risking his political life to remain true to his beliefs; by giving heart to many others of like conviction but lesser courage; by contributing to the free and open exchange of views which is at the heart of the democratic process; by giving the public the right and opportunity to hear both sides of a controversial subject; by proving once again that freedom of speech and discussion are held dear by the American people -- that an elected official can break with prevailing popular opinion, take issue with a local custom of long standing and, in so doing, earn the respect and the votes of his constituents.

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH:

For over 20 years, Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith has been active in the newspaper business in Mississippi, both as a reporter and publisher. As editor of the Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser, she has been an important and respected member of her community. But in the last few years her work in Mississippi has required great courage and understanding because of the tensions which have developed there.

During this period Mrs. Smith has maintained the principles of a free and open press. She has attempted to report the news as she saw it even when it involved controversial issues centering around the race question. In doing this she has exposed herself to a great deal of community pressure.

Mrs. Smith has been honored many times in the past by professional organizations for her work as a writer and a publisher. But it is in the last few years that she has made her most important contribution to the principles of a free press and to the Mississippi community in which she lives.

MRS. ANN HARR
and
MRS. BESSIE DICK

Mrs. Harr and Mrs. Dick were cited for their efforts in behalf of Stanislaw Kiszycki, a new American who lived in Poland before coming to the United States three years ago.

Late on the night of December 24, 1955, Mr. Kiszycki walked five miles from Wadsworth to downtown Akron in order to attend midnight mass.

After the mass Kiszycki went to a nearby bus station, entered the restaurant and purchased a soft drink. He planned to also attend the early morning mass before walking back to his rooming house in Wadsworth. Sometime around 2:00 A.M., a policeman entered the restaurant and attempted to arouse Kiszycki, who had fallen asleep. Kiszycki, who speaks and understands very little English, tried to display his rosary and prayer book but apparently not fast enough to suit the officer. Mrs. Harr and Mrs. Dick, who were waitresses in the restaurant, and a porter testified later that the policeman struck him while he was still seated at the table.

During the fight that ensued, four more patrolemen were called to help subdue the 150-pound Kiszycki, who was booked on the charges of "loitering and resisting arrest".

Part of what followed was described in an editorial in the Akron Beacon Journal on March 9, 1956, entitled "Why Justice Triumphed".

> ....."That an innocent man should be acquitted is taken for granted here. It should not be. For in Kiszycki's case the American system of justice might easily have miscarried had it not been for the several individuals who interested themselves in the immigrant's troubles.
>
> "The incident at the bus station was witnessed by two waitresses, Mrs. Ann Harr and Mrs. Bessie Dick, and a porter, Johnson Owens. When they got off duty Mrs. Harr and Mrs. Dick went to the police station and ascertained the name and address of the man they had seen taken away by Ward and the other policemen.
>
> "The two women drove to Wadsworth and talked to Kiszycki's landlady. She referred them to the Wadsworth police, who

sent them to see the D.P.'s sponsors, Mayor and Mrs. Don Merriman. Mrs. Merriman and a Wadsworth officer then drove to Akron and obtained Kiszycki's release.

".....Kiszycki was fortunate in having friends like the Merrimans and in having able lawyers, but despite his innocence, he probably would have been fined or jailed routinely if the witnesses had not been rather extra-ordinary citizens.

"How many other persons in the same situation would have gone to the lengths that Mrs. Harr and Mrs. Dick went to in order to help an immigrant they had never seen before? Not many.".....

Asked why she came to the defense of a person she had never known, Mrs. Harr said: "When I heard the policemen ridiculing Kiszycki as he lay handcuffed on the ground pleading in badly broken English to be released, it reminded me of the times that my parents, who were foreign born, were subject to ridicule because of their place of birth."

Fair play won out due primarily to the testimony of the two women. Kiszycki was found <u>not guilty</u>.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

RECEIVED MAR 8 1957

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Friday, March 8, 1957

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, announced today the election of three new members to the Board of Directors of the Fund.

The members are:

Former U.S. Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York City.

The Very Rev. Msgr. Francis Joseph Lally of Boston, editor of the Pilot, weekly newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston.

Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen of New York City, President of the Union Theological Seminary.

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The three new members bring the Fund's Board to its full complement of 21 persons. A list of the full membership is attached.

In addition to his seven years in the U. S. Senate, Mr. Lehman's record of public service and civic activity includes ten years as the Governor of New York State (1932-1942); Director General of the U. N. Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (1943-1946); and Directorships of numerous organizations which include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the American Association for the U. N.; the Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation; the Council on Foreign Relations; and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Msgr. Lally, editor of the Pilot since 1952, was named a Privy Chamberlain to His Holiness, Pope Pius XII in 1951. He is a member of the National Advisory Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. A graduate of Boston College, Msgr. Lally received his Licentiate in Social Science from Laval University in 1948. He was ordained in 1944. In 1955, he was named a Chevalier in the French Legion of Honor.

Dr. Van Dusen is Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary and is the author of several books which include Methodism's World Mission, God In Education, and World Christianity: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Church Peace Union and Yenching University and holds eleven honorary degrees from universities and other educational institutions here and abroad.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
NEWSFILM PROJECT
1213 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA HOLLYWOOD 9-2724

MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 14, 1957

TO: Harold Fleming

FROM: George Martin GM

SUBJECT: Baton Rouge Hearing

Hal, I thought you might want to add, reluctantly, this appallingly unfair story to your collection if you haven't ALREADY seen it.

Reading File
then file

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. NEWSPAPERS
Friday, April 5, 1957

ROPER SAYS 1956 YEAR OF
U.S. CIVIL LIBERTIES GAIN

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Americans are now developing a "better balance between liberty and security than we have had since the cold war began", declared Elmo Roper, Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, last night in an address to the ninth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, held at the Statler Hotel.

A major reason for the improved situation, Roper said, has been the severe setback suffered by the Communist movement in the United States as a result of "anti-Communist efforts in this country and from the sense of revulsion created by the Soviets' brutal treatment of the Hungarians."

"With Communism largely eliminated as an internal threat, our efforts to hold a sane balance between liberty and security can be made in an

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atmosphere which will contain much less fear and hysteria than it has in the last ten years," Mr. Roper predicted.

The Fund Chairman said that "there are many forces working for liberty in America" and that "throughout the difficult period we have just been through there have been voices that refused to be stilled; voices that spoke out from their consciences when the tide was running hard against their point of view."

Mr. Roper enumerated several "encouraging signs" of progress in civil liberties during the past year.

"Despite some tragic outbreaks of violence in the South -- and some cases in the North -- steady national progress was made in eliminating segregation and discrimination in employment, public accommodations, schools, private associations and the armed forces."

In this connection, Mr. Roper singled out for special praise the work of the press which "has in many instances given extended and frequently very intelligent coverage to the great human story of our century, the effort to desegregate schools and public accommodations in the South."

Mr. Roper declared that "there have been improvements in the federal loyalty security program. Fairer procedures have been established for employees charged with subversive activities, and for servicemen accused of subversive associations prior to induction."

He gave credit for some of these improvements to the work of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Liberties, headed by Senator Thomas Hennings

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of Missouri; to criticisms of the security program made by former Senator Harry Cain; and to the Supreme Court decision which has limited the security program to "sensitive positions."

Other influences contributing to the strengthening of civil liberties have been exerted by the legal profession and the courts, which have "helped lead the way to a reassertion of the individual's right to a fair trial with benefit of competent counsel," Mr. Roper declared.

"A growing number of lawyers have been willing to take up the cases of defendants with unpopular views and to force tests of restraints on First Amendment freedoms... Court rulings have drawn a sharper line between the legitimate and illegitimate use of investigatory power by Congressional committees."

Commenting on recent discussions of the Fifth Amendment, Mr. Roper said that "while much of it has been on an irrational or uninformed basis, it has caused many people to learn more about this phase of our Constitutional protections, and encouraged a closer look at all of the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

Much credit for promoting intelligent discussion about Constitutional freedoms should go to civic, educational, church, professional and veterans groups, Mr. Roper said. Among organizations he mentioned specifically were the American Veterans Committee, some departments of the American Legion, AMVETS, the Carrie Chapman Catt Fund, the faculties and student groups of many universities, and bar associations.

Mr. Roper noted as another healthy sign the fact that "commercial television has given many indications of an increasing interest in the willingness to

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produce programs designed to create better understanding of American traditions." He commended such programs as The Open Mind, CBS' See It Now, Omnibus and WABD-Dumont's Nightbeat which "have been responsible for probing discussions which have not sidestepped controversial aspects of civil liberties problems."

Mr. Roper contrasted present day conditions with the anxieties and tensions which brought restrictions on civil liberties in the immediate postwar years.

Such anxieties, he declared, arose largely over understandable public concern arising from the cold war with Russia. During the years since 1947 America witnessed "an enormous expansion of the urge to compel people to fit in the molds of those in authority."

"This has gone on under Presidents of different political parties. It has gone on under Congressional committees headed by different chairmen. It has gone on in peace and war."

The Fund Chairman declared that by 1954 "the tide had turned. The true Communist danger was now well understood by the American people, and the people and the government could take time out to examine the broader implications of all that had been done to deal with that danger."

"I think the nation as a whole has seen the need for organized defense of civil constitutional liberty along with the organized defense of national security. And, I think we have gotten a sense of perspective on the whole situation," Mr. Roper concluded.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Monday, April 8, 1957

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- William A. Brophy, former U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has been appointed Executive Director of the Commission on the Rights and Responsibilities of the American Indian, it was announced today by Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Oregon and Chairman of the Commission.

The Commission was recently established with an initial $100,000 appropriation from the Fund for the Republic, an independent corporation founded to promote the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Up to the time of his appointment Mr. Brophy, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, was with the Department of the Interior as Special U.S. Attorney for the Pueblo Indians and Field Solicitor. He has been active in Indian affairs since 1934 concentrating on work with the Navajos and Pueblos. He was Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1945 to 1948.

(MORE)

Mr. Brophy's other assignments with the Department of the Interior have included service as a special representative of the Secretary of the Interior in the Caribbean on Puerto Rican and Virgin Island affairs (1942); Chief of the Puerto Rican and Virgin Island branch of the Department of the Interior (1943-45); and Chairman of the Department's Land Use Policy Committee (1942-44).

For the past six years Mr. Brophy has been Chairman of the New Mexico Governor's Navajo Tribe Law Enforcement Committee. He has been an attorney for various interests in many cases concerning land, minerals, water and irrigation rights and for Indian tribes.

Mr. Brophy attended De Paul University, Chicago and the University of New Mexico and received his law degree from the University of New Mexico.

In addition to Dr. Wilson, the other members of the Commission on the Rights and Responsibilities of the American Indian are: Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the Oregon Statesman; Karl Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University; and W. W. Keeler, Vice President and General Manager of Phillips Petroleum and Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Friday, April 26, 1957

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- Colonel Campbell C. Johnson, Assistant to the Director of the National Selective Service System, has accepted membership on the Commission on Race and Housing, it was announced today by Commission Chairman Earl B. Schwulst, President and Chairman of the Board of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York City.

The Commission was established in February 1955 to conduct a nation-wide survey of the housing needs of minority groups, particularly those of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in metropolitan areas. It is financed with appropriations totaling $305,000 from the Fund for the Republic, an independent corporation founded to promote the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

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Colonel Johnson, a native of Washington, D. C., is a graduate of Howard University and of the Law School of Howard University. He is on the national board of the YMCA; a member of the National Capital Housing Authority; member and former president of the Board of the Washington Housing Association; Director of the Industrial Bank of Washington; and a member of the Board and Chairman of the District of Columbia Board of Parole.

Other members of the Commission in addition to Colonel Johnson and Mr. Schwulst are:

Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts;

Elliot V. Bell, Chairman, Executive Committee and Director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.; Editor and Publisher, Business Week, New York, New York;

Laird Bell, Attorney; Bell Boyd, Marshall & Lloyd, Chicago, Illinois;

Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, C. S. C., Director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation, Notre Dame, Indiana;

Henry Dreyfuss, Industrial Designer, South Pasadena, California;

Peter Grimm, Chairman of the Board and Director, William A. White & Sons, New York, New York;

Charles Keller, Jr., President, Keller Construction Corporation, New Orleans, Louisiana;

Clark Kerr, Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley, California;

Philip M. Klutznick, Chairman of the Board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois;

Henry R. Luce, Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum and House & Home.

Stanley Marcus, President, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas, Texas;

Ward Melville, President, Melville Shoe Corporation, New York, New York;

Francis T. P. Plimpton, Attorney, Debevoise, Plimpton and McLean, New York, New York;

R. Stewart Rauch, Jr., President, Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, Philadelphia, Pa.;

John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

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BULLETIN · APRIL 1957

The fifth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

IN THE TRADITION OF FREEDOM

The American Traditions Project

The American Traditions Project was established by the Fund last year as a means of discovering and dramatizing incidents from daily life, particularly those which might never reach the headlines, in which the courage and good sense of Americans had been keeping bright our traditions of freedom and justice.

The project offered a series of awards for letters reporting true stories of individuals or groups who had successfully defended the rights to think and read freely, who had applied the principles of the Bill of Rights in concrete human situations against the dictates of expediency, who had stood conscientiously for freedom and fairness or upheld the rights of conscience of others. Some 400 letters were received, several in some instances describing the same episode; these were submitted to a distinguished panel of judges, who selected the thirteen reported cases which seemed most worthy of award. These were announced by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, one of the panel, at a dinner held in Washington on February 21 in honor of the principals of the selected episodes. The accounts which follow are taken from Judge Rosenman's address.

A Courageous Legislator

"The first prize in this contest was awarded to the six people who picked out the incident of which the principal actor was Mr. John B. Orr, Jr., and the cash prize will be divided among the six writers. Mr. Orr is a native Southerner, born in Miami, Fla., some thirty-seven years ago. He is a representative in the Florida State Legislature. He has made many contributions to his community in the course of his career, both in the Legislature of his State and in his private life. The one which stands out, however, is an incident of extreme personal and political courage, showing devotion to the highest ideals of the American tradition.

"During a special session of the Florida Legislature, Mr. Orr was the only representative who stood up and voted against legislation designed to continue school segregation in his State in spite of the decision of the Supreme Court. This was risking not merely a political career, it was undertaking an extreme hazard to his own personal safety. The courage of his stand was emphasized by the fact that he stood all alone. He believed and said that segregation was morally wrong, no matter how long it had existed. He said so and he voted so. The vote on that day was eighty-nine 'aye' and one 'nay,' and the 'nay' was the man who was the principal of the first prize award.

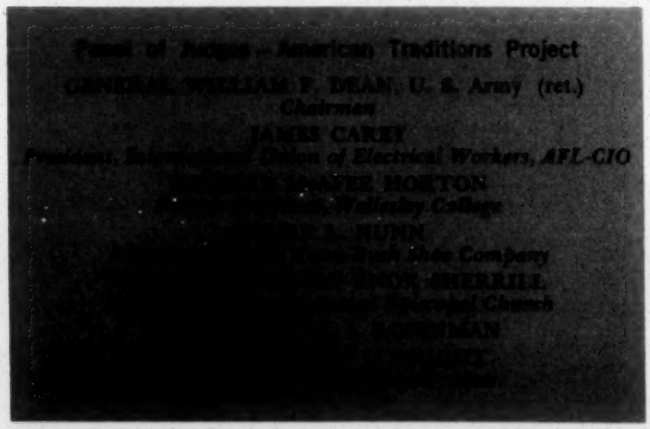
"I wish that I had the time to read to you the speech which this native white Southerner made to his white colleagues on this explosive subject. It was worthy of being placed with some of the highest expositions of the American tradition. And, believe it or not, this man was running for re-election, even as he cast his vote, and we all know that his vote was contrary to the personal sentiments of practically all of his constituents. The result, however, of the election was a great tribute to

him as well as to his constituents. It is true that there were the usual threats and abuse, there were all of the anonymous phone calls and letters which such men must endure, but there were also letters and words of praise, and finally in admiration and respect for his courage and integrity this man was reelected and even some of his colleagues who had voted 'aye' stated in public deep feelings of respect for his stand against what he thought was wrong, for his refusal to compromise with his conscience. As long as there is such courage and as long as political opponents can recognize it, then we can be confident that our American democracy, our American traditions, can solve the most difficult and controversial of problems.

In Defense of a Stranger

"Our second story does not have the high drama of legislative debate and of a great public issue, but in its own way it reaches deeply into the American tradition which prevails among the great masses of our country. The second prize-winning letter tells this story. There were two women working as waitresses in a bus depot in Akron, Ohio. An unknown man, a stranger in Akron, had come in on his way back from attending a midnight mass on Christmas eve, and while he was waiting for a bus he fell asleep. Some local police came in, woke him up, abused him, struck him, handcuffed him and finally arrested him for loitering. As it happened, this man was a recent refugee from Communist Poland. He had suffered a great many years in Nazi concentration camps, but these ladies didn't know any of that; all they knew was that he was a man, a stranger in town, who was being treated maliciously and unjustly, for they had seen the whole outrageous incident themselves from beginning to end, and on their own these two ladies took up this man's defense.

"After he had been taken to jail these ladies drove out to the man's home in an adjoining town; they spoke to his landlady where he lived; they went to see the police in that town; they even went to see the mayor of that town, and then they went to court, and although their employer had broadly intimated to them that they should not voluntarily testify, they did testify in his defense as eye witnesses in the court trial, and as a result of their effort this man was acquitted and released. These ladies did all that for a man whom they had never seen before because they saw a human being receiving treatment which was alien to our American concept of fair play and justice, and if these ladies had not done this it is clear and undoubted that this man would probably have been thrown in jail and stayed there for a term for something he had not done. I am glad that this perseverance and insistence on American traditional fair play can receive tonight the recognition which they deserve. The ladies are here, Mrs. Ann Harr and Mrs. Bessie Dick.



An Independent Editor

"Our third incident comes from an extremely important area of American democracy, the free press of America, and the third prize-winning letter tells this story. Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith is a Southerner. As a reporter and publisher she has been working in Lexington, Mississippi for over twenty years. During that time she has carried on the work of a small-town editor. She now has two weekly newspapers. In recent years, to maintain a free and impartial press in the deep South, to be an editor and reporter in the American tradition, has required extraordinary devotion and courage; and, often in the face of deep-seated community opposition, Mrs. Smith has continued to exhibit both of these qualities. She has printed the news honestly and fearlessly as she saw it; she has refused to pass incidents over, even when reporting them has subjected her to great criticism and pressure.

"For example, she has not hesitated to condemn bootlegging in dry Mississippi or open gambling even though the bootleggers and some local politicians tried their best to silence her. But her real time of trial came during the recent outbreaks of race violence. For her forthright editorials and news reporting she was held in contempt of court and also suffered a judgment of $10,000 for libel of a local public officer. Fortunately both of these judgments were set aside by the Appellate Court of Mississippi. As a result of the same kind of newspaper reporting her husband was fired from his job as superintendent of the local hospital. Her advertising

and commercial revenues have been cut almost in half through the same kind of local pressure. But Hazel Brannon Smith carries on, and she does not intend to give up. Tonight we honor Mrs. Smith; tomorrow let us hope her fellow citizens will join with us, for she is no enemy of the South, but one of its finest representatives; a woman who has courageously served her community by maintaining a free and independent press; and that is important, not only for each section of the country but for the American tradition as a whole.

In the American Tradition

"Now I would like very briefly to summarize for you the ten remaining prize-winning letters. I think the important thing is that they give you a very real feeling for the range in scope and variety of our American tradition. It is the story of Father John Corcoran, who mobilized a Chicago community against crime, slums, and prejudice; of Mrs. Mary Farquharson, a Seattle housewife, who fought successfully for two years and finally helped a carpenter clear himself of unjust security risk charges. There are the Rev. Sumpter Logan and the Rev. Theodore Braun, ministers of Henderson, Kentucky, who stood up for their convictions during a time of intense conflict over race issues. And then there is the Indiana priest, Father Peter Miller, who came to hear the confessions of Mexican migrant workers and stayed on to fight for their rights to decent living conditions.

"There is the Oklahoma City teacher, Samuel L. Powers, who resigned his position in a school on grounds of conscience; and there is Joseph L. Brechner, a radio-station owner in Maryland, who saw to it that both sides of the raging controversy on textbooks were presented to the people. There is F. Eugene Mueller, the superintendent of schools in San Bernardino, who responded to charges of communism in the schools by organizing a seminar for free inquiry into the whole subject of totalitarianism; Mrs. Barbara S. Marx of Arlington, Va., who stood firm for her conviction on the race issue, even when she herself was subjected to insults and threats; and, finally, there is the story of United States Senator Harry S. Cain and his work for civil liberties, and of two students in Nebraska who convinced a hostile audience to respect the rights of conscientious objectors. A few of these stories made the headlines. Most of them did not and never would. But all of them are deeply imbued with the spirit which we honor tonight—the spirit of freedom which rests on courage, and the spirit of the entire American tradition."

From an address by Bruce Catton at the American Traditions Dinner:

FREEDOM, FAITH AND COURAGE

"American freedom today is under attack—very often, by people who insist that they are trying to defend it. In a short-range view conditions are extremely ominous; yet I think if we look at our present situation long-range we can see that we have little reason to be afraid. We get waves of reaction in this country, periodically, in times of extreme national stress, and the great national tradition comes under attack—seems, indeed, to be in a fair way to be overwhelmed entirely. But the waves always pass—with however much incidental injustice and oppression for certain individual victims—because the instinct in the American mind and heart which the tradition is based on is, finally, irrepressible. . . . The thing to bear in mind is that the spasms to which we

are now and then subjected are always of temporary effect. We do come out of them; their authors pass on and are forgotten, surviving only as melancholy footnotes in history; and our great tradition, down the years, grows broader and stronger despite these temporary setbacks.

Spasms of Terror

"We are today emerging from the latest of these spasms of terror. We have seen some highly discouraging things in recent years. We have seen an atmosphere in which the mere fact that a man was accused of something was taken as proof of his guilt. We have been reminded of Mark Twain's comment on the reign of terror that prevailed in late medieval times under the Doges of Venice, when a committee on public safety received anonymous accusations against the loyalty of citizens; as Mark Twain remarked, if the committee could find no proof to support an accusation it usually found the accused guilty on the ground this simply showed how deep and devious and inscrutable the man's villainy really was. We have witnessed an era in which it was widely taken as a crime for an accused person to invoke the Bill of Rights itself in his own defense —as if the provisions of the Bill of Rights were not meant to operate in precisely a time like the present. We have seen times in which no one in authority seems willing to place the slightest amount of trust in the innate loyalty, good faith and intelligence of the American people; times which led former Senator Harry Cain to burst out with the cry: 'A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in the people.'

The Instinct to Defend

"We have seen all of this, and we can still see too much of it if we look around carefully. Yet the crest of the wave is passing. It is passing because the American people are responding once more to that deepest and most profound of all of their instincts—the instinct to defend the tradition of freedom when it comes under attack.

"It is passing because the courts of America have stood firmly in defense of individual liberties. It is passing because many groups and individuals have stood up for the rights of their fellow Americans. Scientists have made a contribution by their efforts to promote rational discussion of the dangers of too much secrecy about their work. The Congressional committee headed by Representative Moss has thrown much light on the secretive practices of some government agencies. The press, through its reports on the Moss Committee's work and through the efforts of individual newspapermen, has helped to break through some of the official barriers to the free flow of information.

"The American people are gradually getting the materials for a more factual understanding of communism in the United States and the world. The events in Hungary have clearly demonstrated the essential falsity of Communist claims to a concern for civil liberties—and have contributed to the decline of the Communists here and in other free countries.

"But when I say that the crest of the wave is passing I do not mean that no threats to liberty exist. Arbitrary censorship by both private and governmental groups has continued to affect a wide area of American life. Government restrictions on the flow of information are still excessive in some agencies. Much confusion remains in the administration of security measures; some unfair procedures have become institutionalized. The pressures of conformity are still strong in many places.

"Yet I feel confident that the American tradition will flourish in the future as it has in the past. That tradition, to repeat, is something that lives inside of us. It is not a set of laws; and freedom itself is not simply the absence of restraint. Rather, it is an abiding inner faith that cannot be limited by doubt or by confusion or by fear. It is something built into the American soul, and in the long run it is unconquerable.

". . . What You Feel You Have to Do"

"The secret of the American tradition is freedom—freedom unabridged and unadulterated, freedom that applies to everybody in the land at all times and places. . . . Freedom rests on courage; and courage, in its turn, rests on faith—on faith in ourselves and faith in our fellows, on faith that the thing which we believe in and which we live by is immortal and everlasting, a fundamental truth of the universe with which we move on toward the future. It is on this faith that our confidence finally rests. For out of this faith come those noble statements which show why this American tradition is in the end invulnerable; statements like that one of the Oklahoma schoolmaster, whose actions brought forth an American Traditions award:

'In a thing like this you don't stop to think. You just do what you feel you have to do.'

"On that spirit, and in that spirit, we can go ahead to broaden the great American tradition."

A COUNTER-CURRENT TO CONFORMITY

From the introduction by Elmo Roper at the American Traditions Dinner:

"As all of you know, the Fund for the Republic was established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation to uphold and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. From its very beginning, the Fund has been concerned with the maintenance of the American Traditions. That concern is what led us to establish the Awards we are presenting here tonight as one small way of showing that the spirit of independent thought and courageous action which dominated the founders of our country is still alive today.

"In 1953 we asked a committee of noted historians and philosophers to study the ways in which the 'legacy of liberty in America' might best be preserved. This committee was headed by Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago, and its membership included McGeorge Bundy, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences of Harvard University; Ralph H. Gabriel of the department of history, Yale University; Arthur Murphy, chairman of the department of philosophy at the University of Washington; and Clinton Rossiter, of the department of government at Cornell University.

"The Pargellis Committee made its report in October of 1953. The report declared: 'Your Committee regards Freedom as both an historic tradition and a *continuing* objective. The struggle for freedom has never been, and can *never* be, *wholly* won . . . There is no reservoir of past freedoms from which the present age can draw the *exact* answers to its own problems. It must defend the principle of freedom for its own time in its own way. Nevertheless an understanding of freedom's victories in the past, as they have been embodied in our tradition and have contributed to our strengths, is essential if continuity in the tradition is to be maintained. Your Committee believes that a country cannot break with its past without grave risk of disaster.'

"This Committee felt that the work of the Fund should be based upon two guiding principles: 1) that 'our national commitment to the basic idea of *freedom* in America should remain firm' and 2) that we 'should address our attention to the persistent and increasingly complex analytical problem of *clarifying* the roles of specific rights and liberties in *contemporary* society.'

"In its activities in the last three years, the Fund has kept those two principles in mind. We have worked to preserve the Bill of Rights as a living document with vitality and meaning in twentieth century terms. We have financed a comprehensive study of communism and its threat to democratic values. And we have tried to encourage individual Americans to stand up for their Constitutional rights as members of a free society.

"Our freedoms are not a set of building blocks from which the top few can be toppled off and the rest will stand. They are an organic, living whole, each dependent on the health of the others for their own good functioning. Legal safeguards alone will not maintain them. There are more effective ways to stop free speech than the threat of sending men to jail. In fact, jails have produced some pretty eloquent documents from time to time. When the passion to belong, to be alike, to swim in the mainstream becomes the dominating one, the more difficult but equally human desire to think one's own thoughts and live by one's own convictions atrophies. With it goes the sustaining force of free human society.

"The pressures toward conformity in our expanding industrial society are great; they will continue to be great. But the only way we can keep our national identity, in which our technological genius and material plenty are regarded as no more important than our tolerance, our generosity, our belief in individual initiative, and our acceptance of the basic equality and dignity of man, is to keep alive a counter-current to that conformity, which constantly challenges and questions what we currently feel and believe in the name of a liberating sense of human life. . . ."

Directors Elected

At the meeting of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic on February 20, three new Directors were elected to fill the remaining vacancies on the Board.

The new Directors are: The Very Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of *The Pilot,* official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Boston; the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, former Senator and former Governor of New York; and the Rev. Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Commission on the American Indian

The Fund for the Republic has announced the establishment of a Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian. It is headed by O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Oregon.

Serving with Dr. Wilson are Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the Oregon *Statesman;* Karl Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University; and W. W. Keeler, Vice President and General Manager of Phillips Petroleum and Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

The purpose of the Commission, according to Dr. Wilson, is "to arrive at a better understanding of the obligation of other citizens and of the Federal and state governments to the Indians," and to "consider legal, economic, and social measures" affecting Indians "with a view to their fuller and more responsible participation in American life."

The Commission will make specific studies of the governments of Indian tribes and groups; of the changes in policy of the United States toward Indians in the last quarter century; of the premise that the assimilation of the Indian should proceed as rapidly as possible; of representative tribal economies, in order to disclose problems involving such matters as credit facilities and land alienation; of the problems of Indians in non-Indian communities, and of the psychological consequences for American Indians of their special status.

The work of the Commission, Dr. Wilson has said, can be particularly valuable at the present time in view of the "notable change which is taking place in the government's policy for handling its treaty and moral responsibilities toward the American Indian."

The Commission has been established with an initial grant from the Fund for the Republic of $100,000.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 30, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

THE FILM, "THE SOUTH AND SEGREGATION," PRODUCED BY THE NEWSFILM SERVICE OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IS SCHEDULED BY THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY FOR TELEVISION FROM NEW YORK CITY AT 4:00 P. M., SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1957.

FILM CONTENT:

The film is a documentary based on television news film during the past two years. It depicts scenes in the news such as the Autherine Lucy case, the Klan, etc. Brief interviews with both pro-segregation and pro-integration leaders are included.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.

(2) Telephone the local ABC television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when?

(3) If the film is shown, ask your friends to telephone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to ABC officials.

Reading File

RECEIVED JUN 14 1957

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Friday, June 14, 1957

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- The Fund for the Republic announced today a major program directed toward two principal questions: (1) What is a truly free society? and (2) How can such a society be maintained?

Ten distinguished Americans have associated themselves with the Fund for the conduct of the work. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, declared: "These consultants will study contemporary American life with a view to determining the conditions under which a free society may best be maintained."

The ten consultants are:

Adolph A. Berle, attorney, professor of corporation law, Columbia University; former Assistant Secretary of State: author of many articles and books on business organizations and corporations.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief and publisher of Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated and House and Home.

Scott Buchanan, philosophy professor and author; former dean of St. John's College.

Eugene Burdick, assistant professor of political science at the University of California; also a novelist, author of The Ninth Wave.

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Eric Goldman, professor of history at Princeton University; winner of the Bancroft Prize for distinguished American history in 1952.

Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California; a specialist in the fields of economics and labor with extensive experience as impartial chairman on arbitration in industrial relations.

Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., educator and editor, professor of theology at Woodstock College, Maryland; winner of the Cardinal Spellman Award for theological scholarship in 1950.

Isidor I. Rabi, professor of physics at Columbia University; winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, 1944; chairman of the general advisory committee of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Robert Redfield, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago; former president of the American Anthropological Association.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Protestant theologian; vice-president of the Union Theological Seminary; author of many books on Christianity in the modern world.

"The problem of how we can live as free men in a free society today involves more than the defense of civil liberties as they have been traditionally understood," Mr. Hutchins said. "The defense of civil liberties in the traditional sense means the defense of individuals and groups faced by the pressures of government. This effort must continue. But we must recognize that the fundamental issues of freedom in contemporary life are affected by many institutions other than government.

"Tremendous changes have taken place since the 18th century, when civil liberties were defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The United States at that time was a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, government was almost the only significant social organization. There were

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no industrial corporations; labor unions were unknown; there was nothing remotely like the colossal modern organization of mass communications. Even political parties were so rudimentary that the Constitution made no provision for them. The private pressure group as we know it scarcely existed.

"Today social institutions have grown to gigantic size, with consequences which the authors of the Constitution could not even imagine. If we are to continue as free men in a free society, we must find out how these developments affect freedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present. We probably cannot solve the fundamental problems; but we can and must present them in terms making possible a rational debate."

The ten consultants will meet several times a year for extended sessions of study and analysis and will direct the collection of factual and analytical material. They expect from time to time to publish their findings and conclusions.

Elmo Roper, marketing analyst, who is chairman of the Fund's board of directors, said the directors had voted to place a major emphasis on the work of this group and on projects growing out of it. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College and vice-chairman of the Fund's board,

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said he felt that the Fund could make a great contribution to the maintenance of freedom in the United States by examining the fundamental issues affecting every American. Mr. Roper, Dr. Shuster, and Mr. Hutchins will participate in the meetings of the consultant group.

Initially, it is intended to divide the work into a number of separate projects, each dealing with one of the major institutions affecting freedom -- such as the industrial corporation, the trades union, voluntary associations, and so on. While the consultant group will be jointly responsible for the whole work, two or more consultants will assume special responsibility for each project.

Two or more members of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic will also serve on the various projects. The projects now contemplated will be announced later in greater detail. The directors of the Fund who will be associated with one or another of them include former Senator Herbert H. Lehman; Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst; Paul G. Hoffman; Meyer Kestnbaum, President of Hart Schaffner & Marx; Oscar Hammerstein II; Monsignor Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston "Pilot"; Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary; M. Albert Linton,

(MORE)

chairman of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company; J. Howard Marshall, vice-president of Signal Oil Company; Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio; and Jubal R. Parten, President of the Woodley Petroleum Company.

Mr. Hutchins said that in addition to the members of the board of directors and the central group of consultants, each project would have its own advisers chosen from practitioners and experts in the field under study. Draft reports will be submitted for criticism to still larger groups. When reports are in final shape they will be widely distributed for public discussion.

The basic issues program is a major part of the second phase of the Fund's operations, which began in 1952 when it was created by Ford Foundation grants totalling $15,000,000. Founded to advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, the Fund became an independent corporation, with its own Board of Directors, early in 1953.

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During the past four years the Fund has spent approximately 8 million dollars, concentrating its work in five main areas:

1. Studies of Communism
2. Maintenance of Due Process
3. Protection of Freedom of Speech and Belief
4. Education in American Traditions
5. Maintenance of Equality of Opportunity

About one-third of the Fund allocations in this period went for educational activities in race relations. The largest Fund grantee in this field is the Southern Regional Council, which has received $500,000 to support its efforts to bring white and Negro leaders together to ease racial tensions on a community by community basis. Church and lay-affiliated groups, representing almost all major denominations, have been given nearly a million dollars to assist them in promoting better race relations.

Another third of the Fund's allocations to date has been in stimulating discussion and understanding of American traditions. Among the many civic and educational groups which have received Fund grants for this purpose have been the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, the YMCA, YWCA, several colleges and universities, AMVETS, and the American Heritage Council (in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion).

The Fund has allocated $724,247 to make available more detailed and accurate information about Communism and the nature of its threat to democratic institutions. The largest single appropriation in this area

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was $455,000 for an 11-volume study of Communism in American life. The project is headed by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

Other major Fund appropriations and grants have been $305,000 for a Commission on Race and Housing, $165,000 for a study of academic freedom issues and their effect on college teachers, directed by Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University, $100,000 for an examination of the federal loyalty-security program by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., and $141,000 for a study of blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Mr. Hutchins stated that while the Fund will devote much of its effort to the basic issues program, the Board of Directors had also approved a number of grants to assure continued activity by several Fund grantees, particularly those working to improve race relations in the South.

Many reports and books financed by the Fund are still to be published, among them ten volumes in the Rossiter series on communist influence in the United States. The following studies made possible by grants from the Fund will also appear in the next year: the analysis being made at Stanford Law School of the testimony of certain witnesses involved in Communist trials and investigations; a report on the censorship activities of the U.S. Post Office, being prepared at the University of Pennsylvania Law School; and a study of passport procedures being conducted by a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

Note to editors: Pictures and biographical notes
of the Committee of Consultants
are enclosed.

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CONSULTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

BERLE, ADOLF AUGUSTUS, JR. Attorney. Professor of Law at Columbia University since 1927. Assistant Secretary of State 1938-44. U.S. Ambassador to Brazil 1945-46. U.S. Delegate to Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936-37; Eighth Pan-American Conference, Lima, Peru, 1938; Pan American Conference, Havana 1940. President International Conference on Civil Aviation, 1944 and Chairman of U.S. Delegation. Author of numerous books on the corporation. Residence: New York City.

BUCHANAN, SCOTT. Professor of Philosophy, Fisk University. Professor of Philosophy, University of Virginia, 1930-36; Chairman Committee on Liberal Arts, University of Chicago 1936-37; Dean St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland 1937-47; Director, Liberal Arts Inc. Pittsfield, Mass. 1947-49. Residence: Richmond, Massachusetts.

BURDICK, EUGENE: Assistant Professor of political science at the University of California, a Rhodes scholar, a novelist as well as political scientist and in 1950-51 a member of the staff of the Naval War College. Residence: Berkeley, California.

GOLDMAN, ERIC FREDERICK. Professor of History, Princeton University. Member Princeton faculty since 1943. Guggenheim Fellow 1955-56. Library of Congress Fellow in American Civilization 1947. State Department Lecturer in Europe and India. Awarded Bancroft Prize for Distinguished American History 1952 for Rendezvous with Destiny, a history of modern American reform. Residence: Princeton, New Jersey.

KERR, CLARK. Chancellor, University of California. Associate Professor, later Professor and Director Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1945-52. Chairman and Vice-Chairman various divisions of War Labor Board 1943-45; public member National Wage Stabilization Board 1950-51; National Arbitrator, Armour Company and United Packinghouse Workers 1945-52; various arbitrations in public utilities, newspaper, aircraft, canning, oil, local transport and other industries since 1942. Member Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1953-55; President, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1954. Residence: El Cerrito, California.

LUCE, HENRY ROBINSON. Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House & Home. Mr. Luce organized United China Relief in 1940 and is a Trustee of the China Institute in America, the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Roosevelt Hospital, and a Director of the Union Theological Seminary. He is a member of Yale University Council, United Board for Christian Colleges in China, and the Chamber of Commerce, State of New York. Residence: Ridgefield, Connecticut.

Murray, Rev. John Courtney, S. J. Professor of Theology, Woodstock College. Editor Theological Studies 1941 - present. Associate editor America 1944-45; Visiting Professor of Philosophy Yale University 1951-52; member Board of Trustees Manhattanville College, New York City; Advisory Board Blessed Martin de Porres Hospital, Mobile, Alabama; received Cardinal Spellman Award (for contributions to theological scholarship) from Catholic Theological Society, 1950; Honorary Degrees from Harvard University, Notre Dame University, St. Louis University and Georgetown University. Author of articles in the Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia of Religion, American Ecclesiastical Review, Theological Studies, Thought, America, Catholic Mind, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc. Residence: Woodstock, Maryland.

NIEHBUHR, DR. REINHOLD. Vice-President and Professor, Union Theological Seminary. Gifford Lecturer, Edinburgh University, 1939; Member U.S. Delegation to General Conference of UNESCO in Paris, 1949; author of numerous books on religion and philosophy. Editor of the quarterly Christianity and Society and bi-weekly Christianity and Crisis. Member American Institute of Arts and Letters. Residence: New York City.

RABI, ISIDORE ISAAC. Higgins Professor of Physics, Columbia University; staff member and Associate Director Radiation Laboratory, MIT, 1940-45; presently Chairman General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission; Consultant to Research and Development Board since 1946. Winner Nobel Prize in Physics 1945. U.S. Delegate to UNESCO Conference, Florence, Italy, 1950. Member, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. Residence: New York City.

REDFIELD, ROBERT. Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago. Admitted to Illinois Bar 1922; Instructor in Sociology University of Colorado 1925-26; Instructor in Anthropology 1927, Assistant Professor 1928-29; Associate Professor 1930 and Dean of the Division of Social Sciences (held this post until 1946) University of Chicago, 1934. Chairman Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago 1947-49. Director American Council on Race Relations 1947-50; Member of the Board of the American Council of Learned Societies 1952-55; member Editorial Board of Encyclopedia Britannica 1955; published Peasant Society and Culture 1956. Residence: Chicago, Illinois.

RECEIVED JUL 15 1957

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Monday, July 15, 1957

RABI TO HEAD STUDY OF DEFENSE POLICIES' EFFECT ON U.S. FREEDOMS

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- The Fund for the Republic has undertaken an extensive examination of the impact of governmental defense policies on traditional concepts of freedom and liberty, it was announced today.

Dr. Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel-Prize winning physicist and chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission will supervise the project on behalf of the Fund's newly-appointed committee of ten distinguished consultants.

Walter Millis, historian and commentator on military affairs, will have administrative responsibility for the project.

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The defense project is one of three announced so far by the Fund as part of its recently announced "basic issues" program. The Fund's committee of consultants is also studying the corporation and the labor union as they affect the freedoms of American citizens.

In discussing the common defense project, Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, pointed out that many acute issues of civil liberties today have arisen from the enormous expansion of governmental activities in defense of the country against both military threats and internal subversion.

"The growth of 'big government'", he said, "is nowhere more apparent than in the growth of the apparatus of external and internal defense. The government has laid a peacetime military obligation on all young men in order to maintain our standing forces. It is spending about $40 billion a year on defense. It has established extensive systems for the security screening of governmental and defense workers. Its security forces maintain elaborate machinery for the prevention of espionage and sabotage and the control of subversion.

"The ten consultants will examine the impact of all this -- whether for good or ill -- on individual freedom and on the traditional concepts of civil liberty. As in other parts of their work, they will not expect to solve the fundamental problems here raised; they do expect to determine what these problems are and to present them in terms making possible a rational debate."

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The consultants, in addition to Dr. Rabi, are:

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., professor of corporation law, Columbia University.
Scott Buchanan, professor of philosophy and author.
Eugene Burdick, assistant professor of political science, University of California.
Eric Goldman, professor of history, Princeton University.
Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California.
Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief and publisher of Time, Life and Fortune.
John Courtney Murray, S. J., professor of theology, Woodstock College, Maryland.
Reinhold Niebuhr, vice-president of the Union Theological Seminary.
Robert Redfield, professor of anthropology, University of Chicago.

The project on individual freedom and the common defense will consider three broad aspects of the present structure of external and internal defense. It will examine the present military manpower system, including the working of the draft and reserve acts; it will study the wide variety of measures developed in recent years for the control of sedition and subversion; it will study the more positive measures for the control of espionage and sabotage, such as the great enlargement of governmental secrecy and "classification" and the development of intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies.

Mr. Hutchins explained that the Fund's "basic issues" program, under which the corporation, labor union and common defense studies have been set up, requires every member of the Central Committee of Consultants to be

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jointly responsible for conclusions reached in every field of study.

At the outset, one or more consultants will assume a special responsibility for each project, while members of the Fund's Board of Directors have agreed to lend counsel and assistance and to provide liaison between the Board and the project.

Members of the Fund's Board of Directors who will provide liaison between the Board and the common defense project are Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst; former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, and Jubal R. Parten, president of Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Texas.

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.
MU 2-1250

FOR RELEASE: A.M.'s of Friday, November 21, 1958

STATE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

TO BE DISCUSSED ON EDUCATIONAL TV

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- The state of public information on topics of vital interest to every citizen will be examined in a weekly educational television series which will begin on December 18 and run for thirteen weeks. The reporting of major events by newspapers, magazines, radio and television will be explored on the programs.

Station WGBH-TV, Boston, will produce the series with Louis M. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Fellowships, Harvard University, as moderator. The programs will be timed for simultaneous release by approximately 40 educational and commercial television outlets in the United States and Puerto Rico. Financial support for the series has been provided by the Fund for the Republic, which is engaged in a number of studies designed to promote discussion of basic issues in a free society.

Hartford N. Gunn, Jr., General Manager of Station WGBH, said: "Journalists and specialists from fields related to the top news

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stories of the week will participate on the programs with Mr. Lyons. The series will explore the ways in which newspapers and other modern means of mass communication may better serve the needs of a free society. It is hoped that it will give the viewers a more complete understanding of the press and its problems. A sampling of the nation's newspapers will be covered each week with guests from radio and television reporting on their respective fields."

Mr. Lyons, a veteran newspaperman and daily news commentator on radio and TV at WGBH, has been Curator of the Nieman Fellowships since 1940 and editor of the Nieman Reports since 1946. He served as a reporter and editor for the Boston Globe from 1923 to 1946 and is a contributor to Atlantic Monthly. He is joint author of "Our Fair City." In 1957, Mr. Lyons won the George Foster Peabody Award for local television and radio news and also received the Lauterbach Award for his "outstanding contributions over a period of years in the field of civil liberties."

President Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund declared: "The media of mass communications are an obviously important element that our social and political system must absorb without much guidance from the Founding Fathers. The programs under the

direction of Mr. Lyons should provide some much needed light. We believe that these programs will produce information of great value to the Fund's study of the mass media."

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GSM wrote It

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE TENANT FARMER IN THE SOUTHEAST, by Charles S. Mangum, Jr., Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. 464, index.

"A South Carolina merchant induced a landlord to indorse a lease in the following language: 'I hereby waive my landlord's lien for rent to the extent of $75.00, reserving the right to give or take the first bale weighing 400 pounds, and bale about afterwards.'" Here, in a random sentence, are many of the problems this notable book takes up. It is an 1890 case, in an appellate court, in a cotton State, casual, indefinite, colloquial. And it involves the vexations of waiver of lien. It whiffs, too, of the easy authority of the landlord, and the distance of the tenant beneath him. The remarkable thing is that the waiver is in writing, for oral waivers, as Mangum shows, are valid and general.

It has been a mighty toil to collect and sort and size this body of law. No one had ever before made any serious study of it. And yet these statutes and decisions have ruled the lives of all the generations of Southern agriculture since 1865, and for free people before that.

Mangum has not prepared a collection of cases. He has undertaken to show the legal status of the tenant farmer as it has evolved. His illustrations are drawn from a succession of cases which have tested the law at its ill-defined edges.

It isn't easy law. Mangum covers eleven States; all of the South except Oklahoma and Texas. And he takes in most of a century. His

authorities are the statutes and the decisions of State appellate courts. And he brings it all in: the growth of the distinction between tenancies and cropping contracts; the oral lease, frauds, holding over, how to get your farm back, how to resist unlawful eviction, such rights as remain to a tenant after eviction, whose business it is to repair the buildings, liens and whose lien come ahead of whose, what happens when a landlord or a tenant sells out while the lease is still running, the pains and panalties that attach to hauling off liened crops in the dark of night, what devices a landlord or a merchant has for realizing on his liens, the rights of croppers and laborers, and even the law of peonage.

This is not a book for the farmer's own shelf. It will need a more concentrated peering into than your everyday layman will give it. But for the student of the Southern economy, or for the country lawyer with a hard case and a high court, or for the farmer-lawyer-legislator appointed to a Commission to revise and codify the law of land tenure, or for a judge thinking to bend the law to modern needs, it is a necessary book.

Your good bureaucrat should read it, too. For here are the cases that rule in their several segments of the subject, buried about in the books over a dozen States, and now assembled like the good departed in a Moravian graveyard, ranked in neatest order, ticketed and told, waiting merely for the trump to call. The next thing we need is a strong man to blow the horn, and march all these cases toward a better day in Southern agricultural law.

For it has been a tight system. The oldest root is feudalism, and there is an unspoken tap down into slavery. The men who first dealt out the statutes in the years just after the Civil War were protecting their one remaining property. They had land, and they know how to manage work. In putting idle land and a labor force of landless whites and the newly free together they began the rebuilding of the South. But they wrote a one-sided code, guarding their own rights with an automatic and rigid lien on the tenant's crop, but in most States visiting scant penalties on landlords who misappropriate from croppers, or provide poor equipment or wretched shacks.

One great cause of controversy is the annual oral lease, which every State recognizes, and which is still, in a literate age, the basis of by far the greater part of Southern leaseholds. Either party to such a lease, if he charges fraud, must convince a court on the basis of memory, often unassisted by witnesses. And notoriously, Southern courts have been reluctant to accept the word of a Negro tenant, or even a white tenant, against his landlord. Still, the system rubbed along, with many tenants feeling that they were getting unfair deals, and their landlords convinced that the men themselves were trifling.

Louisiana alone makes statutory provision for compensation to the tenant for unexhausted improvements he may have made. The lack of such a provision is a terrible damper to energy and thrift, and without it, the lands and the farm buildings and the character of the farm people of the South have suffered deeply.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Louisiana's differences are interesting. In point after point, her statutes and her courts, interpreting the Civil Law, are fairer to the men of each side of a lease than in the common-law States. For instance, in Louisiana a tenant at the end of his contract is entitled to remove improvements, and laborers, landlords, and tenants have an ordered priority in crop liens.

On things to do Mangum is cautious, and doubtless wise. He mistrusts the remedies of statutory enactment, and wants instead a broad program of education of the farmers, private experience with better leases, and perhaps a Southwide commission to review the law and the practice, and recommend needed changes.

Meanwhile, some things are clear. If we retain the annual oral lease, we would be better served if by statute tenants held over unless notified four or six months before the end of each year. We should find a way to compensate tenants for improvements, and landlords should have better remedies, in law, for waste by their tenants. Minimum standards of rural housing and for farm buildings could be afforded now. As a matter of fact, Southern agriculture has, in the last ten or fifteen years, greatly improved in housing for both men and stock. Some accessible and cheap system of arbitration would help a lot. Written leases, specially negotiated for each farmer, would do much to diminish the sense of grievance among both landlords and tenants.

The South is moving now into a new agricultural economy in which some of these problems of tenure are acute. Mangum's book is essentially the law of cotton and corn and tobacco. We are going to cows.

And cows are not an annual crop. It was the virtue of sharecropping and tenancy that they enabled the landless man to go into the prevailing farm economy, and try to go up the ladder to ownership. But with livestock, your landless man must get a lease that's good for years, preferably for many years. Else, how build a herd, and a barn, and a dairy business, when you might be thrown off any December?

The answer thus far has been that the men who have gone in for livestock have been men with capital enough to buy both cattle and land. And the little fellow has stuck to the old crops, on his old lease. There are many exceptions, but the process of squeezing settled farm people off the land is certainly assisted by our ~~addition~~ addiction to the leasing system we adopted just at the end of the slavery period.

A note on usefulness. Pains have been taken to make this biggish book yield its contents. The index is detailed and accurate, and there is sufficient cross-indexing to let the layman find things under his own terms, if he has little command of <u>privity</u> and <u>champerty</u> and <u>attornment</u>. On certain more difficult topics the law is carefully laid out, State by State. And for every case, the footnotes give the citation, accessible there on the case's own page. A court-house lawyer with a case involving automatic renewal of leases, or sub-tenancy, or parol evidence, if he studied what Mangum has to say, would have a chance of persuading a court to build new and needed law.

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File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

Dear Sir:

Last week the Fund for the Republic announced that it was undertaking a new program dealing with basic issues in a free society, with the assistance of an advisory group of distinguished Americans. We hope you will find the attached explanatory material of interest.

Sincerely,

Frank K. Kelly

Frank K. Kelly
Vice-President

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., MU 2-1250

NEW YORK, N.Y. -- The Fund for the Republic announced today a major program directed toward two principal questions: (1) What is a truly free society? and (2) How can such a society be maintained?

Ten distinguished Americans have associated themselves with the Fund for the conduct of the work. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, declared: "These consultants will study contemporary American life with a view to determining the conditions under which a free society may best be maintained."

The ten consultants are:

Adolph A. Berle, attorney, professor of corporation law, Columbia University; former Assistant Secretary of State: author of many articles and books on business organizations and corporations.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief and publisher of Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated and House and Home.

Scott Buchanan, philosophy professor and author; former dean of St. John's College.

(MORE)

Eugene Burdick, assistant professor of political science at the University of California; also a novelist, author of The Ninth Wave.

Eric Goldman, professor of history at Princeton University; winner of the Bancroft Prize for distinguished American history in 1952.

Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California; a specialist in the fields of economics and labor with extensive experience as impartial chairman on arbitration in industrial relations.

Father John Courtney Murray, S. J., educator and editor, professor of theology at Woodstock College, Maryland; winner of the Cardinal Spellman Award for theological scholarship in 1950.

Isidor I. Rabi, professor of physics at Columbia University; winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, 1944; chairman of the general advisory committee of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Robert Redfield, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago; former president of the American Anthropological Association.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Protestant theologian; vice-president of the Union Theological Seminary; author of many books on Christianity in the modern world.

"The problem of how we can live as free men in a free society today involves more than the defense of civil liberties as they have been traditionally understood," Mr. Hutchins said. The defense of civil liberties in the traditional sense means the defense of individuals and groups faced by the pressures of government. This effort must continue. But we must recognize that the fundamental issues of freedom in contemporary life are affected by many institutions other than government.

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"Tremendous changes have taken place since the 18th century, when civil liberties were defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The United States at that time was a small, scattered, almost wholly agrarian society. Except for the church, government was almost the only significant social organization. There were no industrial corporations; labor unions were unknown; there was nothing remotely like the colossal modern organization of mass communications. Even political parties were so rudimentary that the Constitution made no provision for them. The private pressure group as we know it scarcely existed.

"Today social institutions have grown to gigantic size, with consequences which the authors of the Constitution could not even imagine. If we are to continue as free men in a free society, we must find out how these developments affect freedom and justice. We must discover the basic issues they present. We probably cannot solve the fundamental problems; but we can and must present them in terms making possible a rational debate."

The ten consultants will meet several times a year for extended sessions of study and analysis and will direct the collection of factual and analytical material. They expect from time to time to publish their findings and conclusions.

Elmo Roper, marketing analyst, who is chairman of the Fund's board of directors, said the directors had voted to place a major emphasis on the work of this group and on projects growing out of it. George N. Shuster, president

(MORE)

of Hunter College and vice-chairman of the Fund's board, said he felt that the Fund could make a great contribution to the maintenance of freedom in the United States by examining the fundamental issues affecting every American. Mr. Roper, Dr. Shuster and Mr. Hutchins will participate in the meetings of the consultant group.

Initially, it is intended to divide the work into a number of separate projects, each dealing with one of the major institutions affecting freedom -- such as the industrial corporation, the trades union, voluntary associations, and so on. While the consultant group will be jointly responsible for the whole work, two or more consultants will assume special responsibility for each project.

Two or more members of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic will also serve on the various projects. The projects now contemplated will be announced later in greater detail. The directors of the Fund who will be associated with one or another of them include former Senator Herbert H. Lehman; Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst; Paul G. Hoffman; Meyer Kestnbaum, President of Hart Schaffner & Marx; Oscar Hammerstein II; Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston Pilot; Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary; M. Albert Linton, chairman of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company; J. Howard Marshall, vice-president of Signal Oil Company; Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio; and Jubal R. Parten, president of the Woodley Petroleum Company.

(MORE)

Mr. Hutchins said that in addition to the members of the board of directors and the central group of consultants, each project would have its own advisers chosen from practitioners and experts in the field under study. Draft reports will be submitted for criticism to still larger groups. When reports are in final shape they will be widely distributed for public discussion.

The basic issues program is a major part of the second phase of the Fund's operations, which began in 1952 when it was created by Ford Foundation grants totalling $15,000,000. Founded to advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, the Fund became an independent corporation, with its own board of directors, early in 1953.

During the past four years the Fund has spent approximately eight million dollars, concentrating its work in five main areas:

1. Studies of Communism
2. Maintenance of Due Process
3. Protection of Freedom of Speech and Belief
4. Education in American Traditions
5. Maintenance of Equality of Opportunity

About one-third of the Fund allocations in this period went for educational activities in race relations. The largest Fund grantee in this field is the Southern Regional Council, which has received $500,000 to support its efforts to bring white and Negro leaders together to ease racial tensions on a community by community basis. Church and lay-affiliated groups, representing almost all major denominations

(MORE)

have been given nearly a million dollars to assist them in promoting better race relations.

Another third of the Fund's allocations to date has been in stimulating discussion and understanding of American traditions. Among the many civic and educational groups which have received Fund grants for this purpose have been the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, the YMCA, YWCA, several colleges and universities, AMVETS, and the American Heritage Council (in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion).

The Fund has allocated $724,247 to make available more detailed and accurate information about Communism and the nature of its threat to democratic institutions. The largest single appropriation in this area was $455,000 for an 11-volume study of Communism in American life. The project is headed by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

Other major Fund appropriations and grants have been $305,000 for a Commission on Race and Housing, $165,000 for a study of academic freedom issues and their effect on college teachers, directed by Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University, $100,000 for an examination of the federal loyalty-security program by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., and $141,000 for a study of blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Mr. Hutchins stated that while the Fund will devote much of its effort to the basic issues program, the Board of Directors had also approved a number of grants

(MORE)

to assure continued activity by several Fund grantees, particularly those working to improve race relations in the South.

Many reports and books financed by the Fund are still to be published, among them ten volumes in the Rossiter series on communist influence in the United States. The following studies made possible by grants from the Fund will also appear in the next year: the analysis being made at Stanford Law School of the testimony of certain witnesses involved in Communist trials and investigations; a report on the censorship activities of the U.S. Post Office, being prepared at the University of Pennsylvania Law School; and a study of passport procedures being conducted by a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

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Note: Biographical notes of the Committee of Consultants are attached.

CONSULTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

BERLE, ADOLF AUGUSTUS, JR. Attorney. Professor of Law at Columbia University since 1927. Assistant Secretary of State 1938-44. U.S. Ambassador to Brazil 1945-46. U.S. Delegate to Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936-37; Eighth Pan-American Conference, Lima, Peru, 1938; Pan-American Conference, Havana 1940. President International Conference on Civil Aviation, 1944 and Chairman of U.S. Delegation. Author of numerous books on the corporation. Residence: New York City.

BUCHANAN, SCOTT. Professor of Philosophy, Fisk University. Professor of Philosophy, University of Virginia, 1930-36; Chairman Committee on Liberal Arts, University of Chicago 1936-37; Dean St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland 1937-47; Director, Liberal Arts Inc. Pittsfield, Mass. 1947-49. Residence: Richmond, Massachusetts

BURDICK, EUGENE: Assistant Professor of political science at the University of California, a Rhodes scholar, a novelist as well as political scientist and in 1950-51 a member of the staff of the Naval War College. Residence: Berkeley, California.

GOLDMAN, ERIC FREDERICK. Professor of History, Princeton University. Member Princeton faculty since 1943. Guggenheim Fellow 1955-56. Library of Congress Fellow in American Civilization 1947. State Department Lecturer in Europe and India. Awarded Bancroft Prize for Distinguished American History 1952 for Rendezvous with Destiny, a history of modern American reform. Residence: Princeton, New Jersey.

KERR, CLARK. Chancellor, University of California. Associate Professor, later Professor and Director Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1945-52. Chairman and Vice-Chairman various divisions of War Labor Board 1943-45; public member National Wage Stabilization Board 1950-51; National Arbitrator, Armour Company and United Packinghouse Workers 1945-52; various arbitrations in public utilities, newspaper, aircraft, canning, oil, local transport and other industries since 1942. Member Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1953-55; President, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1954. Residence: El Cerrito, California.

LUCE, HENRY ROBINSON. Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House & Home. Mr. Luce organized United China Relief in 1940 and is a Trustee of the China Institute in America, the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Roosevelt Hospital, and a Director of the Union Theological Seminary. He is a member of Yale University Council, United Board for Christian Colleges in China, and the Chamber of Commerce, State of New York. Residence: Ridgefield, Connecticut.

MURRAY, REV. JOHN COURTNEY, S.J. Professor of Theology, Woodstock College. Editor Theological Studies 1941 - present. Associate editor America 1944-45; Visiting Professor of Philosophy Yale University 1951-52; member Board of Trustees Manhattanville College, New York City; Advisory Board Blessed Martin de Porres Hospital, Mobile, Alabama; received Cardinal Spellman Award (for contributions to theological scholarship) from Catholic Theological Society, 1950; Honorary Degrees from Harvard University, Notre Dame University, St. Louis University and Georgetown University. Author of articles in the Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia of Religion, American Ecclesiastical Review, Theological Studies, Thought, America, Catholic Mind, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc. Residence: Woodstock, Maryland.

NIEHBUHR, DR. REINHOLD. Vice-President and Professor, Union Theological Seminary. Gifford Lecturer, Edinburgh University, 1939; Member U.S. Delegation to General Conference of UNESCO in Paris, 1949; author of numerous books on religion and philosophy. Editor of the quarterly Christianity and Society and bi-weekly Christianity and Crisis. Member American Institute of Arts and Letters. Residence: New York City.

RABI, ISIDORE ISAAC. Higgins Professor of Physics, Columbia University; staff member and Associate Director Radiation Laboratory, MIT, 1940-45; presently Chairman General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission; Consultant to Research and Development Board since 1946. Winner Nobel Prize in Physics 1945. U.S. Delegate to UNESCO Conference, Florence, Italy, 1950. Member U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. Residence: New York City.

REDFIELD, ROBERT. Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago. Admitted to Illinois Bar 1922; Instructor in Sociology University of Colorado 1925-26; Instructor in Anthropology 1927; Assistant Professor 1928-29; Associate Professor 1930 and Dean of the Division of Social Sciences (held this post until 1946) University of Chicago, 1934. Chairman Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago 1947-49. Director American Council on Race Relations 1947-50; Member of the Board of the American Council of Learned Societies 1952-55; member Editorial Board of Encyclopedia Britannica 1955; published Peasant Society and Culture 1956. Residence: Chicago, Illinois.

File

CRISIS IN THE SOUTH

A Doctumentary Film Produced by the Newsfilm Project,

Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Written by: JAMES PECK

Project Director: GEORGE MARTIN, JR.

The word crisis implies change and it implies pain. Certainly just this sort of process is occurring in the South today. This film brings together some of the available filmic data showing the interaction of the two principle forces operating on this problem: Those who favor segregation and those who favor desegregation. It also attempts to give identity to a third group which, regardless of its attitude toward segregation, favors conformity with the law.

The aims of the film are historical rather than interpretive. While it views as inevitable the eventual end of segregation it makes no attempt to hasten that end through an expose of the evils of segregation. Neither does it attempt to evaluate the dynamics of the segregationist view. The reasons for this limitation to reportage are two: The film's staff has no feeling of competence in evaluating the psychodynamics of the South; it is felt that such an evaluation, no matter how incisive, would have little, if any, salubrious effect on its subjects, who, after all, comprise the problem. The film, insofar as is honestly possible, is non-positional, handled in a way which will not rule out its exposure to Southern audiences.

It is hoped that a broad and honest report on what has actually happened in the South since May 17, 1954, may, in some measure, ease the process of desegregation. There is no longer a "solid line of resistance" in the South. The realization that other Southern communities have, in spite of hooded riders and

blathering politicians, made concrete advances toward establishing communications between the racial groups, toward a cooperative address to the many problems that face them, may help establish an air of permissiveness toward the moderate position. Certainly the attitude that it is wrong to discuss integration problems is one that must be eliminated before dramatic progress can be made. The film may be divided roughly into these sections. Narration sections will be appropriately illustrated with silent scenes.

I. THE PEOPLE

THESE ARE SOUTHERN NEGROES. IF WE SEEK SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THEIR LIVES AND THE LIVES OF OTHER AMERICANS, WE FIND MANY. THEY GROW, THEY WORK, THEY MARRY AND THEY HAVE CHILDREN. THEIR CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL. THEY HAVE CHURCHES AND FRATERNAL ORDERS AND THEY SERVE IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THEIR COUNTRY. THEY LIKE REFRIGERATORS AND CARS AND TO OWN THEIR OWN HOMES.

AND THESE ARE SOUTHERN WHITES. THEIR NEEDS, TOO, ARE THE UNIVERSAL ONES: SECURITY, COMFORT, SELF-IMPROVEMENT. GONE ARE THE DAYS OF THE COTILLON BALL. THE SOUTH OF TODAY IS A WORKING SOUTH. HUSBANDRY OF THE SOIL IS STILL THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ITS ECONOMY, BUT IT IS NO LONGER THE SOLE IMPORTANT FACTOR. THE GLEAMING PYLONS OF INDUSTRY ARE BEING RAISED: THIS IS A TIME OF NEW PROSPERITY. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN

NEGRO AND THE SOUTHERN WHITE. BUT, TRADITIONALLY, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO GROUPS HAVE BEEN BASED, NOT ON SIMILARITIES, BUT ON DIFFERENCES. SO THAT SOUTHERN NEGROES AND SOUTHERN WHITES, WHILE PHYSIOLOGICALLY INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM NEGROES AND WHITES ELSEWHERE, LIVE UNDER A VERY DIFFERENT SET OF RULES.

SINCE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR THERE HAD BEEN NEGROES IN THE SOUTH WHO PRESSED FOR EQUALITY, THE RIGHT TO TAKE THEIR PLACE AMONG MEN. NOW, IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA, AS THEIR EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS ROSE, AS THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH THE OUTSIDE, UNSEGREGATED WORLD INCREASED, THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO SPOKE OUT FOR EQUALITY ALSO INCREASED. MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEGRO RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS BURGEONED. PLANS WERE LAID. SUITS WERE FILED.

ON MAY 17, 1954, THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES MADE A RULING WHICH CHANGED THE ENTIRE COMPLEXION OF THE STRUGGLE. ". . . IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION," THE COURT SAID, "THE DOCTRINE OF 'SEPARATE BUT EQUAL' HAS NO PLACE. SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES ARE INHERENTLY UNEQUAL. THEREFORE WE HOLD THAT THE PLAINTIFFS . . . ARE, BY REASON OF THE SEGREGATION COMPLAINED OF, DEPRIVED OF THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS GUARANTEED BY THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT . . ." THIS LONG-SOUGHT DECISION GAVE THE NEGRO A POTENT LEGAL WEAPON WITH WHICH TO PRESS HIS CASE.

MARTIN LUTHER KING:

"There is a brand new Negro in the South today with a new sense of dignity and of destiny."

A NEGRO AUDIENCE ROARS APPROVAL

ROY WILKINS:

"Negro Americans, my friends, are on the march."

II. THE CONFLICT

NEGRO AMERICANS WERE ON THE MARCH. BUT THEIR MARCH WAS NOT TO BE UNOPPOSED. A PORTION OF THE WHITE CITIZENS OF THE SOUTH DECIDED TO FIGHT BACK AGAINST INTEGRATION. CITIZENS COUNCILS WERE FORMED, DEDICATED BY CHARTER TO OPPOSE INTEGRATION IN ANY FORM BY ANY LEGAL MEANS.

THIS IS CONWELL SHOUP SYKES, BANKER, SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI CITIZENS COUNCIL:

CONWELL SYKES:

"The pattern of segreation that has existed in the South for so many years is perhaps strange to people in other parts of the United States. We have more integration in Greenville and other sections of the South than you do in many other parts of the nation. In many sections of Greenville white and colored families live in the same block. Their children play together. However, their children do not go to school together. And as the white children and

colored children grow into men and women, the pattern of segregation is recognized by both white and colored. This segregation prevails not only in the schools, but in our restaurants, our hotels, our places of amusement, and our places of recreation and our transportation systems.

"We have absolutely no intention of integrating in the South those places which have been segregated for at least a hundred years."

AND AN OLDER ORGANIZATION WAS REVIVED . . .

HOODED KLANSMAN AT RECRUITING RALLY:

"Know this truth and the truth shall make you free."

"You have requested that I repeat the qualifications for citizenship in the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. That is to be a white-born native, gentile citizen of over 18, to be of temperate habits and believe in the tenets of the Christian religion.

A Klansman is passing among you now with applications..."

TO MANY AMERICANS THE STATUS OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH APPEARED MUCH MORE THAN SIMPLY A "SOUTHERN" PROBLEM. DR. PAUL CALVIN PAYNE, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA, SAID THIS AT A UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA MINISTERIAL CONVOCATION:

"[illegible] ur [illegible],

(EXCERPT)

DR. PAYNE:

" . . . no Klaus Fuchs or other saboteur or spy, nor all of them put together has done so much to betray the free world as the white people who perpetrate and condone such crimes."

THIS IS A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, HEAD OF BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH:

"Let me also warn the United States against a do-nothing policy about oppression of the Negro, for such a policy will tend to cause this country to lose the confidence, faith and good will of all the people of color of Africa and Asia representing two-thirds of the population of the world.".

ROY WILKINS:

"It becomes apparent that the United States of America cannot lead the world on a Jim Crow basis."

BUT TO VAST NUMBERS OF SOUTHERN WHITES, TALK OF INDONESIA AND THE OUTER WORLD MEANT LITTLE OR NOTHING. THEY FELT THEIR ENTIRE WAY OF LIFE--THE WHOLE FRAMEWORK OF TRADITION IN THE TRADITION-MINDED SOUTH--WAS BEING THREATENED. AND THREATENED BY OUTSIDERS WHO HAD NO RIGHTFUL VOICE IN THEIR AFFAIRS. ALMOST OVERNIGHT, IT SEEMED, THEY HAD

BECOME VILLAINS, LIVING OUTSIDE THE LAW. THERE WAS EVEN TALK IN SOME QUARTERS OF SENDING FEDERAL TROOPS INTO THE SOUTH TO ENFORCE THE DESEGREGATION LAWS. THE SOUTH DIDN'T LIKE IT. SO, WITH THE SAME RESOLVE THAT HAD STRETCHED INTO FIVE YEARS THE BITTER INTERNECINE BLOODLETTING OF THE SIXTIES, THE SOUTH DUG IN ITS HEELS.

A LITTLE OLD LADY IN VIRGINIA IS ASKED HOW SHE FEELS ABOUT DESEGREGATION:

"I think that we are very satisfied with conditions as they are now and we don't want a lot of change."

REPORTER:

"You wouldn't be for desegregation at all, then, would you?"

LITTLE OLD LADY:

"No. I think segregation is the proper thing."

REPORTER:

"What about this business that a lot of people say about being created equal?"

LITTLE OLD LADY:

"I don't think they are. I can't quote what I know, but I know it from the Bible."

AND BESIDES, SAID MANY SOUTHERNERS, OUR NEGROES ARE HAPPY. NOBODY IN THE SOUTH WANTS A CHANGE EXCEPT A FEW TROUBLEMAKERS.

A SMALL TOWN DOCTOR IN VIRGINIA SPEAKS:

"Some of my best friends are Negroes. If I got into trouble I think the Negroes would come to me as quick as anybody else in the world. I'll give you a little instance: I was standing down on the street last Saturday, and I reckon fifteen or twenty Negroes passed and I spoke to them. 'Good morning, John, how're you.' 'Fairly well, thank you, Mister Wall.' 'Good morning, Frank.' And that went on for fifteen or twenty Negroes in less than fifteen minutes. . . We--we love our people."

THE GENERAL RESENTMENT AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE SOUTH PROVIDED A READY-MADE AUDIENCE FOR THE EXTREMISTS.

KLANSMAN:

"We are the underdogs in this fight. The righteous are always the underdogs. We are up against a vicious, underminded organization, the Communist Party. They would give anything they have to do away with us, abolish us, discredit us or to cause discord and dissention in this great organization. A Klansman is a good Christian. The better the Christian a man is, the better Klansman he will be."

THE KLAN HAD A RALLYING CRY NOW.

"The Ku Klux Klan members are the greatest Americans we have."

ALL SEGREGATIONISTS, OF COURSE, WERE NOT RAUCOUS, WERE NOT ROBED. THIS IS LEROY PERCY, A MISSISSIPPI DELTA COTTON PLANTER.

LEROY PERCY:

(SYNOPSIS)

Right or wrong, our whole Southern social framework has been based on segregation for more than 100 years. This is a fact. Suddenly, we are told that our society is 100% wrong. Naturally, this created a shock wave. Outside opinion seems to be unanimous that the villain in the piece is the Southern white man. This is an oversimplification.

WHITE SUPREMACY HAS ALWAYS BEEN LUSH GROUND FOR SOME SOUTHERN POLITICIANS. THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND RESULTANT FUROR BROUGHT THEM FORTH IN FULL VOICE. SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND OF MISSISSIPPI ADDRESSES A CITIZENS COUNCIL RALLY IN ALABAMA:

SENATOR EASTLAND:

(SYNOPSIS)

Every Southern community must be organized, just as you here tonight are organized. The road is

not easy. When groups can control the President and Supreme Court, they must be reckoned with. I think I know you people--and I'll tell you right now. You're not going to let the NAACP take over your schools.

A "SOUTHERN MANIFESTO" WAS DRAWN UP, SIGNED BY 96 SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. ENTITLED " A DECLARATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE", IT WAS, OF ITSELF, WITHOUT LEGAL FORCE. BUT IT DRAMATICALLY PROCLAIMED THE RESOLVE OF THE HARD-CORE SOUTH TO RESIST ANY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS. A PORTION OF THE MANIFESTO IS READ BY SENATOR GEORGE OF GEORGIA.

SENATOR GEORGE:

(SYNOPSIS)

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution. We decry the Supreme Court's encroachment on rights of the States. We commend the motives of those States which have declared their intention to resist. We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision. We appeal to our people to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

WHILE THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION OF THE MANIFESTO ON THE FLOORS OF CONGRESS, IT SET OFF A HOT EX-OFFICIO DEBATE. SENATOR MORSE OF OREGON:

SENATOR MORSE:

(SYNOPSIS)

The Manifesto is meaningless. If the Southern Senators want to put their position to a test, let them offer a Constitutional amendment that proposes to discriminate against the colored people of this country.

SENATOR HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA:

SENATOR HUMPHREY:

(SYNOPSIS)

Let's face the facts. The Supreme Court's job is to interpret the Constitution.

AS THE TEMPO OF SOUTHERN SEGREGATIONIST ACTIVITY INCREASED, SO DID THAT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. THESE WERE THE INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO STATE CONFERENCES AND BRANCHES BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP IN 1956, HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO.

WILLIAM JAMES, ATTORNEY, OF EAST ST. LOUIS, ADDRESSING CONVENTION:

(SYNOPSIS)

In Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia, where good faith toward desegregation has been shown, we instruct state conferences and local branches to redouble their efforts to negotiate with school boards for desegregation within reasonable time. Legal action is only to be used as a last resort. In Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, negotiations having been found impossible, we instruct our national legal staff to immediately begin appropriate legal action.

MOST SOUTHERNERS WERE CONVINCED THAT THE NEGRO GROUPS WERE DEMANDING IMMEDIATE INTEGRATION. FROM MANY SOUTHERNERS THE ANSWER WAS A FLAT: "NEVER". FROM THE OTHER CAME A PLEA: "GIVE US TIME". THIS IS SENATOR W. KERR SCOTT OF NORTH CAROLINA:

SENATOR SCOTT:

"It took them seventy-five years to tell us what to do. Looks like they ought to give us fifty years to comply. That would be reasonable. We could live with that."

FIFTY YEARS SOUNDED PRETTY REASONABLE TO MANY WHITE SOUTHERNERS, BUT IT DIDN'T MEAN MUCH TO THE TEN MILLION

NEGROES OF THE SOUTH. AS DR. RALPH BUNCHE PUT IT:

DR. BUNCHE:

(SYNOPSIS)

In the view of the person suffering injustice, the need for change is now. No one has ever been known to enjoy rights posthumously.

THE QUESTION, THEN, TO EVERYONE EXCEPT THOSE WHO SAID "NEVER", WAS: "HOW QUICKLY IS POSSIBLE?" THE SUPREME COURT HAD NOT ORDERED SEGREGATION ENDED IMMEDIATELY BUT WITH "ALL DELIBERATE SPEED", LEAVING THE DETERMINATION OF THAT SPEED UP TO LOWER FEDERAL COURTS. EVERY AREA'S RACIAL PROBLEM WAS UNIQUE, THE COURT REASONED. WHAT WAS TRUE FOR DENTON, TEXAS, MIGHT NOT BE TRUE AT ALL FOR MERIDIAN, MISSISSIPPI.

TO THE NEGRO LEADERS IT OFTEN APPEARED THAT THE SOUTH WAS MOVING AT A MIGHTY SLOW SPEED. THIS IS THURGOOD MARSHALL, CHIEF COUNSEL FOR THE NAACP.

THURGOOD MARSHALL:

(SYNOPSIS)

All this talk about letting the South handle its own problems in its own way in its own time means just one thing: Prejudice as usual.

THERE WERE OTHER NEGROES, OF COURSE, TO WHOM DESEGREGATION WAS EITHER NOT DESIRABLE OR NOT IMPORTANT. THIS IS MR.

LEVI CHAPELL, OF GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI:

LEVI CHAPELL:

"Everybody seems to feel the Negroes in the South are disturbed about desegregation. Well, we're not."

REVEREND HARRISON HENRY HUMES, JUNIOR, MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHER AND BAPTIST MINISTER.

REV. HUMES:

(SYNOPSIS)

One value of segregation that people have overlooked is that it has proven that Negroes in the South can make themselves secure by building a social and economic strength beyond that of many other sections of the United States. Desegregation is going to be a slow process.

FROM THE GOVERNOR'S MANSIONS OF THE HARD-CORE SOUTH, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF ALABAMA, THERE WAS NO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE QUESTION "WHEN?". THERE WAS A LOUD, FIRM "NEVER". THIS IS AN EXCERPT FROM THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR J. P. COLEMAN OF MISSISSIPPI.

GOV. COLEMAN:

(SYNOPSIS)

There will be no mixing of the races in Mississippi

in the schools or any other tax-operated office during my term. With the cooperation of a good legislature, we will avoid integration and also avoid uproar. When, four years from today, my successor stands on this spot, segregation in Mississippi will be intact, exactly as it is today.

GOVERNOR COLEMAN ALSO MADE REFERENCE TO THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE THAT HAD OCCURRED IN MISSISSIPPI IN THE PERIOD DIRECTLY BEFORE HIS INAUGURATION.

GOV. COLEMAN:

(SYNOPSIS)

A word to the rest of the Nation: During the next four years Mississippi will be a state of law and not of violence. The great overwhelming majority of white people in Mississippi abhor violence.

THIS IS THEN-GOVERNOR, NOW U. S. SENATOR HERMAN TALMADGE OF GEORGIA:

GOV. TALMADGE:

(EXCERPT)

"There are two things God never made. One of 'em's a mule and the other one's a mulatto."

THE OCCASION OF GOVERNOR TALMADGE'S SPEECH WAS A WHITE CITIZENS' MEETING IN BUENA VISTA, GEORGIA. IT WAS A FESTIVE AFFAIR.

(MUSIC BLARES AS DANCING GIRLS CAVORT.)

GOVERNOR TALMADGE SHARED THE PLATFORM WITH AN EXPELLED UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA STUDENT, LEONARD WILSON. THIS IS MR. WILSON.

LEONARD WILSON:

(EXCERPT)

"You know, I always like to point out to an audience of good people just where some of our trouble cames from. I'm sure all of you have heard of a woman named Eleanor Roosevelt. Now, I know we had a great deal of respect for her fine husband--but it is a reflection on any man who'll marry that kind of a woman. . ."

SOMEHOW, THE CASE IN POINT BEGAN TO BE OBSCURED. THE ISSUE OF HOW BEST TO EDUCATE AMERICAN CHILDREN BECAME VITIATED, SUPERSEDED BY THE LOUDER QUESTION OF WHO WAS GOING TO TELL WHO WHAT TO DO. LESS COMMON BECAME THE REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF THE REALISTIC DIFFICULTIES THAT FACED DESEGREGATION. MORE COMMON BECAME THIS SORT OF THING. THE SPEAKER, A KLANSMAN AND BAPTIST MINISTER, ATTACKS HIS BROTHERS-OF-THE-CLOTH FOR DISCUSSING DESEGREGATION.

PREACHER:

(EXCERPTS)

"We got this bunch of possum-faced preachers

running about over the country saying . . . let's be Christlike in this matter. Oh, that bunch of pig-brained, terrapin-heads . . .

"Their program is handed down. They don't even know what they're going to preach, many of them, until just a few days before they lay 'er open . . .

"I'm telling you ladies and gentlemans, I don't use language to describe that bunch. I'd have to use a whole lot stronger than I'm permitted to use being a minister of the Gospel . . .

"They go into the auditorium or the gymnasium for their after-the-football-game dance. Then comes along one of the nigger football players. They're all piled in there together, just like that you are here tonight, just like a bunch of O.I.C.'s and Berkeshire hogs all turned loose in a lot together. They go on down and get to rubbing around (LONG PAUSE). Smellin' that vanilla flavoring. Them old plastered, axel-greased-headed something-or-others, all mixed up in there together. That might be all right up in the country where that you've got room to dodge, but we haven't got room to dodge down here . . .

"Could you conceive the idea of your fair-

skinned daughter--her dancing partner be tagged on the shoulder by some burr-head, liver-lipped, goat-smelling, ape-faced nigger? To hold her in his arms while he studs with his imagination, adripping with adultery as he walks across the floor, just awishing to have her out of sight. Can you conceive such a thing?

CROWD ROARS "NO!"

"Are you going to do something about it?

CROWD SCREAMS IN FRENZY.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, ADDRESSING NEW YORK RALLY:

"If the United States can send it's armed forces six thousand miles across the sea. . ."

CROWD ROARS APPROVAL

KLAN SPEAKER:

"This is a white man's country--and we do not have to accept it."

CROWD ROARS

NEGRO SPEAKER: SCREAMS ABOVE ROAR OF CROWD

KLAN SPEAKER:

"That nine old black-robed buzzards up yonder . . ."

RANDOLPH AT RALLY:

"A grave miscarriage of justice, a travesty of justice, a rape upon decency. . ."

WHITE PREACHER, PACING PLATFORM AT FLORIDA WCC MEETING:

"Out there in the section where I live there are people who actually went to the polls and voted for that nigger and who were so blamed ignorant they thought they were voting for a white man. That shows you how ignorant people are. Everybody ought to belong to the Citizens' Council and get educated on politics and how to vote."

III. PEACEFUL INTEGRATION

BUT IN SPITE OF THE HATEFUL WORDS AND BITTER CHARGES EMINATING FROM BOTH CAMPS, THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS WERE BRINGING DESEGREGATION TO THE SOUTH. IN THE 17 SOUTHERN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA--WHERE SEGREGATION HAD BEEN THE PATTERN--MORE THAN 350 SCHOOL DISTRICTS HAVE DESEGREGATED TO SOME EXTENT. ONLY IN THE STATES OF ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, VIRGINIA AND NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA, ARE THERE NO DESEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY LEVEL. AND IN THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THESE, THE DESEGREGATED PROCESS OCCURRED WITHOUT INCIDENT. MANY PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS BEGAN ADMITTING NEGROES. AND, IN THE FIELD OF HIGHER

EDUCATION, ONLY FIVE STATES--ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI AND SOUTH CAROLINA--STILL MAINTAIN SEGREGATION IN STATE-SUPPORTED COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. IN SIX STATES ALL-NEGRO COLLEGES OPENED THEIR DOORS TO WHITE STUDENTS. AND IN EVERY STATE IN THE SOUTH, WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT LEAST ONE PRIVATE COLLEGE IS DESEGREGATED.

THIS NEGRO STUDENT IS ATTENDING NORTH TEXAS STATE COLLEGE, AT DENTON, A FORMERLY SEGREGATED INSTITUTION.

NEGRO GIRL:

"I travel by car from Fort Worth to Denton every day that I come to school. And I repeat that everyone whom I've contacted, here on the campus and en route to school and back home, has been very fine to me. Certainly North Texas State is exemplary of our very fine Texas spirit, and should be used as a model in these periods such as we are experiencing at this time."

IN OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE, OPERATED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE HIGH SCHOOL WAS DESEGREGATED AND A NEGRO TEACHER ASSIGNED. THIS IS THAT SCHOOL'S PRINCIPAL:

PRINCIPAL:

"So far there's been no indication whatsoever that anyone was disturbed about the fact that we had a

colored teacher introduced. He received as rousing a response from the student body as any other new teacher. I look forward to a very smooth year as far as integration is concerned. I'm not worried about it at all."

SOME STUDENT REACTIONS:

GIRL STUDENT:

"Well, I think that this integration will work out fine if there aren't any more displays of sidewalk painting and painting on the walls inside. And these people that do this sort of thing are a disgrace to Oakridge High School."

BOY STUDENT:

"Well, I don't know too much about it but I don't think it'll go over as well as most people think it will."

ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES TO DESEGREGATE IS THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, LOCATED AT CHAPEL HILL. DR. GUY JOHNSON, HEAD OF THE UNVERSITY'S SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT, IS INTERVIEWED BY NEWSMAN GEORGE MARTIN, JR.:

DR. JOHNSON:

(SYNOPSIS)

Integration has been in effect to some extent here

at the University since 1951. On the whole, it has gone very smoothly. I don't think there has been any serious opposition to Negro students on this campus. The general picture: Five Southern states, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi, have no desegregation in higher education except for a few church-supported colleges. But in the other 12 Southern states and the District of Columbia there has been a great deal of desegregation. Of about 425 colleges in these states, 200 are integrated - better than 45%. Publicly supported colleges are 60% integrated, private schools, 40%, Catholic, 60%, Protestant, about 35%. Best estimate is that about 2000 Negro students are now attending these formerly all-white colleges. Aside from a couple of rather bad incidents at the University of Alabama and one at Texarkana, there have been no serious outbreaks between the races. And those incidents which have occurred have not been between white and Negro students on the campus. The major problems are the things that have developed in integrating the Negro students into campus life. White students have taken it all in good stride. Most of them are either favorable or indifferent to integration. The Negro students, however, have had a good deal of academic difficulty. Due to the fact that

DR. JOHNSON (CONT)

most of them have had relatively poor preparation, they incur more than their share of flunks. They also encounter considerable discrimination and segregation in the community outside the campus. As far as faculty is concerned there seem to be no serious problems. The fears, so often expressed, that school integration leads to intermarriage and mixing of the races, seem to be largely unfounded. As a sociologist who has studied this field for 35 years, I would say the greatest amount of race-mixing occurred in the South during slavery, when the Negro was most helpless and had the least amount of pride. Today we do not see much race mixing or intermarriage in the North and West where the races have been going to school together for many years. As I see it, all we are being asked to do here in the South is make the same kind of adjustment to bi-racial schooling that has been going on in the rest of the nation for a long, long time.

I think that integration is here to stay. It will come slowly in some parts of the South - perhaps take as long as fifty years. But it will come. There are many people who feel they just won't be able to take it.

DR. JOHNSON (CONT)

But I think these fears are largely unfounded. It won't be nearly as hard to take as people think. And too, I think that even after integregation is here there will still be a great deal of separation on a voluntary basis. What the Negro really wants, I think, is to see these rules and laws eliminated so that he can feel he's a first-class citizen. He's not any more interested in intermarriage than I am. But he would like to feel he has access to good public accomodations, good educational institutions and everything else, on the same basis as any other citizen.

THE EFFECTS OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISIONS WERE FELT IN MANY WAYS THAT DID NOT BEAR DIRECTLY ON STUDENT INTEGRATION. IN WEST COLUMBIA, TEXAS, WHERE SCHOOLS ARE SEGREGATED, A NEGRO RAN FOR MEMBERSHIP ON THE SCHOOL BOARD, ALTHOUGH HE WAS HEAVILY DEFEATED THERE WAS LITTLE RANCOR, AND HIS RIGHT TO BE A CANDIDATE WAS UNCHALLENGED. THIS IS ONE OF THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES IN THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION:

WINNER:

(Synopsis)

The Negro candidate in this election is well known in the community as a personable man, commanding much respect. But the results speak for themselves. It was not yet time for him to serve. . . .

NEGRO CANDIDATE:

(Synopsis)

I ran in the hope of improving the Negro school situation. I feel the election was a good thing since it brought out more voters than ever before. It's also good because it might show the Negroes that if they want to be represented, they'll have to pay their poll tax. I intend to run again.

ST. LOUIS, A MAJOR AMERICAN BORDER CITY, DESEGREGATED ALMOST WITHOUT A HITCH. THESE SCENES OF ST. LOUIS SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN ACTION ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF THE SUPREME COURTS DECISION IN MAY, 1954. THIS IS ST. LOUIS' SUPERINTENDANT OF SCHOOLS, PHILIP J. HICKE.

SUPT HICKE:

(Synopsis)

St. Louis' success in conforming to the law of the land is directly attributable to the excellent cooperation freely given the School Board by clubs, civic groups, parent-teacher groups and the faculties.

IN ROLLINGWOOD, MARYLAND, AS THESE SCENES TOOK PLACE, DESEGREGATION WAS MOVING SURELY BUT SLOWLY SOUTHWARD.

THIS IS LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY. THE DESEGREGATION OF LOUISVILLE WENT SO WELL THAT ITS SUPERINTENDANT OF SCHOOLS, DR. OMAR CARMICHEL, WON SPECIAL PRAISE FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.

[illegible] RULINGS BY THE [illegible]

IN THE SPRING OF 1956 CAME RULINGS BY THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, OVERTHROWING STATE LAWS SEGREGATING WAITING ROOMS AND PUBLIC CARRIERS IN INTRA-STATE TRANSPORTATION.

MANY "COLORED WAITING ROOM" SIGNS REMAIN IN THE SOUTH TODAY.

MANY - PROBABLY MOST - SOUTHERN BUSSES ARE STILL SEGREGATED.

BUT THE RULINGS HAVE HAD THEIR EFFECT. IN ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, KENTUCKY, NORTH CAROLINA, OKLAHOMA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, VIRGINIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA, CHANGES HAVE BEEN INITIATED IN THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS CONFORMING TO VARYING DEGREES WITH THE FEDERAL LAWS.

HERE, THE SEGREGATION SIGNS COME OFF DALLAS, TEXAS, BUSSES, A CITY WHERE ABSOLUTE SEPARATION OF THE RACES HAD BEEN THE RULE.

THESE LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, NEGROES ARE RIDING BUSSES WHERE THEY CAN CHOOSE THEIR OWN SEATS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY.

WHETHER THE RESPONSE WAS ACCEPTANCE OR RESIGNATION OR ANGER, THE FORCES CREATED BY THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATION WERE AT WORK IN EVERY SOUTHERN COMMUNITY. IT WAS A TIME OF CRISIS IN THE SOUTH.

DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN DALLAS AND LITTLE ROCK, IN DURHAM AND PORTSMOUTH, CAME EASILY AND QUICKLY.

IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, IT WAS NEITHER QUICK NOR EASY.

IV. TECHNIQUES

REV. ABERNATHY LEADS MONTGOMERY BOYCOTTERS IN HYMN OF PRAISE.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING:

"With this new self-respect, this new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro, the South's negative peace was gradually undermined. The tension that we witness in the South today can be explained by the revolutionary change in the Negro's evaluation of his nature and destiny, by his determination to stand up and struggle until the walls of injustice have crumbled.

"If the Negro stayed in his place and kept feeling that he was inferior, everything would be all right down in Alabama and Georgia and Mississippi. But the Negro rightly feels that he's somebody now. . . ."

THE SPEAKER: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JUNIOR, PASTOR OF THE DEXTER AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH IN MONTGOMERY. NEITHER THE REV. KING NOR THE FIFTY THOUSAND OTHER NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY "STAYED IN THEIR PLACES."

THIS IS ROSA PARKS, A SEAMSTRESS OF MONTGOMERY. ON DECEMBER FIRST, 1955, ROSA PARKS BOARDED A BUS, EN ROUTE HOME FROM HER DAY'S WORK. SHE SAT DOWN IN THE "NO MAN'S LAND" CREATED BY MONTGOMERY'S BUS SEGREGATION SYSTEM, IN ONE OF THE SEATS NOT

SPECIFICALLY RESERVED FOR WHITES, BUT TO BE VACATED BY NEGRO OCCUPANTS IF THE WHITE PATRONS OVERFLOWED THEIR SECTION. A COUPLE OF BLOCKS AFTER SHE BOARDED THE BUS, THE DRIVER ASKED HER TO MOVE SO A WHITE PASSENGER COULD TAKE THE SEAT. ROSA PARKS REFUSED AND WAS ARRESTED. WORD SPREAD QUICKLY IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY, ANGRY FOR YEARS AT WHAT IT CONSIDERED UNFAIR TREATMENT BY THE BUS COMPANY. WITHIN HOURS AFTER ROSA PARKS' ARREST, PAMPHLETS WERE BEING CIRCULATED: "DON'T RIDE THE BUSSES MONDAY. PROTEST!"

NEGRO BUS RIDERS IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1955, WERE FEWER BY APPROXIMATELY 90% THAN ON THE PREVIOUS MONDAY. THEIR PROTEST HAD BEEN FAR MORE EFFECTIVE THAN ANY OF THEM HAD HOPED.

ON THAT MONDAY NIGHT ABOUT 5000 NEGROES MET IN THE DAY STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, A MEETING SPONSORED BY MORE THAN TWENTY OF THEIR MINISTERS. WOULD THE NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY, THEIR MINISTERS ASKED, BE WILLING TO CONTINUE THE PROTEST, CONTINUE TO WALK, UNTIL BUS COMPANY AND CITY AUTHORITIES RIGHTED CERTAIN INJUSTICES?

<u>REV. KING:</u> (READS MOTION)

(Excerpt)

". . . be it therefore resolved that we carry on the protest, that we continue to stand up until justice comes our way. . . ."

CROWD ROARS

REV. KING:

"Are you ready for the question?"

CROWD ROARS APPROVAL

REV. KING:

"That seems to be unanimous."

IT WAS VERY NEARLY UNANIMOUS WITH THE ENTIRE FIFTY THOUSAND NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY. BUS COMPANY BUSINESS DROPPED OFF AN ESTIMATED 70%. THE NEGROES ORGANIZED THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, AND, UNDER ITS AEGIS, A PRIVATE TRANSPORTATION POOL. AND THEY WALKED.

BUT THE MINISTERS WHO WERE LEADING THE MOVEMENT WEREN'T IN IT TO WIN AT ANY COST. THERE WAS A RIGHT WAY TO CARRY OUT A PROTEST, THEY FELT, AND A WRONG WAY. THIS IS THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE BOYCOTT.

REV. ABERNATHY:

(Synopsis)

We have only one weapon in this movement. That weapon is love. No matter what happens we will not lose our love for our opponents, nor will we resort to biolence of any kind. This is not a fight between the Negroes and whites. This is a fight between justice and injustice.

REV. KING: (ADDRESSING MASS MEETING)

"Eventually, segregation in public transportation will pass away. And I think we should start now preparing for the inevitable. Let us, when that moment comes, go into the situations that we confront with a great deal of dignity, sanity and reasonableness. We must stand with a deep spirit of Christian love as we have always done."

THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM WORKED SMOOTHLY, FINANCED AT FIRST BY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MEMBERS OF THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, LATER AGUMENTED BY GIFTS THAT POURED IN FROM OTHER SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY. THE DAYS OF THE BOYCOTT BECAME WEEKS, THE WEEKS MONTHS. ONE OR TWO MEETINGS WERE HELD BETWEEN THE NEGRO LEADERS, CITY AND BUS COMPANY OFFICIALS. THE BUS COMPANY, RUMOR HAD IT, WAS READY TO GIVE IN. BUT THE CITY OF MONTGOMERY HAD SEGREGATION LAWS -- AND THE CITY COMMISSIONERS INSISTED THEY WOULD BE ENFORCED. THIS IS MR. BENJAMIN W. FRANKLIN, A BUS COMPANY OFFICER.

MR. FRANKLIN:

"Synopsis)

We don't want controversy with the authorities or anyone else. We have a franchise -- a contract -- with the city of Montgomery. We have no intention of trying

to get out of that franchise.

MAYOR OF MONTGOMERY:

(Synopsis)

This Supreme Court ruling has nothing to do with Alabama or Montgomery. We have certain laws about segregation in this city and we're going to enforce them.

REV. KING:

"Let us pray for the city commissioners."

MEMBERS OF THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION ENCOUNTERED OTHER DISCOMFORTS THAN ACHING FEET. ECONOMIC PRESSURES WERE EXERTED AGAINST THEM. TRAFFIC OFFICERS BECAME SUDDENLY AND SERIOUSLY AWARE OF THE SLIGHTEST VIOLATION. AND THERE WERE ARRESTS. MORE THAN 100 OF THE PROTEST'S LEADERS WERE INDICTED UNDER AN OLD CONSPIRACY LAW ORIGINALLY AIMED AT LABOR ORGANIZERS. REVEREND KING, HERE WITH ATTORNEY FRED GRAY, WAS CONVICTED, FINED $500.

BUT THE DETERMINATION OF MONTGOMERY'S WALKING NEGROES DID NOT LESSEN. INSTEAD, IT GREW. MASS MEETINGS WERE HELD WEEKLY IN ONE OF THE CHURCHES. THE MEETINGS BEGAN AT 7:30, BUT BY MID AFTERNOON THE CHURCHES WERE FILLING UP. THIS IS THE DAY STREET BAPTIST CHURCH AT 4:00 P.M. ON THE NIGHT OF A MEETING. IN THESE GATHERINGS, HALF RELIGIOUS, HALF CIVIC, THE NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY RECHARGED THEIR SPIRITS FOR ANOTHER WEEK OF WALKING.

(MONTAGE OF SONGS, EXHORTATIONS, PRAYERS AS
FRENZIED CROWD SHOUTS DETERMINATION.)

IN DECEMBER, 1956, THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT REINSTATED A LOWER COURT'S INJUNCTION FORBIDDING SEGREGATION ON MONTGOMERY BUSSES. THE BATTLE, IT APPEARED, HAD BEEN WON. VICTORY WAS CELEBRATED IN A MASS MEETING THAT NIGHT, BUT IT WAS NOT CELEBRATED WITH A PARTY. IT WAS CELEBRATED WITH A REHERSAL.

(WITH CHAIRS ARRANGED TO REPRESENT BUS SEATS, NEGROES
(REHERSE TOMORROW'S FIRST UNSEGREGATED RIDE ON BUSSES. A
(NEGRO MINISTER IMPERSONATES WHITE DRIVER, SHOUTING
(RACIST TAUNTS AT PASSENGERS AS THEY BOARD. THEY DISCUSS
(PROPER ANSWERS.)

THIS WAS THE CULMINATION. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND RALPH ABERNATHY BOARDED MONTGOMERY BUSSES, TO SIT WHERE THEY CHOSE MOHANDAS K. GHANDI'S TECHNIQUE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAD BEEN APPLIED IN THE UNITED STATES AND HAD PROVED SUCCESSFUL.

FOR THE FIRST FEW DAYS, BUS DESEGREGATION IN MONTGOMERY MOVED FORWARD SERENELY WITH THE REMARKABLE LACK OF VIOLENCE THAT HAD CHARACTERIZED THE ENTIRE EPISODE. BUT THE SERENITY WAS NOT TO CONTINUE FOR LONG. WHILE THE CITY AS A WHOLE APPEARED TO ACCEPT DESEGREGATION OF ITS BUSSES QUIETLY, THERE WERE SOME WHO WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES WERE FIRED INTO

BUSSES IN THE NEGRO SECTIONS, NECESSITATING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF SERVICE AT NIGHT.

VIOLENCE HAD COME TO MONTGOMERY.

THESE ARE THE DYNAMITED HOMES OF REVERENDS KING AND ABERNATHY.

THESE ARE THE DYNAMITED CHURCHES OF MONTGOMERY'S NEGROES.

THE COST OF VICTORY HAD BEEN HIGH. TOO HIGH? ONLY MONTGOMERY'S NEGROES COULD ANSWER.

REV. KING:

(Synopsis)

We must be willing to do more than walk for justice. We must be willing to suffer. If it becomes necessary to go to jail, we must be willing to fill the jailhouses of the South. And -- yes -- we must be willing to die.

HOW MANY MIGHT DIE NO ONE COULD SAY. BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE NEGROES OF MONTGOMERY WILL EVER AGAIN RIDE SEGREGATED BUSSES.

THERE WERE MANY LEVELS OF RESISTANCE IN THE SOUTH TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DESEGREGATION. LEGISLATURES IN THE HARD-CORE STATES PASSED RESOLUTIONS OF NULLIFICATION, MOTIONS OF INTER-POSITION. THEY PASSED STATUTES ABOLISHING THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOLS SYSTEM IN EVENT OF DESEGREGATION. THEY PASSED NEW PUPIL-ASSIGNMENT LAWS, DESIGNED TO CIRCUMVENT MIXING OF THE RACES

IN THE CLASSROOM. AND IN WASHINGTON THEIR REPRESENTATIVES SUCCESSFULLY BLOCKED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION. HERE, SEN. JAMES EASTLAND OF MISSISSIPPI, EXPLAINS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS A RATHER SPECIALIZED TECHNIQUE HE EMPLOYED TO AVOID PASSAGE OF A MEASURE CONSIDERED DETRIMENTAL TO THE SOUTH.

SEN. EASTLAND: (SPEAKING TO CROWD IN COTTON SHED.)

(synopsis)

I had this bill bottled up in my committee (Civil Rights). In fact I had the committee bottled up. Didn't even call a meeting for months. But they fixed it up to vote the bill out of committee. They forgot one thing, however. To submit a bill you must have its original copy. I carried that bill around with me on my person everywhere I went for months. They accuse me of breaking all the ethics in the book up there. And they're absolutely right. I've done everything humanly possible to preserve our Southern way of life -- and I'll continue to do it.

IN MANY AREAS, GENERALLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS, ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WERE APPLIED TO NEGROES WHO REFUSED TO GIVE UP ANTI-SEGREGATION ACTIVITY.

MR. L.A. BLACKMAN:

(Synopsis)

I was a successful contractor in Ellery, S.C., until it became known that I was an official of the NAACP. I

was told to get out of the orginization, to stop agitating for Negro rights. When I refused they put the pressure on. Now I'm earning $25 a week selling newspapers. The same thing happened to others in Ellery.

WHITE SERVICE STATION OPERATOR:

(Excerpts)

"We've set up a 20-man committee to do away with this vulgar, animalistic nigger rock and roll bop. Our committee will check with the cafe owners to find out what be-bop records is on their machine and then ask them to do away with them. . . .

"(The committee) will just use their judgement as to whether it will come off. After two weeks the committee will go back to check whether these animalistic records are still on there or not, and if they are, if they're not agoing to cooperate -- well, they'll just have to go on our list."

THE ROCK AND ROLL BOYCOTT WAS ORGANIZED BY ASA CARTER, HEAD OF THE NORTH ALABAMA CITIZEN'S COUNCIL. THIS IS MISTER CARTER:

ACE CARTER:

(Excerpt)

"This music is a plot to undermine the Anglo-saxon race."

V. THE VIOLENCE.

THERE WERE SANCTIONS IN THE SOUTH, THERE WAS LEGISLATIVE FURORE. AND THERE WAS GUNFIRE. THIS MAN'S NAME IS GUS COURTS. HE LIVED IN BELZONI, MISSISSIPPI, BUT HE DOESN'T LIVE THERE ANY MORE.

GUS COURTS: (INTERVIEWED AT CIVIL RIGHTS MOVILIZATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.)

(Synopsis)

I wanted to vote and I thought other Negroes should vote, too. I told them so and they elected me president of the NAACP. The head of the Citizens' Council warned me. He told me to take my name off the voting roster and the other Negroes would follow suit. I told him no. Then they cut me off. Wholesalers wouldn't sell me goods for my store. I drove to another town to buy. My landlord raised my rent more than double. I moved to another store. The Citizen Council man told me to take my name off the list and I could make all the money I wanted to. I told him no.

"One night I was standing in my store. A car drove up in front and two guns went off. They shot me in the stomache and the arm. My right arm's still near paralized. There's only one Negro citizen still registered in Belzoni -- and that's me.

THERE WERE RIOTS.

AUTHERINE LUCY, A NEGRO, REGISTERED FOR CLASSES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA. SCHOOL AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO ADMIT HER UNTIL A FEDERAL COURT ORDERED THEM TO DO SO.

THESE RIOTERS, SOME STUDENTS, SOME OUTSIDERS, CREATED SO MUCH VIOLENCE THAT THE UNIVERSITY TEMPORARILY EXPELLED HER ON GROUNDS OF STUDENT SAFETY, PERMANENTLY EXPELLED HER ON GROUNDS OF UNFOUNDED CHARGES AGAINST UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS. THERE ARE NO NEGRO STUDENTS TODAY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA.

DESEGREGATION WAS MOVING SOUTHWARD; WITH IT CAME VIOLENCE. AND A CURIOUS CIRCUMSTANCE RESULTED. IN THE HARD-CORE STATES OF THE SOUTH -- MISSISSIPPI, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA -- THERE WAS LITTLE UPROAR. THERE, THE THREAT OF DESEGREGATION WAS STILL RELATIVELY REMOTE. IT WAS IN THE BORDER STATES, THE STATES IN WHICH RACIAL FEELINGS WERE MORE MODERATE, THAT THE VIOLENCE OCCURRED. THESE BAYONETS, POINTED AT THE BELLIES OF AMERICANS, WERE IN CLINTON, TENNESSEE, A TOWN IN WHICH DESEGREGATION <u>WAS</u> FEASIBLE, <u>IS</u> A REALITY TODAY. THESE TANKS ROLLED THROUGH THE STREETS OF HENDERSON, KENTUCKY. HENDERSON IS DESEGREGATED TODAY. BUT IN THE DEEP SOUTH, IN THE AREAS WHERE FEELINGS RAN HIGHEST, DISSENTION WAS LEAST. THERE WERE KU KLUX KLAN MEETINGS, YES. THERE WERE HANGINGS IN EFFIGY.

BUT THERE WAS LITTLE BLOODSHED. THE SOUTH -- AND THE NATION -- WAS FEARFUL. IF THE NATIONAL GUARD WAS REQUIRED TO DESEGREGATE STURGIS, PEOPLE WONDERED, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN WHEN DESEGREGATION WAS ORDERED IN JACKSON, IN COLUMBUS? THE PROBABLE ANSWER WAS TERRIFYING.

WAS THERE ANOTHER WAY? WAS THERE AN OUT, A SOLUTION? SOME SOUTHERNERS THOUGHT THERE WAS. THIS IS GEORGE MITCHELL, THEN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL:

V I. COMMUNICATION

MITCHELL:

(Excerpts)

"Reasonable men and women in the South are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region. They recognize that we will not solve our problems or advance the interests of the South by indulging our prejudices and passions. They are distressed by the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, constructiveness and good will. They believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens. Yet these people of good will are all but voiceless and powerless in the emotional climate which prevails. Our public policies on segregation are being falsely represented as being between absolute segregation and immediate, all-out integration. . . .

"If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences. . . .

"The first step in this critically needed process is a calm sharing of views and ideas by informed representatives of both races. . . ."

QUESTION: HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE THERE IN THE SOUTH TODAY WHO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN A "CALM SHARING OF VIEWS AND IDEAS BY INFORMED REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH RACES?" THIS IS ROBERT HUGHES, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

HUGHES:

(Synopsis)

We need a free and frank exchange of ideas across racial lines. And there are countless thousands in the South of moderate persuasion, sandwiched in between the extremists, who would welcome such an exchange. We will have violence in the South unless outlets are provided. We must face reality.

QUESTION: HOW SOLID IS THE SOLID SOUTH? IF IT IS TRUE THAT THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO FAVOR A QUIET, RATIONAL APPROACH TO INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS, WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

IS ANY COMMUNICATION TAKING PLACE IN THE DEEP SOUTH TODAY BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES?

MORE, MUCH MORE, THAN THE REST OF THE NATION WOULD THINK, JUDGING FROM THE HEADLINES. THE MEETING YOU ARE WATCHING NOW TOOK PLACE IN ALABAMA IN 1956. IT IS A MEETING OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN DISCUSSING THE REALISTIC PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT THEM.

WHITE GIRL:

Helen Roos from the University of Alabama.

NEGRO GIRL:

Otis Holloway, Talledega College

NEGRO BOY:

Alec Payne, Stillman College

WHITE BOY:

Mickey Dugan, Auburn Alabama

FEW PEOPLE HEARD THEM, BUT THESE QUIET VOICES WERE SPEAKING AT THE TIME OF THE AUTHERINE LUCY RIOTS. THEY SPOKE AT TALLADEGA COLLEGE, ONLY A FEW MILES FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, LESS THAN 100 MILES FROM MONTGOMERY, SCENE OF THE BUS BOYCOTT. THE OCCASION WAS A STUDENT ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE, AND THE GOAL WAS COMMUNICATION -- COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TWO GROUPS WHO HAD GROWN UP SIDE BY SIDE, BUT KNEW LITTLE ABOUT HOW THE OTHER FELT.

(Synopsis)

NEGRO BOY:

Our problem is to build a better relationship between the two races, to overcome the fears that confront us in this catastrophe. I believe that neither the White Citizens Councils nor the NAACP will solve the problem. I think it's up to the Christians -- especially the youth.

WHITE GIRL:

You bring up a point that has especially been bothering me lately. The lack of guidance for the youth. The adults here in Alabama are so prejudiced -- even your own families -- that you can't possibly just walk out and say: "Look, here I am, and I'm going to revolutionize the world." I think it's a sad thing that we don't have the guidance we need from the adults and I think it's going to be even a sadder thing if we let this happen to us when we become adults. I think that here lies the crux of our problem and the answer. If we grow up and become the kind of adults we should the problem will be solved. I know that there's a time problem involved, we're tired of saying "Time, give us a little time," but you can't just jump into the fire. It's going to take time.

NEGRO GIRL:

I think that something should be done from the Negro side, too, because we do have a certain amount of racial hate. It isn't easy for a person who has been subjected to certain cruelties to readily accept somebody from the race that inflicted those cruelties.

THIS IS CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI. POPULATION TWENTY THOUSAND, ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED, NEGRO AND WHITE. IT IS A COTTON TOWN NEAR THE CENTER OF THE LUSH MISSISSIPPI DELTA, A BLACK BELT TOWN, OLD IN STRUCTURE AND TRADITION. VISUALLY, CLARKSDALE IS A STEREOTYPE SOUTHERN COMMUNITY, A PLACE OF PILLARED PLANTATION MANORS AND UNSHOD FIELD HANDS. THE MEN'S CLUB OF THE METHODIST CHURCH HAS A HUSHPUPPY AND CATFISH FRY ON THE SECOND THURSDAY OF EVERY MONTH AND THE DRYGOODS MERCHANTS WATCH THE SKY WITH ANXIETY: IF IT RAINS THE FARM PEOPLE WILL FEEL BETTER ABOUT THE CHANCES OF THIS YEAR'S CROP; THEY WILL BUY.

THIS IS LARRY, EIGHT YEARS OLD. HE LIVES IN CLARKSDALE AND HE GOES TO SCHOOL THERE.

THIS IS LARRY'S SCHOOL, NOT A MODEL, PERHAPS, BUT A GOOD SCHOOL. AMPLE BUILDINGS, AMPLE GROUNDS AND AN ADEQUATE FACULTY.

AND THIS IS TAD. NOT HIS REAL NAME, OF COURSE, BUT EVERYBODY

CALLS HIM TADPOLE OR TAD. HE LIVES IN CLARKSDALE, TOO, AND HE, TOO, GOES TO SCHOOL.

THIS IS TAD'S SCHOOL. NOT MUCH OF A SCHOOL TO ACCOMODATE 500 CHILDREN. SERIOUSLY OVERCROWDED, DILAPIDATED, CRAMPED AND UNDEREQUIPPED PLAYGROUND, OUTDOOR SANITARY FACILITIES. IT DOESN'T COMPARE VERY FAVORABLY WITH LARRY'S SCHOOL.

THERE IS NOTHING EXCEPTIONAL ABOUT A SOUTHERN TOWN IN WHICH THE NEGRO SCHOOLS ARE VASTLY INFERIOR TO THE WHITE SCHOOLS.

THERE IS SOMETHING EXCEPTIONAL ABOUT THIS:

(Synopsis)

SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENT:

We are meeting today with the parent-teacher groups present for the purpose of improving school conditions for all the children of Clarksdale.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, THE CLARKSDALE SCHOOL BOARD WAS MEETING WITH NEGRO PARENT REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS THEIR CHILDREN'S WELFARE.

(MEETING CONTINUES AS NEGRO SPOKESMEN TELL BOARD WHAT
(THEY THINK IS NEEDED. SUPERINTENDANT OF SCHOOLS ROBERT
(MAYOR DISCUSSES POINTS WITH THEM, SOMETIMES AGREEING,
(SOMETIMES DISAGREEING. POINTS DISCUSSED INCLUDE:
(LOCATION OF NEW NEGRO SCHOOL ((TO REPLACE TADPOLE'S)),

(IMPROVEMENT OF NEGRO TEACHING STAFF, ADDITIONAL SHOP
(AND LIBRARY EQUIPMENT, NEW COURSES, ETC. AARON HENRY
(ASKS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF NEGROES ASKED MAYOR TO APPOINT
(COLORED MEMBER TO SCHOOL BOARD. BOARD PRESIDENT SAYS
(HE THINKS IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE.)

IT WAS A LONG WAY FROM DESEGREGATION, THE THINGS THAT WERE DISCUSSED IN THE MEETING. BUT IT WAS A NEW BEGINNING FOR CLARKSDALE, THE BEGINNING OF INTERRACIAL COMMUNICATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL. HOW DID CLARKSDALE FEEL ABOUT IT? THIS IS PETE WILLIAMS, SECRETARY OF THE CLARKSDALE CITIZEN'S COUNCIL:

(Synopses)

PETE WILLIAMS:

The Citizens' Council approves of the meeting. We feel it will tend to lessen racial tensions in Clarksdale.

AARON HENRY, PRESIDENT OF THE CLARKSDALE CHAPTER, NAACP:

AARON HENRY:

In effect, what is happening represents a compromise on both sides, and I think that's good. Realizing that desegregation is not coming to Clarksdale in the immediate future, and that if it did it would probably mean the abolishment of our public schools, we decided to hold off on filing a suit in Federal Court. The other side

is willing to divert the majority of school funds to Negro schools until parity is reached. And I think it's good that we sat down and talked.

TOM ROSS, SCHOOL BOARD CHAIRMAN:

TOM ROSS:

I think the meeting had a good effect all around. In the future the school board will be available to all its patrons.

VII. CONCLUSION

IT IS A TIME OF CRISIS IN THE SOUTH, A TIME OF RIOTS AND SHOOTINGS AND HOODED RIDERS, IT IS A TIME OF CHANGE. BUT IT IS A TIME OF GROWING AWARENESS, TOO, WHEN MEN OF GOOD WILL ARE BEGINNING MORE AND MORE TO REALIZE THAT PROBLEMS ARE SOLVED BY THINKING AND TALKING, NOT BY HATING.

TO OTHER AMERICANS, THE SOUTH MAY APPEAR AS A PLACE OF CHAOS, UNWILLING TO EVEN ADMIT ITS TROUBLES. PATRICK MURPHY MALIN WAS SPEAKING TO THESE PEOPLE WHEN HE SAID:

MALIN:

"This is not a Southern problem, it is an American problem. The first school riots were in Milford, Delaware. Police were needed on continuous duty to maintain order at a public housing project in the heart of the North, in Chicago. . . .

"Democracy is the opportunity of working together."

REPORTER:

"Dr. Henry, do you see the possibility of a day in Clarksdale when all the citizens will work together?

AARON HENRY:

"We think we see the bud of such a flower."

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File - F for R

JAN 17 1955

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 1-3170

FOR RELEASE A.M. PAPERS
JANUARY 14, 1955

Robert M. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic, today announced the allocation of $250,000 by the Fund for a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life. The study will be conducted by a group of scholars under the direction of Clinton Rossiter, professor of government at Cornell University and author of the prize-winning history, "Seedtime of the Republic."

The Board of Directors of the Fund authorized the study as the largest of several projects undertaken by the Fund to obtain a clear and comprehensive picture of the effects of Communism on America and its citizens. It is hoped that the study will contribute significantly to a proper understanding of the role of the Communist movement in the United States.

The study will cover Communist influence in such fields as government, education, religion, labor, the social structure, opinion-making groups, the mass media, the arts, literature and science. A history of the Party is also planned.

A number of established authorities have already joined Professor Rossiter. Others are to come into the study later. Some of the specialized tasks they will undertake will require two to three years to complete. The present plan is to publish the findings in each field as separate volumes, together with one or more summary volumes.

Authorities who are already taking part in this study, besides Professor Rossiter, include: Earl Latham, chairman of the political science department at Amherst; Daniel Aaron, professor of English and director of the American Studies program at Smith College; Daniel Bell, labor editor of "Fortune"; David A. Shannon, assistant professor of history, Teachers College, Columbia University; Moshe Decter, co-author of the recent book "McCarthy and the Communists"; John P. Roche, associate professor of political science, Haverford College; Ralph L. Roy, Methodist minister and author of "Apostles of Discord"; Paul A. Carter, instructor in history, School of General Studies, Columbia University; Donald Fleming, assistant professor of history at Brown University; and Robert Iversen, assistant professor of history at Drake University.

Professor Rossiter's book, "Seedtime of the Republic", won the Bancroft, Woodrow Wilson and Institute of Early American History prizes for 1953. His latest book, "Conservatism in America", is to be published in March by Alfred A. Knopf and has won the Charles A. Beard prize. Mr. Rossiter is past president of the New York State Political Science Association and a member of the Executive Councils of the American Political Science Association, the American Studies Association and the Institute of Early American History at Williamsburg.

Another major project of The Fund for the Republic dealing with Communism in the U. S. is a public-opinion survey directed by Samuel A. Stouffer, Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University, of the attitudes of Americans toward

Communism, conformity and civil liberties. The results of this survey will be published in book form by Doubleday and Company.

In addition, the Fund recently completed a project under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School which included the collection on microfilm of the records and briefs of 23 important trials involving the issue of Communism; a bibliography of the existing literature dealing with Communism; and a digest of U.S. laws, court decisions, and State statutes, relating to the control of Communism. The Fund presented copies of the microfilm collection to the Library of Congress and eight other large libraries in different parts of the country. As a public service the Fund will also distribute the bibliography and digest as important research tools to more than 1,000 U.S. libraries and specialists.

The Fund for the Republic is an independent corporation established to promote the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Convenient definition

WM.

From: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1 EAST 54th STREET
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Remarks of Robert M. Hutchins,
President of the Fund for the Republic,

before the

National Press Club, Washington, D. C.,
January 26, 1955.

I speak only for myself, not for the Fund for the Republic, the Directors of which I have not consulted; not for the Ford Foundation, of which the Fund for the Republic is completely independent; not for other foundations. They have been doing a good deal of talking lately. In fact they have been uncommonly vocal.

They have been uncommonly unanimous. I have been dealing with the foundations in one way or another for more than thirty years. They have always been distinguished by their lack of fellow feeling. They have scorned a project if it required the cooperation of another foundation. One of the more absurd charges made by the Reece Committee was that the foundations were an intellectual cartel. The Reece Committee forced them to huddle together in self-defense. One more investigation and they might become a cartel.

The conduct of the majority, if it was the majority, of the Reece Committee was so scandalous that it outraged almost all the press and apparently even one of its own members. At any rate, Angier L. Goodwin of Massachusetts wrote a new kind of concurring opinion, one that disagreed with all the conclusions of the opinion with which it purported to concur. In the conduct of the hearings Mr. Reece added some new wrinkles to the distortions that we have become accustomed to in congressional investigations.

The foundations were elaborately attacked by the staff and by some witnesses of dubious standing. Then, pleading that Mr. Hays of Ohio would not let him conduct the hearings as they should be conducted, Mr. Reece adjourned them and

informed the foundations that they could file written statements. Perhaps the most depressing fact about the report of the so-called majority of the Reece Committee is that Mr. Reece takes credit for relieving the foundations of what he calls the "embarrassment" of cross-examination. You might as well execute an innocent man without the embarrassment of a hearing--but if you did nobody would claim that you had conformed to the principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The most entertaining of the new wrinkles was that the majority took a philosophical position. The Cambridge ladies, e. e. cummings said, lived in furnished souls; so Mr. Reece and Mr. Wolcott came bustling out in second-hand suits of anti-empiricism, supplied them by the sages of the staff. Mr. Reece and Mr. Wolcott were much against empiricism, which they associated with moral relativism, irreligion, the cultural lag and ultimately with subversion.

The Congressmen could not be bothered with history. They overlooked the fact that some of the most empirical empiricists in history, like Hume and Montaigne, were thoroughgoing tories. The Congressmen could not be bothered with consistency: for example, they went after the teachers' colleges for sponsoring empiricism and then after the Fund for the Advancement of Education for not sponsoring the teachers' colleges.

If a committee may charge a foundation with empiricism, why not charge a college with it, and if with empiricism why not with Presbyterianism or Catholicism or any other philosophy, religion, or dogma that the committee does not care for? The grant of tax exemption may carry with it certain obligations, and those who accept it may by implication agree that they must perform certain services. But it has never been supposed that by taking tax exemption a college, university, church, or foundation, otherwise within the law, was liable to condemnation because of the philosophy that it held. If there is such liability, the way is open to the most flagrant violation of religious freedom and of freedom of speech and teaching.

The lesson the majority, if it is a majority, of the Reece Committee wants to teach the foundations is stated in words of crystalline clarity: "They should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material which run counter to what the public currently wishes, approves and likes."

Here the Committee throws overboard the principle accepted by the Cox Committee that the justification of the foundations is that they supply risk or venture capital in the field of philanthropy. That is what they are for, to take chances, the Cox Committee said. The Reece Committee would confine them to what a public relations man, presumably by a series of careful polls, found that the public currently wished, approved, and liked. The way to be safe would be to attract no attention, arouse no discussion, create no controversy.

Even this would not be enough. All the things of which the Committee now complains were currently wished, approved, and liked at the time the foundations did them. To meet the test laid down by the Committee, therefore, a foundation would have to be able to foresee what would become unpopular by the time of an investigation.

But even this is not enough. The issue is not what the public will wish, approve, and like. There is no evidence, for example, that the American public dislikes empiricism. Quite the contrary. The public does not dislike empiricism: the Reece Committee does, or rather two members of it do, or perhaps just the staff of the Reece Committee does. Running a foundation on these terms becomes an extra-hazardous occupation fraught with dangers that test pilots and submarine explorers and others who are up against nothing worse than the laws of Nature do not encounter.

The Reece Committee achieves some of its gaudiest effects by the simple process of giving old words new definitions and then pinning the old words on the foundations. This is the way that empiricism becomes subversive. Subversion now

means, the Committee says, a promotion of tendencies that may lead to results that the Committee will not like. Hence support of the New Deal could be subversion. Social engineering, planning, world government, the United Nations, William James, John Dewey, the American Friends Service Committee, Dr. Kinsey and reform are all subversive in the bright new lexicon of the Reece Committee. And of course all these things are socialistic, if not communistic, too.

At times one feels when reading the report that old scurrilous words will be redefined and applied to any expression of decent human feeling. So it was that a staff member found himself identifying the Papal Encyclicals as communistic.

But the Reece report is said to be a majority report, and it will be referred to in the future as a majority report. Its appendix will be quoted as an authoritative collection of dangerous names. The only reason for the appendix is to enable some committee in the future to say of somebody that he was listed by the Reece Committee. This fact will then be greeted with hushed and incredulous awe by those to whom it is communicated.

All you have to do to qualify for the appendix is to favor world government or get mentioned by the Daily Worker. The principal charge against one distinguished professor is that he is quoted, apparently with approval, in a dissenting opinion in the Circuit Court of Appeals. A low of some sort is reached with the mention in the appendix of the name of George F. Kennan. He is accused of the following -- and this is the total record --: a book of his was reviewed (we are not told whether favorably or unfavorably) in the Daily People's World and the New World Review; on May 9, 1950, the New York Times reported that he spoke on Communist China (what he said does not appear); and on May 28, 1950, the New York Times reported that he "attacked witchhunting of communists." On the basis of such information Mr. Kennan will in the future be referred to as "cited by the Reece Committee."

The appendix of the Reece Committee's so-called majority report is an endless carnival of good clean fun -- it is almost 200 pages long; but I must pass on.

I cannot regard the Reece Committee as having more than symbolic or symptomatic importance. Its wild and squalid presentation affords a picture of the state of our culture that is most depressing. Its aims and methods are another example of the exploitation of public concern about communism and subversion to further political ambition and to work off political grudges.

We may as well state it plainly: the Reece investigation in its inception and execution was a fraud. Nobody in his right mind could suppose that the great accumulations of wealth left by our richest men were being intentionally used by their trustees to overthrow the institutions of this country. Hence the Reece Committee had to take another tack: the trustees were said to be so busy that they had to leave the foundations to officers who were often quite disreputable. Though this relieved the men of wealth and standing of the charge of being knaves, it did so only at the expense of charging them with being fools. Only fools could be so careless as to allow enormous sums entrusted to them for charitable purpose to be stolen away and lavished on the subversion of their country.

Congress may properly investigate the foundations and seek to arrive at general legislative policy concerning them. But the most important question to ask about any given foundation is whether it is one. Is it actually using its money for religious, charitable, educational, or scientific purposes? The First Amendment suggests that tax exemption should not be denied or revoked because the particular views of religion, education, or science held or promoted by the foundation are unpopular.

On the other hand, nothing in the Constitution requires that tax exemption must be accorded an organization, which though in outward form a foundation, is actually a tax dodge, or a public relations device, or a scheme to promote the personal interests of the donor. The test is public versus private purposes. The Government may properly inquire into this question, since the exemption is granted

with a promise of performance. The appropriate forum for the determination of the question of performance would seem to be a court.

As Dr. Johnson used to say, we must clear our minds of cant. When we do, we see that in general the foundations have for many years been following the prescription laid down for them by the majority of the Reece Committee. This prescription is to try to avoid doing what is or may become unpopular. The failure of the foundations to be universally popular at all times is seldom caused by a spirit of reckless abandon or eager pioneering on their part. It is caused rather by the difficulties of predicting what will be popular or unpopular.

Who could have imagined that helping prospective teachers in Arkansas to get an education would have ever been regarded by anybody as exhibiting dangerous tendencies of mind? But when a foundation did this, it was criticized by teachers, businessmen, and newspapers in that State and was of course complained of by the Reece Committee. What would the Foundation have done in Arkansas if it had been possible to foresee the reactions that in fact occurred? I do not say that the grant would not have been made, but I would not bet on it; for the foundations have in varying degrees suppressed their ambition to provide risk capital in favor of a desire to have what are called good public relations, that is, to avoid unpopularity.

We know that the Attorney-General's list is an ex parte finding of guilt with no probative standing in law. But how many foundations would give money to an organization or even to an individual in an organization on the Attorney-General's list, no matter how meritorious the project? Would we support organizations that allowed groups listed by the Attorney-General to meet in halls owned by them? If not, for an irrelevant reason, one that has nothing to do with the quality of the proposal, but that has a great deal to do with our popularity, we have made our peace with Reece.

We know that the most dreadful aspect of the current situation is the atmosphere of suspicion and of guilt-by-association in which we live. We ought to

say that until a man or an organization has been condemned by due process of law he or it must be presumed innocent, and therefore individuals and organizations are not to be automatically denied support solely on the ground that they are associated with unpopular people. Yet how many foundations would give money for a good purpose to be well carried out by an organization which, though not on the Attorney-General's list, was supposed to have some Communist members or was vaguely reported to be dominated by Communists?

We have come a long way since Lord Macaulay, who said, "To punish a man because we infer from some doctrine he holds or from the conduct of others who hold the same doctrine with him that he will commit a crime is persecution and is in any case foolish and wicked."

Congressman Reece was scoffed at. It was agreed that his investigation was a farce. I think he had good reason to be satisfied with himself. I think he won. Without firing a single serious shot, without saying a single intelligent word, he accomplished his purpose, which was to harass the foundations and to subdue such stirrings of courage, or even of imagination, as could be found in them. As I have said, there were not many there when he came on the scene. Congressman Cox had been there before him. And even before Congressman Cox, the foundations were coming to limit their venturesome risk capital supplying to the natural sciences, medicine, technology, and long-term research. These fields are of great public benefit. They are also not controversial. If there ever was a foundation that was willing to be controversial, that was willing to take risks and to venture capital in areas about which people have strong prejudices, it learned its lesson by the time Cox and Reece got through. Who will venture now?

The pressures of our time produce strange contradictions, as in the case of the man who said that there two things he hated, intolerance and Jews. Even those who understand what they are talking about are sometimes afflicted with a

disease that often attacks intelligent people, a disease that gives them such satisfaction in what they say that they are blinded to the fact that it makes no difference.

The Houston Post did a wonderful job on the situation in the schools of that city, but the deputy superintendent, who was fired, has not been reinstated. We all smiled at the decision of the commandants not to permit West Point and Annapolis to debate the entry of Communist China into the UN and applauded Mr. Eisenhower's sensible observations. We went away feeling very good, forgetting that West Point and Annapolis are not to be permitted to debate the entry of Communist China into the UN. The Illinois Department of the American Legion has repented, I hear, of its brutality to the Girl Scouts; but the Girl Scouts revised their Manual as the Legion demanded. We were pleased to notice that Bishop Oxnam was "cleared" by the House Un-American Activities Committee; but he is not allowed to speak at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. We assert that the Fifth Amendment is one of the brightest stars in the crown of our liberties and proclaim the inalienable freedom of every man not to testify against himself, conveniently overlooking the fact that almost everybody who has declined to do so is now unemployed. We say that a security system that deprives us of the services of some of our ablest people is scarcely helping us to be secure; we regard this as a pungent remark. But Davies and Oppenheimer are not working for the Government; Ladejinsky is not working for the Department of Agriculture. And what about Edward U. Condon, retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who has been repeatedly cleared, but who, at the prospect of his tenth or eleventh investigation, pronounced himself investigated out of public service? And now, after Reece, how many foundations do you suppose would be prepared to assist such a man?

The temper of the times appears to be such that the real victories go to those who are nominally defeated. The rather messy anti-communist legislation adopted at the close of the last session of Congress and the pious resolution passed by the Senate at the opening of this one must be regarded as real victories for a

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"The Unlocked Door," a telefilm
original story by Mary Roberts Reinhart wh
be presented on Channel 5 at 11:10 p.m. tonight.

CBS' 'Brave New World' To Leap 'Sound' Barrier

By RICHARD F. SHEPARD

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK, Jan. 24—The Columbia Broadcasting System's Radio Workshop will send some unheard-of sounds into receivers with its adaptation of Aldous Huxley's novel "Brave New World."

The work describes an over-regulated world of the future, where automation will supercede the prosaic operations of today. To achieve his effects, William Groug, the director and producer, will devote eight rehearsal hours to sound effects only.

The sounds, which will tax the talent of four experts, include those involved in the manufacture of babies in a factory described by Huxley. The program will be heard from 8:30 to 9 p.m. next Friday with a second part following Feb. 3 at the same time.

The National Broadcasting Co. will set about in earnest jolting its Sunday evening Comedy Hour telecast out of its present slump.

The network will put its new experiment into effect Feb. 5. A new host, as yet unnamed, will replace Leo Durocher, who quit after the last two shows. There will be no master of ceremonies on Sunday's endeavor, from 8 to 9 p.m., and possibly not one on Jan. 29.

The new approach will utilize top-name stars such as Milton Berle and Abbott and Costello in some of their classic routines. However, even they will have only the same length "spots" as the not so well-known comedians, rather than lengthy pieces of the show.

NBC radio minutiae: Biographies in Sound, the impressive program dealing with famous lives, will be heard every Tuesday from 9:05 to 10 p.m. instead of every fourth week as in the past.

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at 7 P. M.
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BROUGHT TO YOU A PUBLIC SERVICE
THE AFL-CIO

after Colds, Flu, Sore Throat
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senator who was formally condemned by his colleagues two months ago. So must the requirement imposed on every public speaker these days that he must disavow any connection with communism and attack the vicious conspirators in the Kremlin.

The newer orthodoxy is an odd thing. For example, it requires us to be against McCarthy, but not too soon or too much, not in such a way as to arouse too much animosity in too many of those who might have a different opinion. If, for example, we say that rumor and gossip are an inadequate basis on which to condemn a man or a group, we are told that of course we are right, but that in this case the rumor and gossip are so widely believed that people would think bad thoughts of us if we insisted on proof. So it comes to this: we must ourselves adopt an un-American attitude because if we don't we may be regarded as un-American by those who have an admittedly un-American attitude. We are all dedicated to the great American tradition, but the battlecry of the Republic is, what will people say?

The motto of the Fund for the Republic is, feel free. At least that is what the officers tell one another it ought to be. This is, I believe, the essence of Americanism. Our ancestors came to this country because they wanted to feel free. They developed laws and institutions under which they and we could feel free. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the amendments extending the suffrage, -- these are expressions of the American conviction that everybody should feel free. The limits of this feeling or this freedom are not to be found in a formless fear of public opinion. On the contrary, public opinion is to grow and change through the free discussion of all points of view.

These ideas seemed so important to a new and inexperienced foundation, the Ford Foundation, that something more than two years ago it established the Fund for the Republic. The Foundation gave the Fund $15 million and turned it loose as an independent corporation, a wholly disowned subsidiary, with a self-perpetuating board of directors of its own. Its mandate from the Foundation was to try to

strengthen the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and to "support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect those rights in the face of persistent international tension." Those were the happy, carefree, pre- Reece days.

Somewhat later, after the organization of the Fund, its chairman, Paul G. Hoffman, said: "We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom... Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the Fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority: 1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; 2. Due process and equal protection of the laws; 3. The protection of the rights of minorities; 4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups; 5. Guilt by association."

By restoring respectability to individual freedom the Board means that it hopes to help Americans feel comfortable about feeling free. A board better calculated to bring about this result would be difficult to find; for the members are all comparatively respectable, comparatively free, and comparatively interested in helping other people to feel so. The mere existence of this board should take the Fund some distance on the way toward the restoration of respectability to individual freedom. You cannot belong to this board without believing in conscientious nonconformity as necessary to the growth and progress of individuals and states. The mere existence of this board serves as a reminder that intelligent, even important, people can and do believe this even yet.

The Fund has no other axe to grind than support of the traditional liberties of the American people. It does not seek to support them by trying to influence legislation. It attempts instead to disentangle the issues, and to promote rational discussion of them. It helped the American Bar Association to make up its

mind on congressional investigations by financing the Association's committee on national security and individual rights. It assisted the League of Women Voters to stir up discussion of civil liberties among its members and among the members of other organizations. It aided Columbia University in the presentation of the theme of its bi-centennial and supported the efforts of the National Citizens' Commission on the Public Schools to promote debate about the condition of public education, with special reference to academic freedom and racial discrimination.

If you are going to disentangle the issues that affect the traditional liberties of Americans, one of the first big ones that you have to try to get clear is communism in the United States. Not a day passes without the most positive statements being made on this subject. Many of them disclose a total lack of authentic information, but they are nonetheless positive for all that. The Fund for the Republic has made the Communist record in this country available through the work done by Professor Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Professor Stouffer of Harvard will shortly publish a book called Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, representing the results of a study financed by the Fund of the attitudes of Americans on these subjects. Professor Rossiter of Cornell, with a considerable staff, is now embarking on a comprehensive investigation of what the Communist party has amounted to in the United States and what it amounts to now. These three jobs together should help the American people to decide on the relative importance of Communism in this country and on the successes and failures of the methods that have been employed to deal with it.

One of the methods that has been employed to deal with it that has been severely criticized is the security-loyalty program of the Government. Many suggestions have been put forward calling for a study by distinguished and disinterested persons. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has undertaken to organize such a study, which will be financed by the Fund.

Since we do not want subversive influences to reach our children, we have instituted methods of assaying the patriotism of teachers. It is widely believed that they are ineffective and that they interfere with education by frightening the teachers off the discussion of some subjects. Professor Lazarsfeld of Columbia has undertaken to find out for the Fund whether or not these conditions do actually exist in the high schools, colleges, and universities of the country.

It is charged that in the effort to eliminate subversive influences in motion pictures, radio, and television we have allowed irrelevant and unsupported attacks, or attacks of little value, to deprive men and women of their livelihood. Unauthorized private persons are alleged to determine by obscure means the fate of those on whom these attacks are made. John Cogley, a former editor of The Commonweal, is conducting an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry for the Fund for the Republic.

Through the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Inter-racial Council of Chicago, the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council the Fund has been trying to do something about the rights of minorities. The Fund regards negro housing as the next big issue in race relations and will shortly announce its plans with regard to it.

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of anti-absurdity fund, a fund for the law of contradiction, a fund to remind us that we can't have things both ways. We can't brag about the Bill of Rights and talk about Fifth Amendment Communists. We can't say that every man has the right to face his accusers and go on using what the Denver Post has called "faceless informers". We can't proclaim our devotion to due process of law and then deny it to people we don't like.

The Fund for the Republic is a sort of Fund for the American Dream. I do not think the Fund can make the American dream come true; but perhaps it can help keep it alive and clear. Perhaps it can show where we are forgetting the dream

as it once was dreamt and can point out those places, and they are numerous, where the progress toward the realization of the dream has surpassed our most expansive expectations. Who knows? Perhaps some day "what will people say?" will be replaced as the Battlecry of the Republic by "feel free".

-- ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

1-20-55

F. for R. File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

RECEIVED APR 14 1956

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Friday, April 13, 1956

New York, N. Y. -- President Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic announced today that the Fund's Board of Directors has allotted $25,000 for producing a second edition of a 474-page "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States."

Cost of preparing the new edition will be $13,500; the remainder of the appropriation will be used for its publication.

A committee headed by Arthur Sutherland, Professor of Law, Harvard University, was responsible for preparation of the first volume and the companion "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States," which were financed by an appropriation of $64,500 from the Fund.

In January, 1955, prior to completion of the original Bibliography, Professor Sutherland indicated to the Fund officers that updating of the original work would be needed in order to maintain the full value of the Bibliography as a reference work. Professor Sutherland also suggested

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that consideration be given to similar updating of the Digest.

Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, who will supervise preparation of the revised edition of the Bibliography, announced that Professor Joel Seidman of the University of Chicago will take direct charge of the project.

Professor Seidman is the author of four books on American labor relations, two of which deal with problems of communism.

In addition to his experience in labor education, Professor Seidman has served with the National Labor Relations Board and is a veteran of the Army Air Corps. He has been a member of the University of Chicago faculty since 1947 and is Chairman of the Social Sciences staff of the College.

Preparation of the Bibliography's new edition will be handled as an "integral part" of a large-scale current study of communism in the United States, which is being conducted by Professor Rossiter in collaboration with a team of scholars and researchers. This study, financed by previous Fund appropriations totalling $300,000, is expected to be completed within two years and to result in eleven books dealing with the efforts of the United States Communist Party to penetrate various phases of American cultural, political, social and economic life.

In a letter to Mr. Hutchins, Professor Rossiter wrote that a revised edition of the Bibliography would be a "valuable tool" which would make elaborate bibliographies for each of the projected books unnecessary.

M O R E

Professor Rossiter also declared that it would "carry forward one of the fundamental purposes for which the Fund was established -- to enlighten Americans on the nature and extent of communist penetration into our national life."

Commenting on Professor Rossiter's letter, Mr. Hutchins said that the Fund's decision to underwrite a new edition of the Bibliography was partly influenced by the generally favorable response to the original edition, the supply of which is now exhausted.

Mr. Hutchins reported that approximately 1000 sets of the Bibliography and the Digest were distributed initially to educational institutions and public libraries. The remaining 500 sets were distributed in answer to requests by other libraries, government agencies and private individuals.

The following is the text of Professor Rossiter's letter to Mr. Hutchins:

"Ever since I first assumed direction of the Fund's survey of Communist influence in the United States, I have had in mind the possibility of commissioning a revision of the Bibliography of the Communist Problem in the United States. After many consultations with colleagues and critics, and after much consideration of the case for and against such a revision, I now propose that it be undertaken as an integral part of my project.

"There are two chief reasons for this decision. First, a careful revision will serve our survey admirably--as a valuable tool for work in progress and as repository of references and notes that will make elaborate bibliographies in each of the projected books unnecessary. Second, it will carry forward one of the fundamental purposes for which the Fund was established--to enlighten Americans on the nature and extent of Communist penetration into our national life.

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"It should be made clear that this revision is definitely not being undertaken in response to the kind of criticism that the Bibliography was subjected to last October and November. The only criticisms that have been properly raised against the Bibliography are intellectual in character, and it is these criticisms that we propose to meet. My own colleagues, men working in such fields as labor and religion and education, have been most persuasive in pointing out those deficiencies in the first edition that justify a revision.

"It would be disturbing if anyone, inside or outside the Fund, were to consider this decision a vote of no confidence in the first edition of the Bibliography or in the scholars who compiled it. You will recall that Professor Arthur E. Sutherland, Father Joseph Snee, and I were the committee responsible for the Bibliography and for its companion volume, the Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States. Professor Sutherland and those who assisted us, especially Mr. Charles Corker, deserve warm thanks for the scholarship and courage they devoted to a pioneering venture. Professor Sutherland has stated repeatedly that the Bibliography would have to be revised and expanded as new materials piled up and responsible criticisms came in. I am glad to say that he and Father Snee have given their warm approval to this plan for revision.

"I have come to an agreement with Professor Joel Seidman of the University of Chicago under which he will carry through this revision under my direction and with the full cooperation of all members of the project. Professor Seidman strikes me as an ideal choice. He is the author of four important books in American labor relations; in two of these he has dealt directly with problems of Communism. After a distinguished career in labor education, employment with the National Labor Relations Board, and service in the Army Air Corps, he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1947. He is now Associate Professor of Social Sciences and Chairman of the Social Sciences staff of the College. There is unanimous agreement among those experts I have consulted that he has in full measure the political and intellectual balance, the 'feel' for the literature of Communism and anti-Communism, and the courage and energy necessary to bring this work to a successful conclusion."

# # # # #

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y., MU 2-1250

RECEIVED MAY 7 1956

For release: AM newspapers
Wednesday, May 9, 1956

New York, N. Y. -- The Fund for the Republic will finance free distribution of 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense publication entitled "Who are Communists and Why?," it was announced today by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund.

The pamphlet was originally published by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense, for the use of Commanding Officers in informing their personnel. Distribution by the Fund is scheduled for next month.

The pamphlet is one of three reprints recently authorized for distribution by action of the Fund's Board of Directors.

Other publications to be distributed by the Fund are copies of John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty," and of "The Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution," an address given by Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University at a celebration in commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the Massachusetts Constitution.

The Department of Defense publication, one of a six-part "Know Your Communist Enemy" series, describes the various types of Communists and discusses the basis of Communist appeals for support and the tactics

(MORE)

used by the Communist Party of the United States.

Five hundred copies of Mill's essay "On Liberty" will be placed in the rooms of the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel in Boston, by arrangement with the Sheraton Hotels Corporation.

Three thousand copies of Professor Morison's speech on the Massachusetts Constitution will be made available by the Fund to the Massachusetts Bar Association, which in turn will distribute them to colleges and universities throughout the United States.

Other publications which the Fund has distributed are:

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

The Fifth Amendment Today, by Dean Erwin N. Griswold.

Cornell University Series in Civil Liberties (4 books).

Development of Academic Freedom in the U. S., by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger.

The Freedom Reader, by Edwin S. Newman.

The Challenge of Law Reform, by Arthur T. Vanderbilt.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists: April 1955 issue.

The Oppenheimer Case, by Charles P. Curtis.

Government by Investigation, by Alan Barth.

Grand Inquest, by Telford Taylor.

Current History: October 1955 issue.

National Security and Individual Freedom, by John Lord O'Brian.

Banned Books, by Anne Lyon Haight.

(MORE)

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES (Cont.)

Catalogue of Banned Books Exhibit, by University of Kansas.

Censorship Bulletin, issued by American Book Publishers Council.

Obscenity and the Arts, Autumn 1955 issue, Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University Law School.

Open Occupancy Housing, House and Home, April 1955 issue.

Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward.

Prejudice and Your Child, by Kenneth Clark.

The Fears Men Live By, by Selma Hirsh.

Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg.

The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791, by Robert Allen Rutland.

Profiles in Courage, by Senator John F. Kennedy.

Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing, by Wilner, Walkley and Cook.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1956 issue.

Civil Liberties in the United States, by Robert E. Cushman.

ARTICLES

To Make Our Security System Secure, by Vannevar Bush.

The Landy Case, by George E. Sokolsky.

Problems of the Fifth Amendment, by C. Dickerman Williams.

The Law and the Future, by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The Kept Witnesses, by Richard Rovere.

To Insure the End of Our Hysteria, by Paul G. Hoffman.

Who "Collaborated" With Russia? by Paul Willen.

(MORE)

ARTICLES (Cont.)

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt, by Richard Hofstadter.

Faceless Informers and Our Schools, Denver Post.

Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence, by Henry Steele Commager.

Employer Practices Implementing the Federal Industrial Security Program, Stanford Law Review.

The Way to be Safe is Never to be Secure, by Charles P. Curtis.

MISCELLANEOUS

Strong in Their Pride and Free, speech by Harry P. Cain.

A Report on the Security Problem, by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Memo on School Integration, issued by National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The Segregation Decisions, speeches by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims to the Southern Historical Association.

The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954, speech by Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter.

Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority, lecture by Dean O'Meara of Notre Dame Law School.

Freedom House Award Speeches, October 1954.

Edward R. Murrow film, See It Now, interview with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Edward R. Murrow film, See It Now, on book censorship.

Famous Words of Freedom, pamphlet issued by Freedom House.

Social Science and Freedom, radio lectures given under auspices of Social Science Research Center of University of Minnesota Graduate School.

(MORE)

MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

Annual Report, American Civil Liberties Union. 1955 summary of status of civil liberties by ACLU.

This Thing Called Freedom, speech by David Shillinglaw, past commander of Illinois Department, American Legion.

Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut, by Conn. Commission on Civil Rights.

If You Are Arrested..., pamphlet by Association of the Bar of the City of New York and New York Civil Liberties Union.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

RELEASE MONDAY AM'S OCTOBER 17

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956. The grant is "to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve Southern states and to strengthen the Council's central office in Atlanta."

The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 to further the attainment of equal opportunity for all people in the South. As the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council has a heritage of experience and good will extending back to 1919. The Fund for the Republic, an independent organization established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation, has as its purpose support of "The American principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution."

The Council, through the development of affiliated state organizations, seeks to unite the best Southern thought and leadership without racial distinctions. A previous grant of $240,000 from the Fund for the Republic enabled the Council to establish stronger and more independent affiliates in twelve Southern states. The states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Each of the twelve state organizations now has professional staff persons, who provide a full-time human relations service available to both public officials and private citizens. The twelve organizations are maintained and directed by local leadership. The program places the major reliance on local responsibility and initiative and gives opportunity for the constructive forces in each Southern state to work effectively.

The regional organization, consisting of a widely representative board drawn from both races in the South, continues to perform fact-finding and informational functions and serves as a coordinating agency for the state organizations. Its headquarters are in Atlanta.

The Council believes there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. The Council hopes that, through its expanded program it can make an important contribution to such progress.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, APRIL 11

(The following statement was issued today by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. A list of the Executive Committee members, as well as the members of the full Board of Directors, is attached.)

We are pleased to announce that the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $240,000 to assist the Southern Regional Council's educational program in twelve Southern States for an 18-month period. The Fund for the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation in December 1952, is concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of our American heritage. The Southern Regional Council, since its founding in 1944, has expressed that concern as it exists among thoughtful people of both races in the South. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council goes back, in experience and good will, to 1919. Its aim is the attainment of equal opportunity for all the people of the South.

Throughout these years the Council, like the Commission before it, has sought to unite the best of Southern thought and leadership, without racial distinctions. It has employed the familiar methods of fact-finding, conference, and persuasion, and has fostered the development of state divisions and affiliates through which its members might work in their respective states and communities. The central office in Atlanta coordinates and services the state groups and individual members throughout the region.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic, together with contributions from other sources, will make possible stronger and more independent state bodies. It is contemplated that each state organization affiliated with the Council shall have its own membership, governing board, and officers. The greater part of the newly available funds will be used to enable the state groups to employ

professional staff persons, white and Negro. Thus each Southern state will have a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states to be included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia

The grant of funds is in reality a challenge to the strengthened state bodies to win the local support necessary to become self-sustaining human relations agencies.

The Southern Regional Council proper will now consist of a widely representative board drawn from both races and every state in the region. The Atlanta office will continue to perform fact-finding, information, and coordinating functions.

We believe that this approach is well suited to the human relations needs of the South. It puts major reliance where it belongs--on local responsibility and initiative -- and it gives opportunity for the constructive forces in every Southern state to work effectively.

This pattern has characterized the activities of the Southern Regional Council from the beginning, and with heartening results. It has helped secure the right of Negro citizens to vote without hindrance. It has provided a network of Southern people with the will and the know-how to curb racial tension and violence. It has helped make possible the employment of Negro policemen and other municipal workers in scores of Southern cities. It has spread the example of the self-survey, through which a number of communities have achieved cooperation and progress across the lines of race. It has mobilized church women in a Southwide effort for impartial law enforcement and equal justice in the courts. It has stimulated local groups to study and seek correction of school inequalities. It has made widely known every Southern precedent for the dropping of racial barriers -- in professional associations, higher education,

transportation, public libraries, and the like.

The impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- whatever it may be -- will call for all that is best and most responsible in Southern life. Fortunately, there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. It is our hope and belief that the Southern Regional Council, through its expanded state services, will make an important contribution to this effort.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council expresses its gratitude to the Fund for the Republic for putting this new strength into the growth of human opportunity in the South.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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Counsel - Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Ga.
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A. J. Clement, Charleston
James L. Coker, Hartsville
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Columbia
Richard Foster, Greenville
Mrs. Marion Paul, Columbia

Tennessee
Charles S. Johnson, Nashville
Z. A. Looby, Nashville
Mrs. E. U. Robinson, Gallatin
Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, Lewisburg

Texas
S. Thos. Friedman, Houston
R. O'Hara Lanier, Houston
Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Houston
Charles Shaw, Houston
J. Edwin Smith, Houston
Mrs. Tommie Stroud, Waco
Mrs. James S. Crate, Houston

Virginia
Alonzo G. Moron, Hampton
Paul D. Williams, Richmond
Thos. W. Young, Norfolk

MEMO

March 22, 1956

TO: John Hope

FROM: GSM

The curse of any opportunity to perform is reports.

Not for my sake; but because I have birds ahead of me to whom I must report.

So could you try to get me by, say April 2 or 3 a consecutive and hopelessly compressed account of the train-'em-up program from its dreamy beginnings to its present stage of active crystal formation?

M E M O

March 22, 1956

TO: RHA

FROM: GSM

March 31 is the date when a Quarterly Report to the Fund for the Republic is due.

I am reconciled to our ordinary procedure of GSM sending in a GSM report early in the succeeding month and a RHA report late in the succeeding month. Reconciled but still unhappy.

Any suggestion?

I would still like to fetch together copies of the fiscal reports thus made by Stoney, which I wish to bind up with the GSM reports for that period. Surely they must be in existence.

Today I have a note from Frank Loescher saying that he would like to have by April 16 a summary progress report. Needs it for a meeting of his Board.

That means that your report for the period closing March 31 would benefit his lot if it could be completed and available by, say April 11 or 12.

What say?

M E M O

March 21, 1956

TO: FBR

FROM: GSN

March 31 I'm going to need ~~two~~ sets of State notes.

Set # 1. Detailed progress in the three months ending March 31, 1956.

Set # 2. Appraisals ab initio ad hodie - hodie being March 31 and thereabouts.

I need Set # 2 because Frank Loescher wants a report for his Board - by April 16.

I need Sets # 1 and 2 by April 3, if possible.

MEMO

March 21, 1956

TO: gsa

FROM: gsm

As of March 31 I shall be sending a Quarterly Report to the Fund for the Republic. It would seem to me this one would be a good one into which to stick quickey account of the boost given us all by the office and duties of Executive Assistant. Would you give me a scribble of paper with a list of the kinds of things you have been active at? For instance:

Clearing up and keeping current the record of Board members.

Arrangements and appointments and meetings of the Finance Committee of Board of SRC.

Undsoweiter, undsoweiter.

M E M O

March 21, 1956

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

Here comes a memo from Frank Loescher saying he needs a progress report on SRC for a meeting of his Board. Needs it by April 16.

Could you therefore try to get me by April 3 some account of:

A. Every day ordinarily what we do. i.e., our usual informing program.

B. The $50,000 program.

M E M O

March 21, 1956

TO: JC

FROM: GSM

I notice in the reading file slewlets of carbons of outgoing letters from Florence Irving to information seekers. Here comes a Quarterly Report for the three months closing March 31. I think I could spice the report with some minor statistics from Irving and Company. About how many of these inquiries per week? What sort of things do they seek, including a couple of queer ones?

Random sample of where the inquiries come from. (GSM supposes mostly Oshkosh and west)

If troublesome, skip, but if doable in an hour or so, worth it.

M E M O

March 21, 1956

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

Here comes a memo from Frank Loescher saying he needs a progress report on SRC for a meeting of his Board. Needs it by April 16.

Could you therefore try to get me by April 3 some account of:

A. Every day ordinarily what we do. i.e., our usual informing program.

B. The $50,000 program.

GM

M E M O

March 7, 1956

TO: HCF, FR, MEI, JH, CHP

FROM: GSM

RE: Quarterly Report to The Fund for the Republic

We come now within sneezing distance of the Quarterly Report to The Fund for the Republic - due the end of March.

As you shape what to send me some days before that date I hope that you will bear in my that we have a duty at this juncture to report pretty fully on what role we and the State organizations have played in the present tensions within the South.

Staff - Parrish

RECEIVED DEC 29 1955

December 28, 1955

Memorandum to GSM
From CHP
Concerning Quarterly Report to FFR

I take it that what is required is a short paragraph describing the projected staff-training and program-evaluation operation of SRC. I hope the following paragraph is fairly close to what you have in mind.

> In the formal request to the Fund for the Republic last August a tentative plan for program development in the various states was presented. The plan called for the use of highly qualified social scientists as SRC consultants who would hold program evaluation workshops for board members, conduct training institutes for state staff, and initiate a series of regional and subregional conferences to deal more specifically with the problems of school desegregation. On a modified basis, this important professional service is being organized under the direction of Mr. John Hope II who is on loan to SRC from the Race Relations division of the American Missionary Association. Final details of operation will be worked out at a meeting of the consultants early in January.

* *

I stopped by to see John on my way back from Atlanta. We worked until 11:30. He was interested in getting the feel of the situation in the various states. I am sure that the material he received from Fred completed the picture.

We talked about the proposal for the Southern Sociological Society. The one "fly in the ointment" is the matter of transportation costs for the panelists. I am sure that the Society has no funds for such a number of program persons. Ordinarily travel expense for such a purpose is borne by the college or university from which the panelist comes. Perhaps you had better check this point.

I received the information about New Orleans. Does John Hope have official notice of this meeting?

I never get around to sending out Xmas greetings anymore but I do hope that you and the whole Atlanta staff have enjoyed a pleasant holiday and that the year ahead will see the fulfilment of your fondest dreams.

C. H.

June 22, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: GSM

From: HCF

Re: Quarterly report on information

It is hard to separate my "normal" from my "paranormal" functions, but here is an attempt:

INFORMATION

Publications

New South during the quarter now ending ran several noteworthy articles especially prepared for us. The April issue brought together facts and opinion on racial problems as a threat to the South's economic development; the lead article was reprinted by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and various other papers. The May issue published for the first time a uniquely strong speech by a chamber of commerce executive warning business leaders that they must give positive leadership in racial affairs. An article in the same issue by an Arkansas educator debunked the myth that downgrading of educational standards inevitably follows desegregation; this drew editorial comment in several Southern newspapers and will be of special value to teacher and parent groups. The June issue carries an analysis of "interposition" by Professor Arthur S. Miller, of the Emory University Law School, which is probably the clearest thing yet on the subject.

Also published: "Three Views of Desegregation," including statements by William Faulkner and Benjamin Mays, in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association and the Fund for the Republic. "What the Supreme Court Said," giving the texts and analysis of the decisions, is proving a popular program item with our state affiliates and other organisations.

Newspapers and Magazines

The usual number of reporters and magazine writers sought us out for information and advice. Among those requesting and getting special help were writers for various bureaus of the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Time, Life, Collier's, Newsweek, The Reporter, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Atlanta papers; also NBC Television News and the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

Materials Distributed

Through the state groups and otherwise, SRC distributed reprints of the New York Times special supplement on the South, the desegregation issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, a Reporter article on the Montgomery bus boycott by the Rev. Thomas Thrasher, the American Civil Liberties Union's annual report, the Bulletin of the Fund for the Republic, the Fund's several fact-sheets, and additional copies of "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools."

Speeches and Consultation

The Assistant Director for Information spoke to an aggregation of teen-agers at a YWCA camp and to a parents group of the Grace Methodist Church. Consulted on program with representatives of the Christian Congregationist Churches, Presbyterian Church Women, the American Teachers Association, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the American Recreation Association, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Fund for the Republic, and others unrecorded.

Research and Reference

[I take it Florence Irving is submitting a memo.]

SPECIAL FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Desegregation Survey

An inventory of specific instances of desegregation occurring since

May 1954 was completed during the quarter. With the addition of one temporary staff member, Mrs. Margaret Price, and the use of three short-term reporters in Missouri and Oklahoma, it was possible to cover reasonably well the 17 Southern and border states. Some 1100 usable instances were collected. The report of the findings, running to approximately 100 pages, has been completed and sent to the Fund for the Republic and David Loth, who directed a similar study of the 31 non-Southern states. At this writing, some form of joint publication of the SRC and Loth reports is being explored. In any case, we plan to publish a summary of the SRC findings -- probably in New South -- and release it to the press. The findings bear out the original assumption that an inventory of desegregation would produce an impressive body of material and could help to counteract the discouraging effect of recent negative developments.

Study of Negro Suffrage in the South

The aim of this project is to assemble for the 12 Southern states information on the present extent of Negro registration and voting, obstacles to full Negro suffrage, and the relation of disenfranchisement to county data on population, income, industrialization, and urbanization. The study is well under way in nine of the twelve states; in the remaining three, there are problems of personnel which we hope to solve shortly. In each of the activated states, a qualified director for the study has been secured on a part-time consultant basis, and additional personnel are used as needed. An outline of the findings sought is attached. This is truly a "crash" project, the deadline for fact-finding being the end of September; it is also the largest in scope, and probably the most important in terms of public policy.

Study of Southern Industrialization

In the controversy over desegregation, the industrialization of the South has come to the fore. SRC has commissioned Hammer and Company, economic consultants,

to gather information on all industries locating in the South in the last five to ten years, with respect to type, size, and ownership. This is a large operation, involving inquiries by mail or in person to dozens of chambers of commerce, industrial development agencies, and plant location firms. The data collected will be tabulated and analyzed in terms of their meaning for race relations. In this way, we hope to clarify the implications which new industry holds for racial problems and progress in the region. The deadline for the fact-finding is no later than September 1.

Field Study of Resistance Movements

We have employed a temporary staff member to gather first-hand information on the nature and leadership of the various pro-segregation organizations operating in the South. He is Paul Anthony, of Atlanta, a graduate of the University of Miami's Human Relations Department, who has had experience in both social science action-research and in business. Mr. Anthony has spent two weeks digesting the large body of material already available and is presently carrying on field research in Alabama. His findings will be available to SRC staff as he completes his field travel in each state. At the end of the project, he will prepare an over-all summary and analysis, which will be the basis for such publications and reports as seem indicated.

Field Study of Labor and Race Relations

Under a special financial arrangement with the trade union consultant to the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Benjamin Segal, a qualified Southern trade unionist has been engaged for a three-month period of field work. He is Morton Elder, of Birmingham, who has had many years of experience in workers education and other labor activity in the CIO. Mr. Elder is to gather information on the progress of Negroes in the labor movement, new problems arising out of the school segregation controversy, practices which affect equal opportunities

in employment, upgrading, and promotion, and effective methods for improving race relations within the union movement. This project is being carried out with the knowledge and approval of appropriate labor leadership.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

June 15, 1956

HCF:

Some days before June 30th, and if you could, give me something in your normal capacity as informationer, and in your para-normal capacity of fact-gatherer

eab/

GSM.

Return to EB for filing File Copy

July 6, 1954 ①

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Here comes a quarterly report — the first.

April 1st caught us moving along much as usual. We were still pushing Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts and A Checklist for Your Local Schools, and we were busily organizing things to get ministers and recognized local church leaders travelling around in designated parts of the South to form local discussion groups on what to do about the expected decision.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic put us into a state of great activity. A friend wrote in and said that we wouldn't be busier, but that we would get more done. I am sure we have been busy and I suppose more than usual has been done.

Our first move was to talk by telephone with our leading people in each of the twelve states in which we hope to organize permanent movements. Those conversations were followed by Memorandum #1 (three copies attached) which put down the simple outlines of what the new relationships would be. Supplementary to that were Memorandums #2 and #3 (copies attached).

The staff at the Central Office has necessarily grown. We brought in first a clerk-stenographer and then an assistant bookkeeper, or general clerk, and then a substitute for our Sociologist who is away at Summer School. June 1st we got on to the staff Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton to be Associate Executive Director. She has been the Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League. Richly trained, deeply experienced, and broadly thoughtful as to the problems of the region, she has been a strong resource in all of our many policy discussions.

As yet, no final choice of a person or persons to be the Director,or Directors, of the Field Program has been made. At least one such person is needed as a key to our administrative structure. He should relieve me of much of the direct negotiation with the state groups. We have had on the payroll from about June 10th a man that we think is a suitable candidate for this job -- Earl Brewer. We have been using him experimentally in another job, and if, within a few days, we are convinced that he measures up on that, we will take him on as a man to work with the state groups.

For the time being his assignment is an interesting one. We began to see emerging as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand a Southern interest in Mayors' Commissions on Human Relations. Dade County, Florida, as you know, set up one years ago. We had a hand in getting another going in Rock Hill, South Carolina. The Mayor of Charlotte, North Carolina, has been authorized by his City Council to set up one. The people in Anderson, South Carolina, want one. The Mayor of Atlanta has done some planning toward getting one. We think the real and permanent solution is in official representation of the Negro community on all public boards affecting their needs. But in a good many jurisdictions it is years before elections of school board people come up, or the population distribution may be such as to make election difficult or unlikely. In those situations, we would be willing to agree that a town should set up a Mayor's Commission to obtain responsible advice from the Negro community on their on-going problems. We sent out Brewer to review, quickly, the experience of three or four typical Northern Mayors' Commissions; look at what has been done thus far in the South; and to do a lengthy article for us to get out to our people explaining the movement and pointing up its pitfalls and possible benefits.

Brewer is a Rural Sociologist and a Methodist minister trained at Duke and at Chapel Hill, and now teaching in the School of Theology at Emory University. He has been responsible for organizing the work of the Methodist Church in Town and Country policy relationships; a wide-spread Southern effort which has given him a lot of travel and experience with leadership groups already.

Another similar move has been the employment of Mr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, to travel in selected Southern states during the summer months and sound out opinion, and particularly Negro opinion, as to the needs of the state for organized work in the field of race relations, and as to the leadership and financial resources available. Parrish is a sound fellow. He is the only Negro professor, from the former Louisville Municipal College, taken over to the University of Louisville when the two were consolidated. He is a judicious observer. We used him successfully in Alabama last February and March in drawing

together local discussion groups on the schools and the courts. We anticipate, from his former travels, a stream of quite helpful advice from five or six Southern states. He goes back to his teaching job next Fall.

Still another venture of the Central Office has been the employment of an economist from Berea College, Mr. Robert Menefee. He came on a two months basis. I must have talked with you about the opportunity offered in the mountain areas, where the population runs about 95 or 98 per cent white, county by county, in early desegregation of the schools. We did something toward getting out a publication that would revive the roots of the mountain tradition of freedom of action resulting from their stand of a hundred years ago. But I concluded that the wisest thing to do was not to go into print on that point, but to send around a mountainy fellow who, in conversation with the people in leadership positions in the mountains would direct thought toward the parallel of this situation with the earlier one, which would suggest a moral. Menefee is from Ashland, Kentucky, and he and his wife have a good deal of experience in community organization. They will travel together this summer at SRC expense to get this job done.

Except for moving Mrs. M. E. Tilly full-time to our staff (June 16); the addition of $500 worth of typewriters that operate; and a rented fan or two, I think that is the substance of the changes in the Central Office. We confront a major decision about space, but are not yet in a position to know all the factors involved. It is cheap where we are, but hot and crowded.

Into these busy weeks we have squeezed, also, a rally of effort on our long-hanging Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. Our Council's President made an arrangement with Haverford College to send six students to do a piece of research in six county court houses -- Shreveport, Kosciusko, Montgomery, Cartersville, Bamber, and Winston Salem. We brought the young men down and briefed them, and about June 1st they flitted to their official stations. You can imagine that the telephone activity picked up as these youngsters got bedded into Kosciusko and Bamberg: one got the measles; and one got written up in the county weekly; and one got cold treatment from the county court. But by one ingenuity or the other they got about 85 per cent of what they went after. That operation is over and the sheaves of filled out questionnaires are in hand. Now comes the matter of selecting nine commissioners, getting their consent, getting the research written up into readable form, and getting the Commission to inform the South how to reform its practices.

I find our state people in quite general agreement that they can use the summer to strengthen their Boards, and look over the field of possible people to be employed as Secretaries. Everybody likes the proposition.

Harold Fleming has met with the nucleus of our people in Arkansas, and Harry Ashmore and others there are planning for a small meeting later on that will get down to brass tacks.

I have met with our Chairman in Florida. A small meeting will occur there early in July and a larger one is planned for early September to get Florida going.

South Carolina has an embarrassment of people available for the paid positions and will be ready to go as soon as we release them.

Kentucky has had many conversations among the leading people. They seem to prefer a small Council representing many helpful organizations in the state as against a big membership body. I don't know what will be worked out there in the end, but there is every reason to suppose that a vigorous program will get underway in the state.

I will be in Texas for the next couple of days and will hold conversations with our leading people there. (Later. Texas has already collected in cash and pledges $1150, and has tentatively selected a Secretary, to go on October 1.)

Oklahoma we abandoned, as you know. I have now written to our head people out there that there isn't any way we can help them.

Mississippi has done some discussing and has looked over some candidates, but I don't think that serious efforts have as yet been made to get the Mississippi Division organized.

North Carolina is having its Executive Committee meeting along about now. They are being pestered with candidates for employment, but I think that what is needed in the state is an infusion of new blood and leadership hitherto outside of the Durham-Chapel Hill-Raleigh orbit.

I have talked with the key people at the Council of Christian Social Relations in the Virginia Council of Churches. A verbal agreement has been reached that the Virginia Council of Churches, without surrendering formal authority to expand in the field of race relations would assist an SRC type of organization within a state to pick up an increasing portion of the work.

Two states have moved out early -- Georgia and Louisiana.

The Georgia Interracial Commission has for many years raised enough money to pay the salary of Mrs. M. E. Tilly so that they are accustomed to having at least a partially paid executive. They learned of the availability of a candidate whom most of us thought was

remarkably suited for the job as Executive Secretary in Georgia. They agreed to raise the extra money involved in his employment during the months of June, July, and August, 1954. SRC has permitted the Georgia Interracial Committee to take Mr. Guy Wells on as its Secretary.

For the time being, little has been done to establish an office and he does not plan to take on a secretary or an Associate Executive as yet. Mr. Wells has a long history of helpful work in the state. He is past President of the Georgia Education Association, past District Governor of Rotary, and has, until recently, been President of a State teachers' college at Milledgeville, Georgia. His latest assignment was with the ECA in Libya, from which he had to return because of the illness of his wife. At 64 he has a lot of vigor in him still, and he earnestly wants to try to help Georgia to iron out its problems of race relations. He has been speaking over the state to Church and civic groups and groups of teachers. It is a difficult assignment in a summer of a rather odd gubernatorial race. But so far as we can see, he is doing it well and to good effect.

In Louisiana, we have a queer situation. There is, normally, a Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council. But it plays second fiddle to the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations which is affiliated, also, with the Southern Regional Council and all of its ninety-odd members are members of SRC. The New Orleans Committee has $1,000 in its treasury. They went ahead and employed an Executive Secretary, Mr. Milton Vigo.

Vigo has been well trained in New Orleans institutions, and was lately a teacher in a private academy in the city. Twenty-seven or twenty-eight, single, nice looking judicious, with influential friends and a good grasp of the problems of the city. I have an agreement with Vigo that his Associate, when taken on, should be drawn from somewhere else in the state than New Orleans. Vigo makes use, for the time being, of a minimum of office space and has no secretary. He plans to pick up a fully established staff unit about September 1.

Nobody likes the available plan on Associate Secretaries. Nobody wants to share one with another state. I think it will check out with most of the states finding, over and above what they have to arrange for anyway, enough additional money to employ a full-time Associate Secretary, beginning in late Fall. In a few places, probably, they will pick up a half-time Associate Secretary -- which could work.

The Southern Regional Council's Executive Committee met April 6th and reviewed the terms of the grant and the plans for getting organized centrally and in the states. They formally put into effect the new By-Laws for SRC -- a copy of which is in your files. They will meet again in late July.

The Court's decision on May 17th enormously stepped up the demand for services, travel, and advice from us. Poor Harold Fleming has been worked almost to death trying to answer the demands of newspapers and magazines and the scores of legitimate inquirers who come South for the news. We have all been on broadcasts and television shows enough and a plenty. I have been out, of set purpose, to Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Anderson, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Greensboro, North Carolina; to counsel with local leadership on implementing the Court's decision.

In addition, we have carried along the normal amount of "Instituting" and week-long teaching what has been part of our steady year by year effort. I taught a group of CIO leaders from the lower South for a week at Lake Junaluska and taught, also, at an Institute sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, held at Guilford College for a week in June, and again at Howard University's Workshop on School Integration. Similar such programs are booked with the A. F. of L. group in Kentucky, the A. F. of L. for the Southeast and for the Southwest at two separate meetings, and possibly another CIO one coming up later on.

We are in dire need of our new pamphlet reviewing the Ashmore report, printing the Court decision and giving suggestions on things to do, on which the Fund for the Republic staked us months ago. The map is printed, the cover is printed, the text is nearly written; our problem is to break loose from the telephone and the train to get it completed. But in a matter of days now it will go into print. The title is Answers for Action. It will contain in full colors the map of the distribution of the Negro and white population in the South. Twenty cents each, $15.00 a hundred. Everybody clamors for it and we are doing our best to get it into the hands of people who want it.

You already have a copy of the report of the Williamsburg Conference. In retrospect, the meeting stands up well. It faithfully reviewed and winnowed out the things to be done, ranked them in series and refined the concepts of many of them quite a lot. And, also, the meeting, just of its own dynamics got some of the things underway.

Mrs. Tilly has put out a leaflet to the Church women. The leading women from the Councils of Church women have met here in Atlanta helpfully and concerted their program. The proposed Conference of Business Men has been under intimate discussion and even moves on to organization. The Negro teachers' groups have picked up somewhat (however, I am not yet satisfied) on the problem of a nation-wide emergency exchange of teachers. The ADL and the NCCJ have shown a special interest in getting human relations instruction to teacher-training meetings this summer. Morris Abram and Harold Fleming, in a trip to New Orleans, got a leading member of the New Orleans Bar to assist in building public opinion favorable to the decision of the Supreme Court. All of these were things that were first soundly

discussed at the Williamsburg meeting. And we see some of the slower things coming up too. We hope that the gap in the funds of the Central Office can be filled by getting funds from other groups interested in some of these things.

The more you do the more you get kicked! Our friend Mr. Blake Craft came off his moorings again a month ago and renewed his attacks. We have treated his publication as quasi-religious and have not answered it publicly. He is a member of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, and at the meetings lately they suspended him from the Conference pending trial on charges of slandering his brethren. The trial proceeds in a church in Atlanta and the outcome is not yet. We seem to have entered very little into the controversy, which to all appearances is an administrative one within the Methodist Church.

On the heels of that came Roy Harris, a famous Georgia politico who publishes a weekly newspaper, who accused us all in his issue of June 28 (sent you the other day) of being the haven of refuge for persons who tried to get things done through the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Indeed, we are described as at least a Council of "Pinkos. Many strategy and consultation meetings as to ways to answer. Our President came in, and sent the enclosed to the Georgia Attorney-General.

A short letter has been prepared to be sent to any newspapers which carry Roy Harris' stuff. So far, we have not found any that did. One or two radio stations carried a news item which evolved in this manner: The Governor was questioned as to whether he would proceed against the Council under the state Subversives Act. He passed the question to his Attorney General, who was quoted on several newscasts as saying that if adequate evidence were produced, we would be prosecuted. The following day, June 30, this item appeared in the Atlanta Constitution:

> "Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook Tuesday branded broadcast reports he is investigating the Southern Regional Council as false. The Attorney General said he would investigate the activities of any organization, including even the American Legion and Baptist Church, if evidence warranted it. He said he has no evidence concerning the Southern Regional Council."

We await further developments.

Katherine Stoney, our Secretary-Treasurer, has labored mightily with the people in the various states to get them to understand the ins and outs of the financial situation. She has contrived a system of masterful bookkeeping and has by now a standard set of

procedures which the organized state groups will follow. Her report on the status of the funds will come to you shortly.

All in all, I think we are busily off in a time of crises. We have moved so rapidly that we have given too little attention to sound long-term planning, but the truth is that the minutes for that kind of thing have been desperately few. We realize the need and expect to meet it.

Generally speaking, we have had a good report from the states as to their respective abilities to raise the funds that they will have to get in. We, ourselves, in this central office can report that we have little more than held up our end for this quarter, but what we have taken in has been by virtue of a favorable bunching of funds customarily received anyway, and we must give more attention to pulling in entirely new sums that we will be needing to produce by September 30, 1955.

We are deeply grateful, not only for the financial help of the Fund for the Republic, but for the reliance we have all had on the counsel of you and Frank Loescher, and for the firm backing you have given us. We wince when some angry fellow puts on a noise that no right-minded person should. It helps us when you do not visibly wince.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Three copies Memorandums #1,#2,#3
Copy of MAW's letter to
Attorney General Cook

1.

extra copy

October 6, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David Freeman:

A great deal of time has gone into getting the matter of the schools before Southern audiences.

The Executive Director, during the last three months, has talked to influential groups in widely scattered places.

Among church-related bodies was a week's conference of the Division of Christian Relations at the Church Extension Conference of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (which is the Southern Presbyterian Church), at Montreat, North Carolina; a forum on public school desegregation conducted by the School of Law at Loyola University in Chicago; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church at Junaluska, North Carolina; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference at Emory University; for an interdenominational leadership conference arranged at Atlanta by the Board of Social Relations of the Methodist Church; and with the first state-wide conference of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Alabama.

For labor groups, he spoke to or conducted lengthy teaching sessions at the AF of L's Kentucky Labor School at Lexington; for the CIO labor school for the upper South at Junaluska, North Carolina; and for the Southeastern AF of L Labor School at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Other appearances, mainly on the schools matter, were for the Savannah Branch of the NAACP; the Seminar on Inter-group Relations of the NCCJ at Lexington, Kentucky; the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University; the National Convention of the NAACP at Dallas; the Convention of the American Teachers Association (which is the Negro teachers of the states having segregated education), at Nashville; and a South-wide meeting of representatives of Leagues of Women Voters for seventeen Southern states, in Atlanta.

This travel schedule has been supplemented by innumerable office conferences or small Atlanta meetings where people were asking guidance on the matter of the schools.

Mrs. Tilly has appeared before the Executive Committee of the Women's Society of the Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina; the Rural Commission of the North Georgia Methodists; taught for a week at the Convocation of Methodist Youth (2,000), Lake Junaluska, and was a night speaker on the Supreme Court decision; taught a course in United Nations for a week at the School of Missions, Emory University; taught a course on "The City" at Clark College for a week; worked with the North Georgia Methodist women on a study course on "Christianity and Wealth" on two separate days; taught a community study class on "Jesus' Teachings Concerning Women"; worked with the Council of Church Women of Georgia, preparing the program for their state-wide meeting in October; worked with the Georgia Interracial Committee in setting up its new program; corresponded with all of the state presidents of United Church Women concerning the Supreme Court's decision; gathered together the pronouncements of all the denominations on the Supreme Court decision and the reactions of these denominations at state and local levels; wrote a program for the Methodist youth of the nation; and wrote the pamphlet, "Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court decision." A busy schedule, whose results will tell.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS:

Georgia. The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has had an uninterrupted existence for many years. For the last nine or ten years it has been an affiliate of SRC, but it goes back to the earlier period with the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Since about 1945, it has managed to raise, from its several hundred members and from its small individual contributors, funds enough to enable it to pay the half-time salary of a single staff person. Its executive committee, at the beginning of this past Summer, thought that there would be no difficulty in raising a sum over and above what must be raised by the state group before September 30, 1955, to enable the Georgia Interracial Committee to employ a person full-time at its own expense during June, July, and August, 1954. The Southern Regional Council has advanced, to the Georgia Interracial Committee, the expense of this staff member.

They employed Mr. Guy Wells, who has had a distinguished career in Georgia educational circles. He is a past president of the Georgia Education Association, which is the professional organization of the white teachers in the state; and until a year or so ago, he had been for a considerable period president of a Georgia state college at Milledgeville, one of the principal teacher-training institutions in the State. He left that position for a year's service with the Mutual Security Agency in Libya, and returned for reasons of his wife's health without entering on the second year of service there. He is deeply interested in the progress of the state in matters touching on race, and his wide acquaintance among political and business and educational figures is standing him in good stead. He has used the Summer to strengthen the organizational roots of the Georgia Interracial Committee, and has spoken to important audiences all over the state on the matter of the schools.

The executive committee of the Georgia Interracial Committee meets October 5th, for formal adoption of altered By-Laws and their official launching as the state program of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Wells has employed Mrs. Luesta Knox as his secretary. Negotiations have been opened with the Reverend L. H. Pitts, the head of a private church-related Negro school in Cordele, Georgia, looking toward his being employed as a consultant until December 31, 1954, with the possibility of full-time employment thereafter.

South Carolina. The Executive Committee of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, following various meetings during the Summer, selected as their principal staff person, Mrs. Eugene Spearman, and she will enter on duty October 1, 1954, with an office at Columbia. Mrs. Spearman is a white Baptist laywoman, active in various social service fields in her own Church, and widely known throughout South Carolina. She has had a long association with the interracial movement in the state and will be a vigorous staff member for the South Carolina group.

Alabama. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council has employed, effective October 1, the Reverend Robert Hughes, a Methodist minister. His office will be in Montgomery. He is twenty-six years old, a native of Gadsden where his father was a physician; a graduate of the University of Alabama in political science and history, and with a B.D. degree from Emory University's Candler School of Theology. In his Atlanta period, he took part in the interracial movement relating to the several white and Negro student bodies in the city. He took a rural church in Northeast Alabama in October, 1953. His Bishop has assigned him to the work with the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, which means that he remains in good standing as a minister in the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, though he will not have a church in his employment by this new body.

Louisiana. Louisiana has for some years had an anomalous arrangement. The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations has been autonomous within the Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council, and all members of either have been members of the Southern Regional Council. The New Orleans Committee had a thousand dollars in its treasury and in June employed a young man as its staff person at the expense of that fund. He will be picked up October 1 in the normal arrangement with the Southern Regional Council. He is Milton C. Vigo, who went to Tulane University, and for graduate work to Loyola University in New Orleans. Three years in the Army, which took him to North Africa and ETO. He has taught for the last four years at a private boys academy in New Orleans. Thirty. Carefully chosen by New Orleans people whom we trust. Enterprising and promising. We have an agreement with Mr. Vigo that when additional personnel is added to the staff in Louisiana, the expectation will be that the new staff member will be drawn from the Northern portion of the state. An office has been opened by the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, which is their new name, at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, telephone number, Main 4295. The Summer has been spent in that state in reaching the existing membership by travel and correspondence, and in planning for expansion and field reporting. By-Laws have been prepared and are being reviewed.

North Carolina. The North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council seems likely to employ as its executive October 1, Harry S. Jones, who has for the last five years served as Regional Director of the Carolina region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He has been widely popular in the state and has arranged unusually effective programs. Before that, he spent five years with the NCCJ in New Orleans, and a year in Military Government in Germany, and four years of military service in North Carolina. He has taught school in Honolulu, in Mississippi, and in New Jersey. Went to college at Westminster College in Missouri, at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and took a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary. The North Carolina Division, which has the previous year centered its activities in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill-areas, moves its office (a'purpose) to Charlotte in order to reach more vigorously into that part of the state.

Kentucky. The Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council converted itself, during the Summer, into the Kentucky Council of Human Relations. In numerous conferences with us here it has been agreed that they may try an experimental form of organization which has no precedent within the Southern Regional Council. They propose to have as their single full-time staff personnel, a high-type clerical person, and the professional salary funds will be used in temporary per-diem assignments by community leaders, white and Negro, appropriately spaced over the state. They propose to make no great effort to build up a membership body, but wish to serve as a coordinating Council of active organizations related, or potentially related, to the field of human relations. By-Laws to confirm this type of operation are in preparation, and have in outline been approved by us.

The above states we regard as launched as of October 1, 1954.

For the remainder, we contemplate getting going over the next couple of months.

Texas. Texas, through its Texas Commission on Race Relations (long affiliated with SRC), has had a number of meetings looking toward the employment of paid staff by October 1. They have about settled on a candidate, but wish to make some further inquiry about him before making the arrangement final.

Florida. The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council has had a couple of meetings during the Summer, and will be visited in early October by people from here, who believe that a program can be got going within a few weeks time.

Mississippi. Our membership there is small, and the situation is tense, and from our present weakened base, and in the absence for the Summer of our chairman there, no settled course has been agreed upon. It is being visited in early October.

Tennessee. In Tennessee a general meeting of the members of the Southern Regional Council will convene October 12 at Nashville, under the leadership of Mr. Dan May, a hosiery manufacturer of Nashville. The Southern Regional Council's membership in the state was for two or three years organized into a Tennessee Division, but we found that the makeup of Tennessee, in three or even four distinct parts, worked against sustained activity by a state organization, and the Tennessee Division was disbanded two years back. We have the active assistance of Mr. Alfred Hynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times in getting it going again. We, here, are attempting to encourage an arrangement in Tennessee for four local chapters with only a loose connection between them.

Virginia. In Virginia we have done no more than reach a verbal understanding with the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, that the Southern Regional Council will be assisted by them in forming a non-sectarian race relations organization in the state. I suppose it will be November or December before this is actually done.

Arkansas. In Arkansas, several meetings have been held with the assistance of Harry Ashmore, and it is intended at an appropriate time a little later to call together a group of people who will launch again the almost negligible organization of the Southern Regional Council in Arkansas -- this time with paid staff.

So the arithmetic is that six of the states are going with paid staff October 1, and two or three more will probably be set up during October. We consider that satisfactory progress, and are indeed rather pleased that almost entirely by their own efforts, with little more than telephone calls and a good deal of correspondence, plus visits by Mr. Parrish, this much has been accomplished.

STAFF:

We employed, effective June 1, as Associate Executive Director, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, who is on leave to this job from the position of Secretary to the Urban League. She has been helpful in linking us to the Negro leadership of the South, and in shaping our policy thought.

We took on, September 1, Mr. Frederick B. Routh as an Assistant Director. He was brought up in Coral Gables, Florida; went to the University of Miami; took the Master's degree in human relations and history; did a little law; and has completed a good deal of his work toward a Doctorate degree in human relations from New York University. During the war he served as an officer in Naval Air Intelligence as Public Information Officer. He was one of the small group who were active in the establishment of the Dade County Council on Human Relations, the first municipally sponsored agency in this field in the South, and has done a lot of community development work in the Miami area. He ran for Congress in the Miami area in 1954, and captured about half as many votes as the man who got elected. Routh is 31. We have loaded on him much of the field travel involved in launching and relating this office to state programs; title -- Assistant Director for Program Development.

Routh has an opposite number in C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, as a Consultant and Assistant Director in Charge of Program Development. Mr. Parrish is the one Negro professor taken over in the consolidation of the former Louisville Municipal College with the University of Louisville. He travelled extensively during February and March for the Southern Regional Council in Louisiana and Alabama, and again this Summer in five or six of the states, singling out leadership persons of both races. With them he explored the matter of a desired course of action for the proposed new state organizations, and much of the accomplishment thus far should be attributed to his wisdom and skill in the interviews he arranged. He went, particularly, to North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida. As his teaching duties will keep him most of the time in Kentucky, he will be active in the growth of the Kentucky program. Our arrangement with him is that he can give us several days a month outside Kentucky as a consultant at $35.00 a day plus travel.

Mrs. Hamilton we have altered in title from Associate Director to Assistant Director for Program Planning.

Associate Staff in State Groups. We have come, during the Summer months to the virtual surrender of a proposal we made earlier with the states that additional professional staff be employed jointly by two or more states. The states have not liked it and personnel has not seemed readily available for such split assignments. We have urged all the states to employ on their own a full-time Associate Executive, or, as most of them will more likely do, appoint one, two, or three persons as associates who will serve as consultants and will assist the growth of and service the organization in their own areas. It is expected that such consultants will attend all staff meetings and we propose for them a per diem of $20.00 a day plus travel. This seems a workable interim device, but we hope to push it on to the stage where most of the states do have co-equal white and Negro personnel full-time.

PUBLIC RELATIONS:

During the past three months, the Council has continued to service information requests, by mail, telephone, and in person, from newspapers and news agencies. Among those assisted: Associated Press, United Press, Time, Newsweek, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Washington Star.

Stories about the Council itself and/or its executive director have appeared in Southern and non-Southern publications — even as distant as the Manchester Guardian. The most widespread publicity resulted from an Associated Press Newsfeatures series on segregation in the South, prepared by staffwriter Ben Price. One article was devoted wholly to the Council and its work.

Harold Fleming was one of the panelists on an ABC Network broadcast, Town Meeting of the Air, in August; subject: school integration.

CONSULTATIVE SERVICES:

Staff members have been in steady demand as advisors to organizations and individuals with some special concern for race relations. Examples: faculty adviser for a Colgate group planning field work in the Atlanta area; director of the Herald-Tribune Forum; field worker for the U. S. Public Health Service; editor of the alumni magazine of a private (segregated university, and so forth at length. The Council in mid-September arranged a conference with appropriate people in Atlanta for the Cornell group carrying out an assignment for the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Division.

FOREIGN VISITORS:

Increasingly, the Council is called on to play host to foreign visitors brought to this country by U. S. Government programs or by private exchange organizations. Quite often, we are asked to assume full responsibility for scheduling the visitor's stay in Atlanta -- interesting and useful, though extremely time-consuming. In other instances, we are called on to spend an hour or two of staff time briefing the visitor on the South and, particularly, race relations. Some idea of the variety of this visiting stream is suggested by the following selected list out of the last three months:

Daniel Roth, Switzerland, journalist
Michael Stewart, England, Labor M.P.
John Hall, England, Conservative M.P.
Ernst S. Schlange-Schoeningen, Agricultural Secretary, German Embassy
Theodore Lefevre, Belgium, Chamber of Deputies
Djuka Julius, Jugoslavia, journalist
Madhav Kamath, India, journalist
International student group, representing eight countries
Hendrik Vos, Netherlands, vice-president Dutch Labor Party

FINANCE:

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will report in a few days when she has had opportunity to obtain the auditor's review of the figures for the past quarter.

FIELD RELEASES:

Copies are attached of Memoranda #4, 5, and 6.

CENTRAL OFFICE POLICY BOARDS:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met July 30th and reviewed and approved arrangements as made thus far. The entire Board of the Council will meet November 10, at Atlanta.

PROGRAM ITEMS:

The Council had the benefit of travel in the Eastern Carolinas during July and August by a Disciples of Christ minister, Sam Freeman, from a church in East Orange, New Jersey. His is a native of the area in which he travelled and stimulated bi-racial meetings for discussion on school problems -- and that is a difficult area. His travel and salary were without expense to the Council, though we contributed the pamphlet, Answers for Action: Schools in the South, which he got out to those with whom he discussed the proposal in local communities. He has made a report of his trip which now joins similar reports made by other assigned church connected persons. It will be recalled that we have argued strongly that segregation in the schools can best be got to crumble from the mountain counties toward the older parts of the South more heavily affected by the plantation system. In development of this idea, the Council put some money this Summer into an unbudgeted item. We arranged for travel by Robert Menefee, a young economist from Berea College in Kentucky, to a series of mountain places in North Carolina, Southwest Virginia, and Eastern Tennessee. His method was to introduce himself to editors, ministers, school officials, and other community leaders and discuss with them the practicability of local steps toward early integration. His reception varied considerably, but by and large it was seen that he carried a workable and, in some places, quite tempting idea. He is now preparing a full report based upon his weekly letters to us, and we hope in an early issue of New South to summarize his experiences. His full report will be sent to a selected number of people with whom he talked during the Summer months. This travel and salary has cost us about $1,700.52. But we thought its promise of early and peaceful action so fine that we went ahead with it. And we are satisfied that the investment was a wise one.

Answers for Action: Schools in the South has now sold 18,000 copies, of which the first 4,000 went out to our own members and mailing list. The following are among the major and more significant orders received for it:

Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.	1000
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, N. Y.	1600
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, N. Y.	250
Methodist Pastors' School, Sullins College, Virginia	200
Division of Church Relations, Presbyterian Church of U. S.	99
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Savannah, Ga.	100
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, N. Y.	75
Georgia Teachers Education Association, Atlanta	1000
St. Peter's Catholic Church, Jackson, Miss.	100
General Board of Education, the Methodist Church	410
Mississippi Economic Council, Jackson, Miss.	120
Unitarian Blue Ridge Conference, Knoxville, Tenn.	50
American Jewish Committee, Miami, Fla.	200
Friendship House, Shreveport, La.	50
National Conference of Christians and Jews, N. Y.	100
Phelps-Stokes Fund, N. Y.	50
Catholic Committee of the South, Rock Hill, S. C.	2500
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta	40

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.	50
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York	100
American Labor Education Service, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Miami, Fla.	50
Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention	100
Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	50
League of Women Voters of Texas	20
Progressive Farmer, Birmingham, Alabama	20
Judge J. Waties Waring, New York	15
League of Women Voters of the U. S., Washington, D. C.	20
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (which includes coverage of each member of the Governor's Special Legislative Committee on the Schools).	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (to be distributed to every elder in the Southern Presbyterian Church in Virginia)	1000
Catholic Interracial Council of New York	100
Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Cleveland, Ohio	300
The Armed Services Department, YMCA, New York	100
Kentucky Teachers Association, Louisville	100
United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	100
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Louisville, Ky.	100
Women's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, New York	500
American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D. C. (Community Relations Program)	50
American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, Race Relations Department, New York	100
Maryland Council of United Church Women, Baltimore, Maryland	50
Mrs. C. E. Tatum, Birmingham, Alabama	50
The American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office, Miami, Florida	50

The pamphlet has been widely praised in private letters and in notices in the general press, and in the religious and other special-interest publications. We hardly feel like boasting of the temperateness of the South in meeting the Supreme Court's decision, but we do think that the many thousands of readers of the pamphlet are serving as enlighteners in corners otherwise obscure.

GENERAL PICTURE:

I hesitate at this time to summarize the situation in the South as to the school matter. There seems to have been earlier in the Summer a general feeling on the part of officialdom in four or five, at least, of the Southern states, that compliance could be worked out without a great deal of difficulty. During the Summer, the attitude of public

officials has hardened a good deal. In most of the states now, many responsible persons have persuaded themselves that evasions can be successfully practiced for a long time to come, and the hard work is being done on how to get around the decision, and not on how to enforce it. Possibly the final decrees of the court when they come out will clarify this situation. But in any case it becomes clearer and clearer that the great lack in the South is supporting public opinion for unsegregated schools.

We have put our main effort on finding out how to build such opinion and increasing it. We have struck some quite useful channels, and are using them as best we can from the central office. As the state programs get going we should be able to magnify and localize that work with opinion-forming groups. I have put it graphically by saying that the democratic institutions of the Western World are put here to a severe strain -- a strain which comes on a spot noticeably weak in the democratic tradition any way: Here's a two-strand cotton rope, one strand white and the other strand black. Because the two have never been twined together the rope is weak, and it has now upon it a frightening stretch. Signs are a'plenty that the rope is popping. It looks as though the only available substitute cord is what the churches may be about to spin across the breach. Maybe there are other cords too, and we will try to find them. But the best hope is for getting the whole of the doctrine of the churches to bear for peaceful local performance toward compliance with the decision.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

January 6, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I attach a report for the October-November-December quarter of 1954.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

JANUARY 5, 1955

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QUARTERLY REPORT OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
TO THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

October, November, and December, 1954

ESPECIALLY ON THE SCHOOLS

Speakers from the Council have been much in demand in the South and elsewhere, usually the requested subject being useful to proceeding with fitting the schools together. Various of us on the staff have talked to the Herald-Tribune Forum in New York, to the Conference of Editorial Writers at Asheville, North Carolina, to the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen meeting at Nashville, to the Unitarians at Charlotte, North Carolina, and in quite a number of local churches.

TECHNICAL ADVICE

The Council's services have also been in demand for meetings of a new and special kind: where concerned citizens have drawn together to plan for unsegregated schools and want quasi-technical advice on how to work. We have met in this way with the Anderson, South Carolina, Christian Council on Human Relations; the Parents-Teachers Associations, white and Negro, of Rockdale County, Maryland (suburban Maryland); the about-to-be-formed Northern Virginia Council on Segregation and the Schools; Friendship House at Shreveport, Louisiana; a state-wide conference of YM and YWCA student representatives in Louisiana (Baton Rouge); and elsewhere.

WORK WITH LABOR

Our long-term effort to enlist the active support of the labor movement in the South for progress in desegregation was carried forward with a week's session of the A. F. of L. Southern Leadership Training School for the Southwestern states, meeting at Mineral Wells, Texas, and with a two-day appearance before the training institute of the International

Ladies Garment Workers' Union in New York. Some flavor of the Mineral Wells venture is conveyed by the anonymous written comment of one of the students after the week's session had ended. Anent "Southern Problems," he wrote, "Subject was distasteful, but the guy told the truth, and I reckon it was useful."

TOWARD COORDINATION

The Council perforce has been put into the role of coordinating agency for the work of various national agencies, as they reach more vigorously into the South. We have been thus used by a subcommittee of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House at Washington, the meeting of the National Association for Inter-group Relations Officials in Boston, and two meetings of the coordinating effort resulting from the Herald-Tribune Forum.

In all these coordination appearances, the representatives of the Southern Regional Council have stressed the point that the twelve renewed state agencies being established with Council help are independent bodies with which national agencies may work directly. Thus SRC is no bottleneck for the South. We are glad to help any agency, but the agencies in turn are perfectly free to be in direct association with the Southern Regional Council's friends out in the states.

THE WORLD TO THE SOUTH

We have entertained and informed for periods varying from a few hours to a week, the following visitors from foreign countries:

Mr. Sastrowardojo Surjono, Madiun, Java, Indonesia. Delegate to United Nations, Young Diplomats Project. Sponsored by the Institute of International Education, New York City.

Mr. Fritz Kaestner, 15 Adlestr, Oldenburg, Germany, Ministerial Director. Sponsored by the U. S. State Department.

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Mr. and Mrs. David Ginsburg, 9 Harman Drive, London N.W. 2, England. Research Division, British Labor Party. Sponsored by the U. S. State Department.

Five Indian gentlemen, as follows: B. Rajaram, Bombay; N. Bose, Calcutta; H. R. Kolte, Bombay; R. H. Patel, Ahmedabad; S. K. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

Two on the employing side; three trade union officials. All in this country under the sponsorship of the U. S. Department of Labor.

CENTRAL OFFICE AND THE STATE GROUPS

The Council has in its structure the advantages and disadvantages of a federal relationship. Our major effort is to get going independent agencies in each of twelve Southern states. At the same time events press upon the South an ever more urgent need for performance in a concerted fashion. This controversy came up distinctly in the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council, November 10, 1954. Various members, deeply experienced in the negligence or tolerance to misdeeds which have accompanied states' rights in our federal governmental picture groaned inwardly (and some outwardly), over the prospect of a Southern Regional Council which would allow state organizations to have their head! So, it was agreed that we would do much more to draw up from the state bodies locally planned programs, and to suggest measures of concert.

We think that the groans arose from a fallacious identification of actual state government with state organizations of the Southern Regional Council. The new state organizations of SRC are composed of people whose earnest purpose it is to do what is right, and few are the hardy souls who would boast the same of the formal state governments hereabouts.

At any rate, the upshot of it is that we will carry an increasing burden of program effort; in reality a burden well beyond what was envisioned in the early conversations with the Fund for the Republic as to how

the Council's work would proceed. We are not hinting in the least a disturbance of the budgetary relationship between funds for the central office and funds for the states. In my judgment it is the Council's business to meet this problem out of resources which we find ourselves. But it is now being pointed out that experience thus far in the present situation shows that program coordination is a bigger and more difficult job than had been foreseen.

In the report of October 6th, we reviewed the status of the state groups as of that date. Five had employed professional staff and others seemed nearly ready to do so.

As of this date, seven have engaged their professional staff; two or three are nearly ready to do so; and the remaining two states should be fully launched within a few weeks.

In review:

STAFF EMPLOYED

Alabama:

State Chairman -- Reverend Dan C. Whitsett, First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Alabama. (Well-known liberal clergyman.)

Executive Secretary -- Reverend Robert E. Hughes.(Methodist Minister, assigned to this job by his Bishop.)

Agency -- The Alabama Council on Human Relations, Room 206, Moore Building, South Court Street, Montgomery. Telephone 2-0450

The first three months have gone into travel for their Executive Secretary over the state learning people, problems and resources. Several meetings of the principal members of their Executive Committee have been held. They propose to divide the state into several areas and build Board membership and general membership as well as program, area by area. First annual membership meeting under the new name will be February 8th in

Montgomery.

The new Council is as yet too narrowly based, but its supporters are able people of firm purpose.

Georgia:

State Chairman -- Reverend George E. Clary.(Well-known Savannah Methodist Clergyman, now stationed in Atlanta.)

Executive Secretary -- Dr. Guy H. Wells, Atlanta. (Well-known Georgia educator, former college president.)

Agency -- The Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Telephone ALpine 4063.

The Georgia Commission has continued, through long-range campaigns, to assist the building of a public opinion in the state more favorable to integration in the schools. Their Executive Secretary has been picking up the old-established links with local groups which the Commission has had for years. In a membership meeting in November, By-Laws were approved and a new and broadened Board elected.

Louisiana:

State Chairman -- Reverend Albert D'Orlando. (Unitarian clergyman, New Orleans; well respected in the community.)

Executive Secretary -- Milton C. Vigo.(Young, vigorous, Catholic, former school teacher. Well liked, well supported by community groups.)

Agency -- The Louisiana Council on Human Relations, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, New Orleans. Telephone MAin 4295.

The agency, under its new name, combines the former New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, and the former Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council. Their new By-Laws have been tentatively approved on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. Their Executive Secretary has been travelling widely in the state. A special workshop to

plan program is slated for January 11th.

The Louisiana group has a disproportionate amount of its strength in the city of New Orleans and will need growth in the remainder of the state.

Mississippi:

State Chairman -- Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg. (Vigorous man, fairly recently transferred into Mississippi from Alabama.

Executive Secretaries -- Reverend N. A. Dickson, Union City. (White, Methodist clergyman, interested in race relations, experienced in fund raising and dealing with people, dedicated to a democratic society, native Mississippian.)

Mrs. M. S. Lyells, Jackson. (Negro lady, well-known and respected in the community, experienced in race relations, widely travelled.)

Agency -- The Mississippi Council on Human Relations. For the time being address c/o Reverend N. A. Dickson, Union, Mississippi.

The Executive Committee, at a meeting on December 13th, adopted the new name and agreed to the employment, effective January 1, of the two staff members. The Mississippi Council has undertaken to raise the necessary funds to insure equal salaries for both directors. The Mississippi situation is difficult, but the new staff and those most closely associated with the agency can be trusted to move soundly and effectively in the state.

North Carolina:

State Chairman -- Reverend Leon Russell, Rocky Mount. (Prominent Methodist clergyman, liberal in his outlook.)

Executive Secretary -- Harry S. Jones, Charlotte. (Former Director, North Carolina Division National Conference of Christians and Jews. Skilled worker in the field of human relations, good relationship with local people both Negro and white.)

Agency -- The North Carolina Council on Human Relations, 121

East Third Street, Room 209, Charlotte.
Telephone FRanklin 6-6833.

North Carolina carried through many years an independent Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which some seven or eight years ago found the means briefly to employ paid staff on its own. It subsequently became the North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, and is now reconstituted under its new name. The move of the state headquarters to Charlotte is significant, as that taps an additional set of friends in the state.

The Executive Secretary has technical experience in this field, and gives every indication of proceeding competently to the strengthening of the movement in North Carolina.

<u>South Carolina</u>:

State Chairman -- Mr. Richard J. Foster, Greenville. (Prominent attorney, Juvenile Court judge, Colonel in the Army Reserve, well respected in South Carolina.)

Executive Secretary -- Mrs. E. H.Spearman, Columbia. (Prominent laywoman, former member of the Board of SRC, long-time worker in the field of race relations, well accepted in both Negro and white community.)

Agency -- The South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, 3315 Colin Kelly Drive, Columbia.

For the very reason that the group in South Carolina, despite all the difficulties of the last eight or ten years, survived and kept something afloat, they encounter now special problems in extending the agency for broader representation within the state. They have many difficulties to face, but those active in the organization are representative of the finest quality of citizenship which the state can boast, and results will be seen.

Texas:

State Chairman -- Mrs. James S. Crate, Houston. (Well-known leader among church women.)

Executive Secretary -- Thomas S. Sutherland, Austin. (Formerly director of a state-wide agency assisting the integration of Mexican-Americans.)

Agency -- Texas Commission on Race Relations, 309 West Twenty-First Street, Austin. Telephone 7-8819.

A dwindled body of devotees of better race relations, centered mainly about Houston has had, with SRC aid, the good fortune to obtain a strong and far-seeing Executive Secretary. He will make them grow and reach out over the whole state.

Texas cherishes its independence, the old Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation never did more than affiliate with the Southern Regional Council, and the new plan of linkage with SRC suits their sympathies.

STAFF NOT YET EMPLOYED

Arkansas:

State Chairman -- Mr. Fred Darragh, Little Rock. (Co-owner of the Darragh Corporation, manufacturing feed supplies and building supplies.)

Agency -- The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1401 East Sixth Street, Little Rock.

The Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council has been thinly supported for years. The body came together with new attendance on December 2nd, 1954, and reestablished themselves as the Arkansas Council on Human Relations with By-Laws approved by SRC.

They have unusually broad support now and as they extend into Arkansas, flexibly and hopefully, a good deal is to be expected from this body. A membership committee is working on that problem and a personnel

committee is considering applicants for the place of Executive Secretary.

Florida:

State Chairman -- Mr. Davisson Dunlap, (attorney), Jacksonville. Barnett National Bank Building, Telephone 3-6261.

Agency -- The Florida Council for Human Relations.

The old Florida Division reconstituted itself December 22, 1954, as the Florida Council for Human Relations. They have divided the state into four areas and have agreed that when the state office is set up, it would be in the central Florida city of Orlando. This portends some change as most of the strength of the group in the past has been in Jacksonville, itself.

Various committees are at work in preparation for an annual membership meeting to be held January 15th and 16th, 1955.

Kentucky:

State Chairman -- Dr. Hugh A. Brimm.(A minister formerly head of a Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, and presently head of the Carver School of Missions at Louisville.)

Agency -- The Kentucky Council on Human Relations.

Kentucky likes the special arrangement which they have launched. They have chosen very carefully consultants, five white and five Negroes, located over the state, and are using them in program and in building membership. The members of the Board are particularly skilled and experienced people. While they have not yet employed the single high-type clerical person whom they wish to have for their central office, they have interviewed candidates and will probably hire someone soon. But they are a going concern, and certainly do not deserve listing in any semi-active category.

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Tennessee:

State Chairman -- Mr. F. Woods Beckman, (retired administrator; civic leader). 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville, Tennessee. KNoxville 7-4038.

Agency -- The Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council virtually disbanded three years ago, and the job has been to get a new organization on its feet. They have set themselves up under the name of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Have elected a broad Board of Directors, have divided the state into three areas, and plan -- Kentucky-fashion -- a somewhat different program for each area.

Virginia:

Cooperating State Executive -- Mr. C. Emerson Smith, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Council of Churches, Department of Christian Social Relations, 109 West Grace Street, Richmond. Telephone 3-0274.

A sub-section of the Virginia Council of Churches continues to serve in the field of race relations. We in the Southern Regional Council have worked out a basis of agreement with the Virginia Council of Churches under which SRC will assist into being a Virginia Council on Human Relations. Of this new body, the appropriate section of the Virginia Council of Churches will be formally one of the component groups. SRC's new agency will not seek a mass membership in the state, but will attempt increased coordination of a variety of individuals and agencies interested in progress in the field of race relations. The preliminary negotiations are accomplished, and the meeting is to be held in January or February which would establish the new agency.

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1954 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This was probably the best Board meeting the Council has ever had. Unusually good attendance and eager interest by the Board members in policy and program. It is clear from that Board meeting that we can depend on the Board in the future for more active participation in the Council's effort over all the South.

A strong Executive Committee was elected. Marion Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, was continued as president. Only a few vacancies were available on the Board. Toward filling them the preference of the Nominating Committee went to people with business or church connections. Among newly elected persons who have already accepted, were Mr. Hodding Carter, of Greenville, Mississippi, Mr. Jerome K. Crossman, an oil executive and past president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. I. H. Burney, a life insurance executive at Jacksonville, Florida.

INFORMATION

We have been successful in our appeals to the Marshall Field Fund for additional money for New South, and to the Doris Duke Fund for money to enable us to bring in and get out through our own organizational channels, or through New South, a much more complete picture of what is going on in the South. New South will assume a new guise effective with its February issue, 1955. Among the functions described to the Doris Duke Foundation was what we have called research interpretation -- in reality a problem of translating into terms of this society the findings of social scientists on the whole matter of prejudice and discrimination. This will proceed as part of the expanded information program as soon as additional staff can be found and equipped.

Meanwhile, during the last three months, we have continued to service newspaper men, students, and other organizations with special information needs. Articles in which we have had a hand include one on Southern hate groups sent out by the Associated Press; a similar one in Time; one on the economic status of the Negro in Business Week; one on segregation in Newsweek, and others in the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor. The Virginia Law Review published a significant article on the prospects for integration in recreation, written at our suggestion and with the help of our materials by a brilliant young lawyer named Robert McKay. This analysis may be expected to have some influence on the shaping of future public policy in the Southern states.

The last three issues of New South have enjoyed a good bit of currency as shedding helpful light on the problems of integration: an authoritative analysis of the legalities of the situation; a perceptive field report on attitudes in the mountain South; an historic statement on the Supreme Court decision by Southern Negro educators; and the official progress report on integration in the armed services. None of these significant documents, so far as we know, has been made available elsewhere in print. The volume of requests for these materials shows a steady demand not only from within the South, but from other parts of the nation as well.

We will publish in January what we believe will be a uniquely useful resource -- a 120-page collection of articles from New South in the last decade laying out the main trends in Southern race relations. The background for the action needed today will thus be assembled between one set of covers. We are hopeful that it will prove a significant working tool in educational, church, and organizational activities.

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LONG RANGE ON FUNDS

The Board meeting made provision for a place as treasurer of the Southern Regional Council, and it is intended to build the Finance Committee around that position. As yet, in spite of diligent efforts, we haven't found the treasurer, but we are trying and hope that before many weeks an effective Finance Committee will be at work.

Meanwhile, we see ourselves within reach of the fund-raising requirements placed on the central office for 1954-55 by the Fund for the Republic. There is a gap of three or four thousand dollars in the figures I keep on a memo pad, but we expect to close it.

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will forward a complete fiscal report as soon as the auditor has reviewed the figures.

March 25, 1955

TO: KS

FROM: GSM

I propose to put something like the following language into the March 31st report to the Fund for the Republic.

If the base I have laid out for this calculation is too cloudy say so, and I will try to define it more accurately, but I am not trying to reach a figure accurate by more than, say, $10,000 either way.

cc: maw
K.S.
Daily file
David Freeman corres. folder

1954-1955 Reports

FILE COPY

April 4, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This Quarterly Report is the fourth since the grant from the Fund for the Republic.

TRAVEL AND SPEECHMAKING

Mrs. Tilly has worked with Church women groups in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. And she plans in the coming months to follow up the meeting the Church women had by further work with her friends in their own areas.

Mrs. Hamilton represented the Council at a meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington on March 17th and 18th.

Harold Fleming, among other trips, represented SRC at a planning meeting for the Aaronsburg Assembly in Pennsylvania.

Fred Routh in his rounds as organisational director, has been much called upon for policy advice, public and private.

C. H. Parrish helped with meetings in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, and Arkansas.

George Mitchell travelled too much: Two or three times to Richmond in getting the Virginia Council on Human Relations started, and once each to Alabama and Florida for meetings of their Councils; to Detroit to preach at a Congregational Church; to Washington for an NAACP Youth Legislative Conference; to Cincinnati for an annual banquet of its Urban League, to Chicago for meetings of school teachers and of the Council Against Discrimination, and for sessions with the chapters there and at Milwaukee of the American Jewish Committee; to Terre Haute to talk at St. Mary-of-the-Woods College; to Norfolk for an annual meeting of the Women's Interracial Committee; to Petersburg for a session with the local chapter of the Virginia Teachers Association; a fund-raising stop at a central Indiana city with speechmaking and incidentals; a talk at Miami to the King of Clubs; another at Louisville before a session of the Southern Police Institute; others before church

groups in Sylacauga and Alexander City, Alabama. In Atlanta a classroom talk or two at a local college and an appearance before a Georgia Tech faculty group would complete the list.

CHURCH WOMEN TO ATLANTA

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, in charge of women's work for SRC, invited into Atlanta for a two-day gathering February 24th and 25th, a conference of Church women from the Southeast, meeting as the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The meeting was made possible by a grant of $1,000 to the Council from the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

The women who came in included 14 Southern Presbyterians, 19 Methodists, 7 Baptists, 4 Episcopalians, and scattered numbers of various other religious bodies. In all, every denomination in the South was represented, and also Catholic and Jewish faiths. Some came as from the state councils of church women, or as from the National Council of Churches, or from the YWCA. Eight or ten Negro church women were included among the group. A good proportion of the ladies were oppressed by the reluctance of ordinary middle class townspeople in their areas to discuss reasonably compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. But quite a number had arranged local church-sponsored discussion meetings at which the subject had been opened and plans had been made for ultimate compliance. Much of the meeting went into formulating clear, truthful, and reasonable answers to the twisted and fear-laden arguments which the women found current in their communities.

It was a good example of the way in which Southern people, religiously motivated, can plan together to get religion more deeply into the life of the South. Some few of the women will have got less than they hoped for from the meeting; but the great majority were pleased with the opportunity to exchange facts, ideas, and encouragement. By and large the note of the meeting was that quiet effort to bring the truth to the fore would succeed.

ATLANTA OFFICE - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

We have added to our information staff Mr. John Constable, Jr., who will assist Harold Fleming. Otherwise the central office remains as in our last account.

The Program Planning Committee from the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has met periodically during the last several months with various staff members, and most phases of the Council's program have been reviewed and subject to comment and criticism. The Program Planning Committee reported to a meeting of the Executive Committee February 17th. Both the staff and the Executive Committee have found the reviews helpful, and they will continue.

The meeting of the Executive Committee authorized consideration of New Orleans as the place for the next November's annual meeting of the Board of SRC.

Incidentally, the Board has been strengthened in recent months by acceptances of membership on it received from Mr. Hollis Rinehart, an attorney in Miami, Florida; and Mr. Philip Hammer, a planning consultant, Atlanta, Georgia.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

The February meeting of the Executive Committee bestirred itself about the election of a Finance Committee. In subsequent events, Mr. Morton Weiss of Atlanta agreed to serve as Treasurer of the Council, and a number of people in this and other cities are being officially asked to serve on a Finance Committee. And a couple of leading editors in Southern cities have agreed to get in touch with suitable local citizens and ask them for contributions to the Council. In addition, the members of the Executive Committee undertook contributions of $100 apiece, and the recommendation is being made on behalf of the Executive Committee to all the Board members of the Council to contribute similarly. These are not great moves in themselves, but they indicate a firmer purpose to proceed with the task before us.

LAPSES

We can see coming up a policy matter which will need discussion between the Southern Regional Council and the Fund for the Republic. Because various of the states have been slow in picking up their employed staff, and because some of them have used less than their full allotments for staff, we are accumulating unspent a sum from the allocation originally agreed upon in March, 1954, as for the state programs; in distinction from the allocation for the central office. We cannot yet tell how much this unspent state allocation will be by September 30, 1955, but it will probably be on the order of $40,000 or $50,000.

We can see various courses of action:(1) return the money to the Fund for the Republic as not having been used; (2) add it to SRC's prospective 1955-56 allocation from the Fund for the Republic and parcel it out to all of the state programs for their use in stepping up their activities in 1955-56; (3) add it to SRC's prospective allocation from the Fund for the Republic for 1955-56 and make it available only to those states which did not use it in 1954-55; or (4) retain it intact and separately accounted-for here in Atlanta and add it to the allotments to be made from the Southern Regional Council for the particular states which did not spend it in 1954-55, such allotments to be made in 1957 in order to enable the states which were laggard in 1954-55 to have a full three year period of assistance from the Southern Regional Council.

It is too soon for us to settle on our recommendation to the Fund for the Republic in this matter, but I raise it now in the expectation that early notice will expedite understanding and agreement later on.

COMPANY

Visitors from abroad again. Listed because we are hoping to get some help in the matter of getting them informed.

Akira Iwai, Director, Planning Department, Japan National Railway Workers Union, Yokohama, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Yojiro Kurokawa, President, Central Executive Committee, Japan National Railway, Locomotive Engineers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Manjiro Mokumoto, President, Central Executive Committee, All Japan Express Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Chuzi Koreeda, Chief, Organization Department, Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemical Workers Union, Hokkaido, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S.Department of Labor.

Jinsuke Mitsumura, Vice President, All Japan (Postal) Communication Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor

Gensaku Sugiyama, Chief, Planning Division, Central Executive Committee All Telephone and Telegraph Workers Union, Tokyo, Japan. Sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Michael Adams, England. Journalist, British Broadcasting Corporation.

Clyde Sanger, Guildford, England. Journalist.

Andrew Bonar-Law, Fowey, Cornwall, England. British Army

S. Tas, Paris, France, Journalist.

Nicolas Chatelain, Paris France. Correspondent for "Le Figaro."

Olaf Radkie, Attorney, Metalworkers Union, Frankfurt, Germany. Sponsored by State Department, Labor Exchange Program.

Werner Meyer, Editor, Fraenkische Presse, Baureuth, Germany. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

Wilhelm Riepekohl, Neurnberg, Germany. Chief Editor of Fraenkische Tagespost. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute.

R. H. Hafferkorn, 9 Eichendorffstrausse, Speyer 1 RH W. Germany, German Foreign Service Officer. Referred by the British Consulate in Atlanta.

Mrs. Hedwig Meermann, Moehringerstrasse 88, Tuttlingen, Germany. Member of State Committee of Social Democratic Women, a free lance journalist, and lecturer at the Tuttlingen Adult Education Center. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

Additionally, five French persons, some from industry, a trade-unionist or two, and a merchant, accompanied by an officer of the U. S. Department of Labor.

STATES

Here is a rundown on the twelve.

Alabama

Had a good big once-a-year meeting February 8th at Montgomery. Total of 240 people there, and far more white people than Mitchell had ever seen before at similar Alabama meetings. Elected new officers. Chairman now Reverend Duncan Hunter, First Methodist Church, Alexander City. The Executive Secretary has been keeping a close watch on the Alabama upshoots of the white "Citizens' Councils." Dr. James Pierce, Professor of Sociology at Alabama State College, Montgomery, has come on to the staff as chief consultant.

Arkansas

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, after a careful screening of nine candidates, has employed as its Executive Director, effective April 15th, Mr. Nat Griswold, formerly field representative of the American Friends Service Committee, and as its half-time Associate Executive Director, Mr. Christopher Mercer, an attorney. They will open an office at Little Rock.

Florida

The Florida Council for Human Relations in the course of recent meetings has chosen a new set of volunteer officers. The new president is Dr. Paul F. Finner, 930 West Park Street, Tallahassee. He is a retired professor of psychology from Florida State University and has considerable standing in the state. Florida is actively seeking staff and should employ it within a short while.

Georgia

Mr. Wells, the Director, has been out making still more speeches to local interracial committees, civic groups and school and college assemblies.

As a former college president and District Governor of the Rotary, he has access to many audiences not hitherto reached on our behalf. The Georgia Committee has been receiving contributions toward its budget from the local Rotary clubs.

Kentucky

The business about using consultants scattered over the state instead of loading their expenditures on to a single central office staff seems to work. The consultants have been doing things in more than twenty counties. The appropriate committee of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations has been working with school officials in the Louisville area and elsewhere on problems of desegregation.

Louisiana

The New Orleans group from the Louisiana Council met March 13th, with convincing evidence of purpose and skill. The problem is to extend the organization over the rest of the state. Apparently the next few months will go mainly into that effort.

Mississippi

Met some weeks ago in Jackson for their annual gathering. Reelected Rabbi Mantinband of Hattiesburg as chairman. An office has been opened in Jackson. Papers are moving along toward incorporation of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations under the Mississippi Statutes. Not yet a strong organization, but has some strong people.

North Carolina

North Carolina is getting ready for its annual meeting April 26th at Raleigh. Have added Dr. W. H. Brown of North Carolina College (Durham) as chief consultant. Trying to get local committees going over the state.

South Carolina

Most of the time has gone into knitting up friendships and understandings with state and local organizations such as AAUW, leagues of women voters, PTAs, councils of church women, education associations, and school people.

Tennessee

The Council group in this state some weeks ago chose someone to be the principal staff person, but this office did not approve the selection. Partly in consequence, our Tennessee friends are shifting to the Kentucky plan, proposing to use a high-type clerical person in their central office, and the services of consultants widely spaced over the state. That probably fits the Tennessee situation better than the previous plan. It has the additional

merit of requiring a sounder degree of preliminary organization before the Tennessee Council on Human Relations launches itself.

Texas

Met at Austin in late February with goodish attendance, drawn from widely scattered parts of the state, and representing religious, labor, education, and community groups. They have asked the Hogg Foundation, which specializes in matters of mental health, to inquire into the relationship of segregation and discrimination to problems of mental well being.

Virginia

The Virginia Council on Human Relations was launched as an organization at a meeting in Richmond February 22nd. Thirty-some people of considerable distinction and representative of a wide variety of interest in the state had by that date agreed to be members of the small body which the Virginia Council will be. A clergyman at Staunton, Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, was chosen as temporary chairman, and committees were appointed to prepare by-laws, to nominate officers, and to select employed staff. This responsible and respected group of Virginia citizens can be expected to proceed quite usefully in the state.

All of which is to say that in each of twelve states in which we undertook to get going a statewide race relations agency, such an agency has been launched. The dates of their taking on paid staff will be of interest:

Arkansas - April 15, 1955
Alabama - October 1, 1954
Georgia - June 1, 1954
Kentucky - December 1, 1954*
Louisiana - June 1, 1954
Mississippi - January 1, 1955
North Carolina - October 1, 1954
South Carolina - October 1, 1954
Texas - November 1, 1954

*Arbitrary date!

That leaves Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia still unstaffed. Florida has picked its Executive. The others will come along in the next few weeks, and are better left to proceed soundly at their own pace.

Money-raising by the States

The Secretary-Treasurer will send you accurate figures but, meanwhile, I send figures taken from the reports made to us by the states. The state receipts are made up of membership dues paid to the state groups, subscriptions to New South paid through the state groups, contributions, and sale of literature.

As of March 31st, the following were the totals of receipts: North Carolina, $315; Mississippi, $243; Louisiana, $970; Kentucky, $182; Georgia, $2,513. As of February 28th, South Carolina, $563; Alabama, $637.

Previous reports from Texas are for internal reasons unrevealing, but we hope to know their figures fairly soon.

The remaining four states had no employed staff as of March 31st.

Some of these figures are low, but some of them are gratifyingly good. The March 31st date is of interest because it marks six months before the fund-raising fiscal year deadline of September 30, 1955 for the state organizations.

Notice that the months which have passed were the months in which the state groups were just getting on their feet, and they ought to do better in the months ahead. Here's Louisiana with more than half of its money raised. South Carolina by March 31st will probably be just at the half-way mark. Alabama by March 31st ought to be at $900 anyway. Georgia has already done its minimum duty.

Mississippi and North Carolina lag woefully, but neither is old and North Carolina has a special problem of unraveling the red tape of state machinery on fund-raising permission.

Kentucky seems to count on heavy contributions a little later on.

We are saying to the states which got going with paid staff at dates later than October 1st, that we are expecting of them in fund-raising pro rata amounts for the months of operation, of the whole $1,800. Eighteen hundred dollars divided by twelve is $150. Thus a state having employed staff for six months would be required to raise $900.

CENTRAL OFFICE FINANCES

Miss Stoney will report, as Secretary-Treasurer, in a few days time.

Meanwhile I can say that we are within $2,500 of having raised from various sources other than the Fund for the Republic the $40,000 which we must have raised by or before September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

6/19/55

Dr. Mitchell:

Here 'tis! I have sent the copy (orig.) on to Mr. Freeman. As soon as I get this back I will cut a stencil and ship it on to members of the Board.

Everything going well here. Hope the School is going according to your liking.

Miss Liz

OK as allowed
LM

July 18, 1955

FILE COPY

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

This quarter is April, May and June of 1955. It has been a busy period with the Supreme Court's final decrees in it and with our state groups going from the organizational stage into program.

STATE MEETINGS OF CHURCH WOMEN

During the quarter Mrs. Tilly carried through with state-wide meetings of church women, white and Negro, in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. These were meetings of forty to sixty people in each state. The Alabama one was said to have been the first occasion when church women of both races had been together. That meeting had present significant leadership from the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Louisiana meeting brought over from Fayetteville, Arkansas, someone particularly well informed about the integrated high school in that town. These church women in all the meetings were courageous and of the best purposes, and were eager to be informed as to ways in which to achieve peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

Other such state meetings of church women are planned by Mrs. Tilly for the coming Fall and Winter months.

CENTRAL OFFICE PERSONNEL INTO THE FIELD

C. H. Parrish and Frederick B. Routh were in nearly all of the states in the course of the quarter, and Harold Fleming and Mrs. Hamilton reached several.

Mr. Parrish, on special invitation, attended the Atlantic City convention of the NAACP to advise on problems of implementation.

George Mitchell talked around at more occasions than was wise, but the opportunities to get the Council's point of view before the groups involved were tempting. Among them were a meeting of two Southern regions of the National Council of Negro Women, a meeting of the Associated Church Press, a public forum in Virginia, the National Association of Jeanes Teachers, the Executive Board meeting of the American Jewish Committee, a community-wide workshop on the Court's decision in Nashville, Tennessee, the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco, and leadership training schools for the CIO in the Southeast and for the A. F. of L. in Kentucky.

INFORMATION SERVICES

New South, during the quarter, has interpreted the far-reaching legal developments affecting school and recreational segregation, and has published a comprehensive treatment of racial integration in professional baseball within the South. Each issue has contained one or more articles aimed specifically to stimulate and guide community action. Southern precedents for constructive local action have been promptly picked up and described in the pages of New South. Copies of each issue are mailed to those private and public leaders in the region who should have a particular concern with the subject matter. For example, the baseball issue was mailed to appropriate league and team officials and elicited interested reactions from several of them.

Within a few hours of the Supreme Court's ruling of May 31st, a statement went out to the press from the Council's president. Excerpts were widely used by the wire services and radio and television newscasters. A copy is attached.

Following the implementation ruling, the central office was called upon by newspapermen for its usual function of interpreting and backgrounding the new development. The opportunity to reach public opinion through this means is considerable, since those consulting us include correspondents of the wire services, the major news magazines, and such national bellwethers as the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor.

ORGANIZATION IN THE STATES

Eleven of the twelve states we now consider organized and going. Tennessee began with staff and program in June. Virginia began to pay its staff July 1. The one remaining state not yet staffed is Florida.

We append to this report ~~lists of the Board members of the various state organizations as currently as they are available at the moment. Appended, also, is~~ an accurate list of the employed state professional staff and their office addresses. A ~~third~~ document is a current list of the membership of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. A ~~fourth~~ is a list of the SRC Executive Committee members.

nother

third

State by-laws have been approved by this office for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee. They are known to have been drafted for the other states, (Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia), and we are asking these states to get in their final by-laws for approval.

TOWARD MORE ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS

In agreement with officers of the Fund for the Republic, we have forecast a situation for the coming fiscal year in which it will be possible for each of the states to employ a full-time Associate Director, and this plan was got out to all the states. Arkansas has already made an arrangement for its former half-time Associate Director to become full-time July 1st.

Tennessee and Kentucky will be little affected because of their even-steven arrangement about consultants. Virginia is already using a half-time associate director who, presumably, would not be available on a full-time basis. The other states are actively singling out appropriate persons to be associate directors. We expect that this plan will greatly strengthen the usefulness of the state organizations.

TWO TRAINING OCCASIONS

The state professional staffs have been brought together twice during the quarter. First at a two-day meeting at Camp New Hope in central North Carolina June 1, 2, and 3, and again at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University June 27-July 9.

The North Carolina gathering gave an opportunity for each state to describe its intended program and the relationships in effect in the states between staff and boards of directors. These reports were critically examined by members of the central office staff, and in general sessions and in private conferences many agreements were made as to changes to be brought into being. An additional feature of the North Carolina meeting was the opportunity for the group to sit for a couple of hours with W. W. Alexander, who headed the former Commission on Interracial Cooperation from 1919 through 1943, and who talked most helpfully. The staff persons present were greatly strengthened by the understanding he gave them of the long roots a movement of this kind has in the South.

The Race Relations Institute at Fisk is now in its tenth year, and is a smoothly running conference, bringing in a rich succession of leadership people in intergroup relations. Some twenty of the members of the state staffs of SRC, including three or four board members from the states, were present, nearly all of them for the whole two weeks. Residing on the Fisk campus and taking their meals in the University commons, a great deal of opportunity was afforded for the staff people to broaden their understanding of the problems before them, and to exchange experiences and proposals in organization and program. Various members of the central office staff were present at times during the Fisk gathering, and the meeting was a substantial contribution to the training of state staff people.

INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT ON THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MATTER

Within the last two or three weeks a pattern has emerged which promises to spread rapidly in Southern communities. Local school boards are calling upon nominated citizens committees for advice as to means of complying with the Supreme Court's decision. These committees are by design drawn from persons of both races. Doubtless they will prove useful in bringing the school boards and public opinion in general around to action. Most important, they afford an opportunity for white and Negro persons in a spirit of equality to agree upon the policy and details involved.

It is just this ingredient of free consultation which has been lacking in nearly all Southern communities. The governor of North Carolina has recommended that all local communities in the state impanel local committees of this kind. Officially and unofficially local school boards have already been in conference of this kind in Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. One of the things urged on our state staff people at the Fisk gathering was that they further this movement in all communities in their various states.

PLEASING SMALL EVENT

Came into the office four Negro Congregational ministers and a white associate. Trouble at Wadley, Alabama. The college had announced months ago that it would be open to Negro students. None have as yet come. But there had been a ripple of excitement locally at that time.

June 20th. Some thirty-five Negro persons, many of them officials of the Congregational Church nationally, in the course of a tour of church installations had reached Southern Union College and had been quartered variously about for a night's stay and conference. One part of the quartering had offended local sympathies, and a smallish crowd of white toughs had gathered in the evening and demanded that the Negro group leave town within half an hour. The college attempted to reach the governor and the sheriff without success. Talked to the mayor and were rebuffed. As no protection was available, and as the college is well outside of a minute hamlet in notably difficult country, decision was taken that the delegation would leave, though at an hour markedly later than the appointed deadline. The group had come on to a stated meeting in Atlanta and were concerned here to devise suitable corrective action. One among their number brought them to SRC's office.

We suggested a plan under which Bob Hughes, SRC's state man at Montgomery, Alabama, would go to the town, collect the story in detail, and arrange for a conference in the Governor's office, of those concerned, with a view to getting the governor to make it plain to Wadley officialdom that Negro rights would be protected in the area.

It was left that if the delegation desired service of this kind, they would request it on return of one of their number to Birmingham ~~tomorrow~~ next day.

Precautionarily, we called Hughes in Montgomery to apprise him of the matter. When we got his office, the young lady in the office said, "I am sorry, Mr. Hughes is not here; he has gone to Wadley; there is some trouble up there at a college."

Subsequent news is that Hughes got in the mayor and other leading citizens of Wadley and set up a Wadley Council on Human Relations. The mayor has said that people's rights would be respected, and the governor has undertaken ~~protection of people's rights.~~ Similarly. It seems assured that on the next visit of the delegation matters will go smoothly.

FRANK LOESCHER'S VISIT

In accordance with our invitation when we arranged the North Carolina gathering, Frank Loescher came down from the Fund for the Republic and was present for the whole meeting. Subsequently he visited the Atlanta office, and in his travels talked with staff and some board people variously in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and North Carolina. So Frank Loescher will have a fresh appraisal of the program matters in the central office and in the representative groups in the states.

MORE TRAINING NEEDED

We can see coming up as a major need for the coming fiscal year more teaching of state staff and State board people on ways of getting their programs accomplished. The press of change in the last year has coincided with our problem of getting the state movements organized, and immature state groups are having to wrestle with situations which would try to the utmost the skill of ~~quite~~ experienced bodies. We think the matter can be amended by rapid training of state people in the specialty skills involved, ~~and we shall be in correspondence with you about that proposal.~~

STATE NOTES

Alabama has permanent officers for four of its district organizations. Membership is now in excess of 300. A state newsletter ~~was~~ goes out to all members. Special work has been done with ministerial associations in towns where relationships have been particularly strained.

The staff in Arkansas is scattering usefully over the state reaching a considerable variety of local bodies and, in a number of instances, is directly advising local and state school officials.

Georgia continues, as heretofore, with a program of enlightening citizens groups.

Kentucky has entered a year-end spurt in organization, and with a new temporary executive director is working hard ~~on organization~~ membership and fund-raising. The consultants are being actively used by local school officials and citizens groups. In the county surrounding Louisville, the Kentucky body has ~~official~~ encouragement toward getting a single suburban community to desegregate the schools voluntarily in September, 1955.

In Louisiana the director has carried through a series of radio programs on good human relations, and is building ~~[illegible]~~ locality organizations.

The staff in Mississippi has put in some helpful appearances with Negro PTA's and teacher's groups, and is seeking out those people in the state who are willing to assist in upholding the Supreme Court's decision.

In North Carolina the state Council, in a public statement, asked for the wisdom of leadership in the state in countering Mr. Bryant Bowles, of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, who had held a meeting in Charlotte. Work is being considered on a pilot project for desegregation in the mountain counties. The state organization has received clearance from the North Carolina Department of Welfare for a fund-raising effort, and is bringing in new members and new resources, ~~with gratifying speed.~~

South Carolina has increased and strengthened its board, has chosen a new chairman, and is working actively with a policy committee of the board.

Tennessee has employed an office manager, stationed at Chattanooga, and has selected ten consultants -- five white and five Negro. They have been active already in seven counties, working with school superintendents. The State Board of Education has given a green light to local communities toward desegregation. A workshop has been held and sound procedures are felt to be underway.

In re Texas, a principal event was a conference at Fisk between two of the members of the Board of the Texas Commission on Race Relations and the Executive Director of the Texas group with the Executive Director of SRC. Such weaknesses as had appeared, both in the Board and in the staff, in the Texas body were explored and careful plans were made for amendment.

Virginia is just getting started staff-wise, but has good staff and good prospects.

Florida is still seeking suitable professional staff, but members of the board are being called in for aid on particular situations.

FINANCES

Miss Stoney's report, as Secretary-Treasurer, is attached. [True? SPM]

The Atlanta office has moderately surpassed its fund-raising requirement for the first eighteen months ($40,000). We will be pressed to meet our commitments in the final months of the year, but expect to get through.

~~On the fund-raising activities of the states, we see every reason to expect success in all cases, with the possible exception of Mississippi.~~

Miss Stoney has made time in recent weeks to travel out to the Alabama and South Carolina offices for careful instruction of the clerical staff in reporting and other procedures. She has similarly worked with the Georgia and Tennessee offices.

STAFF CHANGES

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Assistant Director for Program, is returning shortly to her former position as Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League.

Katherine Stoney, our Secretary-Treasurer, will leave us July 15th. Her successor has not yet been formally selected, but arrangements are being made for the interim staffing of the position of Secretary-Treasurer. We have been assisted clerically in the summer months by members of the Internes in Industry Project of the American Friends Service Committee, now at Morehouse College in Atlanta.

The information staff has added Mr. John Constable as Editorial Assistant.

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Assistant Director for State Organizations, ordinarily stationed at Louisville, Kentucky, and serving on a per diem basis, is in the central office for the months of June and July full-time.

FOREIGN VISITORS

For the record:

Felix V. Makasiar, Judge, District Court, Professor of Law and Director of the Foreign Affairs Association of the Philippines

Stig Lundgren, Organizational Secretary, Social Democratic Labor Party, Sweden. Sponsored by the International Exchange Project, N. Y.

Jaipaul, Public Relations Officer for the Congress Party, Indian Parliament India. Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm Kaeber, Mr. Kaeber is Floor Leader of the Social Democratic Party in the State Legislature of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. Sponsored by the Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

John Kernan, Missionary, South Africa.

Kenneth Lamb, Lecturer, London, England.

O. F. Raum, Professor, Native College, Capehart, South Africa

K. B. Anderson, Principal of a Folk School, Denmark.

John S. Grant, Forest Ranger, Scotland

Rolf Gutbrod, Professor of Architecture, Germany.

D'Arco Silvio Avalle, Professor, Milano, Italy. Sponsored by the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Clark, Montreal Star, Canada.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD

The Executive Committee met helpfully on May 26th, reviewing with unusual care the policies and progress of the agency. A special meeting of the Executive Committee will be held in August at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, where it is expected that the meeting can continue for two or three days and go still further in linking the Committee to policy. Tentative agreement has been reached that the Board will convene next Autumn, for the first time not in Atlanta, but in Tuskegee, Alabama.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encls: Promotion leaflets from Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina & Louisiana
List of Employed state professional staff
List of Board members of SRC
List of Executive Committee of SRC
SRC News Release dtd 3/31/55
Lists of Board members of state organizations**
SRC Finance Report (April 1 - June 30, 1955)

Correct This em

** Lists are presently being brought up to date, and will be forwarded to you as soon as they are complete.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E., ATLANTA 3, GA.

ATLANTA, GA. FEDERAL ANNEX
JY 19 6PM
1955

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Southeastern AFL Labor School
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

VIA AIR MAIL

SPECIAL DELIVERY

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

GSm's copy

August 15, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I was to send you some notes on program.

Overall job is endlessly detailed, and reaches many people, movements, and places. For special items from Central Office:

Interpreting Change. The Council's little magazine, New South, has been remade and is doing a bigger and better job. SRC got a three-year grant from Marshall Field to help carry the extra printing cost, and a one-year grant from Doris Duke to improve the flow of fact to the magazine. Total of the two grants $25,000.

The effort has been not for scraps of news but for interpretation of trends. Each issue features some particular interest, and SRC sends that issue to officials and persons affected by that article. Examples: parks and recreation; integration in baseball.

The information service has added personnel.

Paid circulation of the magazine now in excess of 3,000 and growing at the rate of about 200 a month. Each new member added by a state organization becomes a $2.00 paid subscriber to New South. The information staff continues to do an incalculably valuable job in briefing slews of article writers coming South and needing the facts. And we think New South's point of view finds its way into much of the current controversy.

The Churches in the South. SRC and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it have had a long link with religious

purpose in the region. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of the Council's staff, has given notable leadership to the churches in the last year or so of special strain. She collected and compared the pronouncements of each major Southern denominational body, and by providing an interchange of these pronouncements had some hand in shaping the language of official statements. By constant correspondence with leading church people over the South, she brought in fact and encouragement. She convened in a Southwide meeting the leaders of church women, and she has met state by state with the church women leaders, white and Negro together, in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. Similar meetings are upcoming in the other states. The women show inspiring courage and devotion to religious principle. When the whole history is told, this will have been the very period in which the religious forces of the South will have found a corrective to their Southern separatism; and Mrs. Tilly, inconspicuously, but through a thousand friendships, all of them moved by a spiritual force, has served in the finest tradition.

Attitude of the Labor Movement in the South. For some years past, SRC's Executive Director has been in demand for week-long summer institutes training labor leadership in the South. Mitchell teaches them "Southern Problems": no small part of which is civil rights and court decisions, and enlightenment on an attitude of compliance. These institutes came thick and fast in this current summer. Two for the CIO, one for the A. F. of L. in the Southeast, one for the A. F. of L. in the Southwest, one for the A. F. of L. in Kentucky, another in Arizona (the man's vacation), and a quickie in Miami. Some everyday local union members, but mostly local and central labor union officials. Plumbers, carpenters, electricians, paper workers, steel workers, rubber workers, furniture workers, textile workers. We went through the bumps. In each week's session group reaction followed a predictable cycle. Deep interest, the shock as they realized the imminence of change, angry discussion in the dorms at night, seventy-five to ninety per cent agreement at the end that labor would have to help. Bitterly costly in terms of time, but in this particular summer an opportunity to seize. Enough was done with labor leadership for SRC to feel secure that organized labor in most spots will be a force for compliance. Another summer the task will have to be moved to other shoulders.

On the State Programs, you well understand that much program is involved in simply having such organizations in being and with full-time staff. Their very processes of organization, opening an office, recruiting members,

building a Board, meeting with their Executive Committees, and getting word around to can-be cooperating individuals and organizations do a lot to move people and groups to consider, plan, and act. Also, much of what is done in the South must be done without boast; the bargain is everywhere that public officials and influential private persons get urged to do their proper duty, the urgers agreeing by convention to respect the privacy of the person's method of work. Also few things are done by SRC's people alone, and it is a narrowing of truth to report on "accomplishments" when any or all of a dozen people and organizations will have helped on most things!

Notwithstanding these cautionary remarks, some identifiable and more or less separable items can be listed:

Kentucky. In each of 23 counties some one of the consultants has spent a day or more in the county, visiting school officials and leaders of public opinion, urging preparation for compliance with the Court's decision. Good device, that pays off.

New South is being sent at the expense of the Kentucky Council to a long list of effective citizens.

Tennessee. Again in over twenty counties a consultant, or two consultants, have worked through officialdom and local leaders. Same object; same gratifying beginnings. People are willing, but need to be moved!

Georgia. Now has twenty local interracial committees, in such scattered towns as Gainesville, Milledgeville, Statesboro, Thomasville, Macon, Albany, and Rome. Four of these are new. Substantial contacts have been made with leading individuals on the Board of Regents of the University System. Also with staff persons in the State Department of Education.

Mr. Wells, the Director, has spoken to more than 70 local civic clubs over the state, with suprisingly good reception.

The Georgia Committee has raised $3,500, more than a thousand in excess of its covenanted amount (staffed for 16 months in this fiscal period).

Louisiana. Has new local chapters at Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, and another being worked up at Shreveport. Has held two workshops on compliance with the Court's decision, one in New Orleans and one in Baton Rouge. Radio broadcasts in human relations.

Texas. The school superintendents in Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Austin and Waco interviewed. Much activity just now in offsetting the agitation of the White Citizens' Councils at Kilgore and elsewhere. State has about raised its quota of funds.

North Carolina. Got many private letters written to the Governor, attempting (with little success!) to stiffen his willingness to lead the state into compliance. Good contacts made with state school officials. Busily if belatedly raising money.

South Carolina. Has ploughed the state in contacts with other organizations, particularly PTA's, white and Negro, and women's groups and Church groups.

Alabama. Has had a close finger on the Citizens' Councils; is achieving a breakdown of itself into seven sub-regional groups. Effective local church contacts.

Mississippi. Has now an integrated staff, building contacts with the few of the needed degree of courage in the state.

Arkansas. Has done the best job of getting full-time white and Negro staff, has excelleng contacts with local and state school officials, and is obviously helping the whole state.

Virginia and Florida are brand new. Virginia clearly has good staff and a good Board. Florida begins with paid staff August 15th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FILE COPY

August 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for continuance of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957."

Our letter of March 15, 1954, envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956 of $22,847.50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder. But the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April, 1954, and the crucial decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, only barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of a field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed instruction, and implementing guidance which the state organizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it." We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independently of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

The Southern Regional Council is the only Southwide organization, having interracial policy-making bodies at the regional level and in the twelve states, helping with the problem of adjustment to the Supreme Court decision on the schools. These state boards consider problems, assess resources and their application to the problems, guide the staff, raise funds and work for improved human relations in their areas. How well they fill these functions is terribly important, not only to SRC's program, but to the success or failure of the South's adjustment to social change.

The people who make up these boards are not skilled technicians of social change; they are laymen and women of good will who believe in democracy. To the extent that we can increase their sensitivity to problems, their understanding of possible action, and their skill in relating to professional staff we will have increased the probability of success. What is proposed then is an adequate training program for these all-important and unique lay boards; a service which the central office cannot compass with only its present staff.

The device for work in this matter with state board people will be self-analysis, by way of evaluation conferences, by such state board people in company with the Program Director of SRC and several of the proposed special consultants. Such conferences should be held in each of the twelve states at least once in the coming fiscal year, and twice in six of the states. Total such evaluation and training conferences, eighteen.

In addition to program work of this kind with the state boards, the Southern Regional Council should call in to training and program review meetings twice each year the principal staff persons (usually two) from each state.

The entire training program should be coordinated by a Program Director travelling from the Atlanta office, and suitably underpinned with clerical help.

The bulk of the training work, both for the state boards and for state staff, would be carried by special consultants, appointed by the central office. They would number from three to six. They would be well versed in community relations and would have experience and skill in processes of desegregation. Examples:

Dr. Bonita Valien, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Mozell Hill, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Harry Walker, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Lewis Killian, Florida State University, Tallahassee
Dr. Dan Dodson, New York University Center for Human Relations
Dr. G. D. Wilson, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
Dr. Miller Ritchie, President, Hartwick College, Oneonta, N. Y.
(Floridian, long in charge of the Department of Human Relations, University of Miami)

They should draw $50 a working day, plus travel at about $100 a trip. About three such consultants would be used for each training or program review meeting.

The growth of the work in the central office, including undertaking the training effort, makes it highly desirable to add to the Atlanta staff an administrative assistant to the Executive Director. He would be an office manager, would have charge of budgets, and would give answers to field inquiries within agreed policy. The services of such an assistant will release the Executive Director for more policy and program work.

A small sum should be available to meet occasional travel costs of state board people, and for contingencies in the development of the program. A moderate allowance is made for space, supplies, and telephone and telegraph.

The figures for this implementation program are these:

Program Director	$ 7,500	
Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director	6,000	
Clerical	6,000	
Social Security	470	
Travel, Program Director	2,000	
Consultants' Fees	4,000	
Travel of Consultants 54 trips @ $100	5,000	
Training meetings of state staff	5,000	
Travel of an occasional state board member, and contingencies	3,000	
Supplies, space	500	
Telephone and Telegraph	800	
Total		$40,270
Less, unspent balance of 1954-55 allocation for states		10,000
Sum requested for implementation program		$30,270

Here is a summary of our total request for 1955-56.

Estimated Cost of proposed additional services to state organizations	$40,270	
Unspent balance 1954-55 state funds to be applied	10,000	
Proposed increase of grant	$30,270	$30,270
Regular request for renewal		
Central Office	$25,000	
State Organizations	125,433	
Total	$150,433	150,433
GRAND TOTAL		$180,703

We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now coming to an end. We have reported in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports

have been filed for each quarter, and another audit, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FILE COPY

NOTE ON FUND-RAISING 1954-55

The Southern Regional Council for its central office has raised, as of August 11, 1955, independently of the grant from the Fund for the Republic approximately $47,000. If certain subscription payments from SRC's state organizations to the central office be allowed as funds raised by the central office, the amount raised by August 11th will be raised to $49,000. But these same payments are considered in the first instance as sums raised by the states toward the amount which each state must raise in order to qualify for assistance from SRC in SRC's second fiscal period.

As of August 11, 1955, the degree of success by the state organizations in raising their pro rata amounts, independently of grants to them from SRC, was approximately as follows. The word "approximate" is used as figures are taken from state reports without as yet advantage of audit.

The column "to raise" means the sum specified by SRC as the amount for each state to raise. The modal figure, it will be recalled, was $1800 based on the assumption that each state would begin with staff October 1, 1954 and continue thus to the end of the fiscal year. In cases where the quota set by SRC exceeds $1800, staff was taken on earlier than October 1st in the states, and we have required that staff employed prior to October 1, 1954 be paid for by the states. In some instances, also, the modal quota of $1800 is increased by reason of salaries higher than the $5,000 which SRC was able to provide for principal staff personnel.

Sums markedly less than $1800 are calculated on a pro rata basis month for month of operation with staff. Thus six months of operation with staff yields a quota of six-twelfths of $1800; two months of operation with staff yields a quota of two-twelfths of $1800 (plus in some instances, increases in pro rata quota by reason of higher salary payments at the instance of state programs).

UNAUDITED REPORT ON STATE MONEY-RAISING
August 11, 1955

STATE	BEGAN WITH STAFF	TO RAISE	JULY 31 HAD RAISED
Alabama	October 1, 1954	$ 1800	$ 1600
Arkansas	April 15, 1955	825	150
Georgia	June 1, 1954	2400	3536
Kentucky	November 1, 1954	1650	702
Louisiana	June 1, 1954	3000	2650
Mississippi	Jan 1, 1955	1350	600
North Carolina	October 1, 1954	2800	1000
South Carolina	October 1, 1954	1800	1200
Tennessee	June 1, 1955	700	170
Texas	November 1, 1954	1690	1790
Virginia	July 15, 1955	825	--
Florida	August 16, 1955	350	--

The Southern Regional Council is confident that all, or virtually all, of the states will meet their quota by or before September 30, 1955. All states were notified in the beginning, and renotified months ago of the amounts of their quotas and of the firm requirement that they be raised. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting August 16, 17, and 18, 1955, resolved that states failing to raise their quota would receive no assistance in the coming fiscal year until they had met their past as well as current fund-raising obligation.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 13, 1955

Dear Board Member

Your comments, criticisms, and suggestions for program are cordially invited; either to me or to Marion Wright at Linville Falls, North Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 7, 1955

FILE COPY

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

Herewith the Quarterly for the last three months.

Also, to fulfill a promise made in the Quarterly Report for the period ending June 30, 1950, a list of members of the Boards of Directors for our affiliated state organizations. The Southern Regional Council supplies this to the Fund for the Republic solely as a matter of information and good faith, and we do not authorize any use of the names, except as assurance to the Fund for the Republic that the Boards are widely representative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Atlanta office - Southern Regional Council

QUARTERLY REPORT
July, August, September, 1955

Enlisting Other Support

At this turn in events, some speechmaking by SRC staff is unavoidable. One or the other of us has serviced quite a number of church gatherings; human relations institutes; and labor leadership training meetings.

The church groups were meetings of Methodist women at Kansas City; of the Northern Presbyterians in New York; and the various Southern church groups with which Mrs. Tilly has worked closely. The institutes included that at Fisk University, one at Ann Arbor, Michigan, one at New York University, and one at Toledo. For the labor movement, a week was spent with a select group from the A. F. of L. in the Southwestern states (Fayetteville, Arkansas), and a week at Charlottesville, Virginia for the Southeastern group. Mitchell used an A. F. of L. School in Arizona as his vacation. The last of all the labor groups was in mid-September for the CIO leadership of the upper South, meeting at Junaluska.

Fred Routh, who is the regional chairman for the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and therefore is a member of its Board, attended NAIRO's Board meeting while on his vacation. He also participated at a meeting of the Executive Secretaries of the Southern states' Negro Teacher Associations held in Nashville.

Just plain speeches would include one for the Atlanta University Summer School, and another for the alumni of Tuskegee Institute.

Sale of Literature

In this quarterly period, we took a considerable plunge and reprinted 5,000 copies of Changing Patterns in the New South. We had already sold out a first printing of 5,000. We are making strong efforts to get the new availability of Changing Patterns known, and at the time of writing it is moving out at its standard 50¢ in good volume.

Answers for Action, of which we have printed altogether 31,000 is now down to 600 on our shelves and is still moving.

These have been our two current items, and except for much older things we have little in stock, except for the currently appearing issues of New South.

As we have paid entirely in this fiscal year for the second printing of Changing Patterns, whatever comes in next year on selling the remaining 4,000 or so will be net gain to our budget.

Changes in the Information Program

Staff. During recent weeks, we have completed the information staff contemplated within the terms of a special grant from the Doris Duke Foundation. Miss Florence Irving of Raleigh, North Carolina, has been employed as Research

Assistant and is currently perfecting our collection of information and reference materials. Improvement in the sorting and analysis of this running record of Southern developments will assist us internally as well as in our dealings with the press and other persons and groups needing the facts.

Distribution of Materials. During the last quarter we have given selective distribution to several useful books and pamphlets. Fifty copies of The Strange Career of Jim Crow, furnished by the Fund for the Republic, were distributed to key persons in our state organizations. A comparable number of copies of Morroe Berger's Equality by Statute, made available by the American Jewish Committee, were sent to state attorneys general and other appropriate individuals. Additional copies of The Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition were supplied to the state affiliates for program use. Three thousand copies of the summary report "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools" are in the process of distribution through the same channels, as are several hundred copies of the Report of the Fund for the Republic. In addition to its routine circulation, each issue of New South is circulated to a selected list of public officials and private individuals who should be especially interested in the particular subject treated.

Work with the Press. In the last three months, the information staff has given special assistance to various newspaper and magazine writers. We were able in this way to get our point of view incorporated into feature stories and articles reaching a mass audience within the South and beyond. Most notable were two lengthy articles circulated by Associated Press Newsfeatures and printed by newspapers throughout the country. Incidentally, the text of an excellent statement by William Faulkner, supplied to the writer by us, was thus given wide and helpful publicity.

Mrs. Tilly's work with Church Women

Led a week's workshop on Human Relations at a School of Missions at Emory University. Taught a course on Human Relations at two Youth Camps. Spoke to the Missionary Union at the Morningside Baptist Church, and another group (same church) at a Wednesday evening prayer meeting. Also spoke to a Sunday school class at Decatur Baptist Church.

Prepared the material and directed a two-day's Retreat for United Church Women of Georgia on "Spiritual Foundations for Social Action." Participated in two seminars for Methodist women, leading discussion on "The Things That Belong to Peace" -- one of these in Atlanta and the other in North Georgia. At the latter 41 towns and communities were represented.

Prepared the material and guided a two-day's workshop on human relations for Church Women of Florida -- 65 state leaders present from 21 towns -- representing twelve branches of the Church.

Spent a day in Alabama, planning follow-up meetings of the Spring meeting of the "Fellowship of the Concerned."

Executive Committee

The one meeting of the Executive Committee in this quarter departed widely from all previous ones. The Committee drew off to Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, where they hoped for full attendance and a meeting stretching over parts of three days, allowing time for the unheard-of luxury of full discussion. For mechanical reasons, related to our budget, the meeting had to be at an awkward time in late August, and in the end only a bare quorum got there. But, having more time paid off handsomely. The Committee had available the careful planning report which Mrs. Hamilton had made in her period of service as Assistant Director for Program. Full analysis and discussion of her report opened many administrative and program issues. From one point of view, the main achievement of the meeting was putting into shape our screed to the Fund for the Republic for continuance of aid in the fiscal year, beginning October 1, 1955. But many possible avenues of aid in the general situation in the South were soundly discussed. In the end, the Committee resolved to continue giving more time to discharge of its responsibilities. They liked the arrangement for meeting away from the central office, and called for a schedule of such meetings at a variety of points over the South.

New Administrative Assistant

A persistent recommendation on the staffing of the central office has been the employment of an administrative assistant to have charge of budgets and fiscal analysis for the central office, and for the reports coming in from the states. He will be expected to provide answers, in the absence of the Executive Director, to a variety of administrative questions. The Executive Committee, at the Mammoth Cave meeting, was at pains to prepare for the filling of this position by October 1, 1955. The man selected is Mr. G. S. Alexander, of Columbus, Georgia. He was a former Bursar at Morehouse College, and has had interesting and not dissimilar administrative experience. In the loss of Miss Katherine Stoney, it is expected that Mr. Alexander can pick up some portion of the administrative load which Miss Stoney so ably carried.

Other Personnel Changes

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander has succeeded Miss Katherine Stoney as acting Secretary-Treasurer.

Miss Florence Irving has come on to the staff as Research Assistant. She is a Raleigh lady, with degrees from Spelman and the University of Chicago, and a variety of interesting jobs to her credit.

Two new secretaries are Miss Yvonne Southall and Mrs. Ruby Hamilton.

State Notes

Florida employed staff August 15th. The Executive Director is Mr. William K. Williams. A graduate of the Human Relations Department at the University of Miami, and a Methodist minister. The Associate Director is Mr. Howard D. Roberts of Jacksonville, who has had good training in the field of social work (M.A. - Atlanta University). They have opened an office at Daytona Beach.

Alabama has built up a membership in excess of 300 and continues to strengthen its district organizations. It now circulates a newsletter to its members.

Arkansas now uses the services of a full-time Executive Director and a full-time Associate Director. They helped in the Hoxie situation.

Georgia has just employed as half-time Associate Director, Dr. Mozell Hill of the Sociology Department at Atlanta University. In addition, they will use the services of three part-time consultants at scattered places in the state.

Kentucky's temporary use of a full-time Executive Director worked out well. They built up membership, brought in funds, and continue to work serviceably to the state through their consultants.

The Executive Director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations has been ill, but, notwithstanding his illness, organization and program have proceeded, particularly in the New Orleans area.

Mississippi has 175 members -- raised their funds -- integrated staff -- added Mrs. James Burt as Associate Director.

North Carolina is working on forming new local councils -- consulting with local ministerial associations.

South Carolina has a new state chairman, Mr. Claude Evans of Columbia, the editor of a church paper, The Methodist Advocate. They have also taken on an Associate Director, Mr. J. T. McCain, at Columbia. Have 275 members.

Tennessee continues with remarkable success its program of county visits by consultants.

Texas now has integrated staff -- added Mr. Kenneth Holbert, Negro attorney as Associate Director. Working to expose White Citizens Councils.

Virginia has an appealing plan for sending local school board members on tours of areas where integration has succeeded, and they are seeking independent funds for that purpose. Good staff, pleasant office in Richmond, good Board, a promising effort.

A Push Toward Implementation

The staff and various members of the Executive Committee have done a lot of thinking during the Summer months on ways to speed acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision. We concluded broadly that our application to the Ford Foundation for assistance in setting up twelve state organizations (an application originally made in 1951) had been made in time for the state organizations to get soundly going before the period of implementation would be upon them. Though we were in the end helped by the Fund for the Republic (and quite generously), the aid did not become available to us in the central office until April, 1954, and in most of the states was not effectively available until October, 1954. Some few of the states got going in October, and others trailed along in picking up paid staff until dates well along in 1955. So that

the local machinery available to the Southern Regional Council is in most places new and quite naturally is much concerned with its own problems of organization and finances. Thus events have telescoped into a single period of time the double task in the states of organizing to get the work done, and of doing the work.

Most of the states have shown magnificent effort and ingenuity in accomplishing portions of each task. Our own effort has been to find ways to help them do even more of the implementation job. We concluded that about the best contribution we could make would be to bring to bear on the state staffs and on the state boards the careful and informed thinking of a handful of trained persons in social science, who might serve as consultants to the central office of the Southern Regional Council, assignable out to make arranged-for contacts in the various states. Toward shaping up a program of this kind, Mr. Parrish, as Assistant Director for State Organizations, convened at Atlanta University early in August, a notable dozen of such possible consultants in a two day meeting where program and possibilities of the Southern Regional Council were laid before the group, and suggestions and criticisms were invited as to the best use to make of the machinery available. Incisive criticism was laid on the Board. Constructive proposals came forward in appreciated measure. Those of us on the staff who sat through the meetings were greatly cheered at their end to understand the rich resources in knowledge and experience and judgement that could be brought to bear on this major Southern matter.

And we went out from the meeting resolved to try to find a way to bring that competence to bear.

The result was that we added to our normal application to the Fund for the Republic for the second installment of covenanted grant, a request for an additional $30,000 to enable us to carry through with this program. Unfortunately the request for the additional sum has not succeeded, and the staff is searching currently for other possibilities for financing what seems a most promising contribution toward knowledgeably done public school integration.

The Close of a Fiscal Year

September 30 marks the end of the first eighteen months grant period of assistance from the Fund for the Republic. Mrs. Alexander's report, as Secretary-Treasurer, comes forward in detail. Meanwhile, it can be pointed out that the Southern Regional Council was required to raise independently of the Fund for the Republic in this first grant period $40,000, and has actually raised $47, 000.

In the coming grant period of twelve months, we must put together $55,000 on our own. It will need the earnest support of our Board members to enable this to succeed.

Encl. - Texas Commission Newsletter (9/27/55)

GSM/eab
10/7/55

Fund for R
Dave Freeman 1955
folder Quarterly Report file

FILE COPY

January 4, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is a Quarterly Report for October, November, and December, 1955.

The money end of it comes along asp.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl. (2)

To Dave Freeman

QUARTERLY REPORT
October, November, December, 1955

Hither and Thither

The quarter had a bit less than the usual amount of outside speechmaking and visiting. For labor groups George Mitchell talked to an A.F. of L. school on a Saturday in Miami, and to a CIO-organized Nashville conference on labor and segregation. For Church bodies, he met with the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church (meeting nationally) at New York, and later on at the Southwest sub-meeting, at Fort Worth; for the Presbyterian Women from the South; attended a National Conference at Cleveland on the Churches and Social Welfare; and talked to the men's club at an Atlanta suburban Church. In the College line, he spent some hours with a touring group of Colgate students, at Georgia Tech, met with a religious interest Club at the University of Georgia, talked at Agnes Scott College, and appeared for a Human Relations Institute at Spring Hill College, in Mobile.

Fred Routh made trips out to Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, and North Carolina. His travels these days involve unravelling complicated matters; it seems much more difficult to keep an organization going in a balanced way than to set one up again.

He went to Milwaukee to the meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and came back a full member of its Board, as well as a be-praised speech-maker.

Attacks Redoubled

October was a month in which our cordial disliker, Mr. Roy Harris, of Augusta, warmed up his anger, and poured out abuse of SRC again, as he had done a year before. Mr. Harris has permitted himself to be convinced by so-called "researchers" that SRC is the descendant of the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare (which lived noisily 1938-49); whereas SRC was set up in 1944 in obvious difference from the SCHW approach. Mr. Harris began beating this and related abusive drums, and on one occasion did a typical Georgia trick: published in his paper our SRC office 'phone number. Promptly we had a rash of Kluxy calls, wishing to know if we had a "mixed" staff (which we owned); and loudly denouncing us for a bunch of reds. I recorded three such calls, and others in the office had more. 'Twas not long after that the Honorable Attorney General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, in a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers' Association, denounced the NAACP in convolute terms, and included SRC and the Georgia Interracial Committee in his abuse, as being fronts, though it was never clear whether we were said to be fronting for the NAACP or for the Communist Party. We in the office took a good deal of time to circularize our friends with answers to this rigamarole, and various of us have systematically arranged interviews with people of importance in the public opinion of the State; editors, bishops, legislators, and so on. Silly, but it shows that we draw some blood. More ominously

it foreshadows, we suppose, a time-consuming attack on us in the session of the Georgia legislature which comes in January, 1956. It is illegal under Georgia law to agigate subversively, and we suppose that the Legislature, while plotting subversion of the Constitution and the Courts of the land will give a while to witch-hunting SRC for subversion- though the worst that can be truthfully said against us is that we oppose certain cherished parts of Georgia "tradition."

Mr. Harris' efforts include this complimentary paragraph:

> "The Council's research staff and those who prepare the propaganda are highly skilled, well educated people who are armed with huge sums of money to effectuate the programs in Georgia and other Southern states. Their work is well under way and excellently coordinated."
>
> Augusta Courier, August 31, 1955.

INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Busy time. Fleming & Co. had Mr. Eugene Cook to answer, some public relations strategy to plan out anent the attacks, new staff to bring in on the intake-of-information end (Doris Duke Foundation grant), and an unusual burst of requests for round-ups of practices over the South. On this latter, there was a matter of the interracial citizen's committees advising local school boards; what other cities had done about opening golf courses and other recreational facilities to Negroes, what the churches have been saying, and listing of the various people (hereabouts called "displaced persons") who have been done out of teaching or preaching or other jobs because of standing up for law and order and the Courts of the land. The informational staff also organized small housing conference for the Committee on Race and Housing; helped with advice of a film-script dealing with school desegregation in St. Louis; did an article for the ANNALS on resistance movements in the South; and talked endlessly with in-dropping newspaper and magazine writers, exploring this or that aspect of the South.

The new young lady collecting information went to Durham to see the Librarian of Duke University and meet various of his technicians, in order to make certain that SRC's overflowing collecting of Southern pamphlet and clipping material, when, as, and if it ultimately gets stowed away, shall fit into the filing system of a going Library. She is a Negro young lady, and we shyly suspect that the Librarian was not displeased to have this opportunity to introduce to his staff the thin edge of the wedge of desegregation!

New South grows pleasantly in circulation and impact. It is close to 4000 by now, and we begin to think in terms of ten thousand within a year.

The Board and the Committee

The Executive Committee met in October, and the Board in November. Superficially, perhaps, they were unexciting meetings, but the Committee followed its new pattern of meeting during two days, and going into policy with far greater care than heretofore. And the Board, while hurried a bit, met in pleasant circumstances at Tuskegee (first time ever away from Atlanta), looked carefully at State organizations and at central policy, heard the complaints of our detractors, elected able new people to join them, and at long last, moved ahead positively with a Finance Committee of the Board. This is to be named up from the twelve States, so that there will be maximum coordination in raising money for this central office with the simultaneous effort in and for each of the State groups.

NAIRO to Our Help

The November annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, in a resolution, said:

> "Particularly reprehensible are attempts by certain state government leaders, organizations like the 'white' citizens councils, and the recent efforts of a national newspaper chain to smear responsible, widely respected organizations like the Southern Regional Council, NAACP, and the Fund for the Republic which have supported lawful and orderly methods to bring about the desegregation of the public schools."

Foreign Visitors

We use this spot to keep the record:

P. Gurnam Singh Gill, Chief Clerk, Malayan Road Transport Co., Seremban, N.S., Malaya. Sponsored by the International Labor Affairs, Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Douglas Jay, M.P., Journalist, London, England. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

P.C.W. Gutkind, Sociologist-Anthropologist, Uganda, East Africa. Sponsored by United Nations, New York, New York.

Sven Öste, Newspaper man, Stockholm, Sweden.

Jai Deva Prasad, M.L.C., Member Bihar Legislative Council, Patna-4, Bihar, India. Sponsored by Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

KIND OF THING THIS OFFICE DOES

YMCA man from N.Y. office called. The dickens is loose because the University of Mississippi months ago invited one Kershaw to come and speak during Religious Emphasis week, and Kershaw subsequently turns up as the $32,000 jazz king parson, who said he was going to give some of his winnings to the NAACP. And the Mississippi legislature is up on its ear and says January 3 it will pass a resolution forbidding so reprehensible a man any entry into the great Commonwealth of Mississippi, and the University is making brave noises but is scared, and the poor YM, that had to do with the matter, is maybe dithery. Please come to Cincinnati for a day's meeting and advise what to do. Went, and said when Br'er Tarrypin for good cause had Br'er Fox by the toe, Br'er Tarrypin helt on, and so should Kershaw. YM will pay the bill for the trip.

In late October, a national agency, in convention, had instructed its Atlanta office to query SRC on resolutions appropriate to certain Mississippi violence. We advised.

A South Carolina minister, caught in the toils of opposition to his stand on the matters of race, came over for conferences on procedure and his future. Conferred, and advised, and helped him plan.

A PTA Vice-chairman from a Virginia city writes in. Could get his people to move,a little, if had suitable speaker from a PTA where integration has proceded. How could he get. We communicated with our Virginia affiliate, which advised him.

Advised at length representatives of a major religious denomination, planning a conference at Norfolk, Va., on the stand they should take on desegregation.

The Program Chairman of the National Student Association, who was planning a Southwide student conference for Easter, 1956, on desegregation, needed help. Gave same.

The President's Committee on Government Contracts put out a good summary Newsletter (No. 4). Arranged to have copies reach each SRC affiliate, for that issue and for future issues.

STATES AT WORK

ALABAMA	Advising with Governor's staff re: appointment of an interracial study committee. Publishing good news letter monthly. District meetingsbeing held regularly. Employed 1/2 time Associate Director Mr. Fred Grey, Attorney. Approved increased budget will raise $5,375
ARKANSAS	Work with Hoxie continues. Contacts made with school people in several areas of state. Irene Osborne did excellent job with Little Rock group and representatives from across the state.
FLORIDA	Staff traveled over the state making contacts with key people, both old and new. Cooperating with state United Church Women. Held meetings at Rollins College, Orlando, Hollywood, and West Palm Beach. Conferred with leaders of Dade County Council on Human Relations.
GEORGIA	Helped lead fight to prevent teachers who belong to NAACP from losing their teaching licenses. Added Dr. Mozell Hill as Associate Director on half-time basis. Working with "locals" workshop planned in Macon. Called on Governor to appoint State Interracial Committee.
KENTUCKY	Consultant program proceeding. Irene Osborne did great job in Louisville: public meeting, conference with superintendent and key school people, conference with key community people. Seeking new Executive Director to replace Dr. Brimm who returns to graduate studies.
LOUISIANA	New officers elected. New Chairwoman from Lake Charles; reaching out into state for new strength. Creating new advisory group in New Orleans should greatly strengthen state organization.
MISSISSIPPI	New officers elected. New Chairwoman strong Methodist leader, prestige person, worker. Added half-time Associate Director (making two thus employed). Board seeking to strengthen itself.
NORTH CAROLINA	Wrote all superintendents for information on study committees. Sent all Superintendents and study committee chairmen integration materials on D.C., Baltimore, St. Louis, and Answers for Action. Added Associate Director - well known Negro educator.
SOUTH CAROLINA	Keeping close watch on Citizens' Councils and economic pressures. Contacts made with several school superintendents. Seeking to set up a "local" in Columbia; good outlook. Rev. Pritchett of our group publicly charged "Forces are at work to shackle the pulpits of S.C." Cooperating quietly with NAACP.

TENNESSEE

Seeking to reorganize and strengthen Board. Irene Osborne participated in well-attended workshop in Chattanooga. Work with local school people proceeding.

The Chairman elicited this letter from the State School Authorities:

State of Tennessee
Department of Education
Office of Commissioner
Nashville 3

Mr. F. Woods Beckman, Chairman,
Tennessee Council on Human Relations,
420 Jackson Building,
Chattanooga 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Beckman:

I have your letter of October 18, 1955, in regard to the position of the State Department of Education in distributing school funds to local school systems which should make plans or take action to carry out the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to segregation.

As you state in your letter, the Supreme Court of the United States and the State government have said it is the responsibility of local school boards to carry out the Supreme Court decision. The Federal District Court, with Judge Marion Boyd presiding, ruled last Monday that the constitution and statutes of the State of Tennessee prohibiting desegregation were no longer in effect. In view of this decision, I know of no reason why the State Department of Education would not distribute state funds to such school systems on the same basis as at the present time.

I should point out that there is no assurance that litigation might not result. I think you realize that there is a strong possibility there would be litigation to prevent the payment of such funds.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)
Quill E. Cope
Commissioner

QEC:br

TEXAS — Appointed new advisory committee, greatly strengthening Board with new blood. Employed Associate Director, young, well-known Negro attorney. Out to raise large budget. Work in Dallas-Fort Worth on increase.

VIRGINIA — Doing splendid job of offering alternative plan to the people. Calling for step-by-step integration. Attending public hearings re: the future of the schools. Giving information and counsel to those opposing giving away the schools.

THE CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly ran a workshop for the United Church Women of Georgia; went up to the Cleveland meeting of the Church Women (using the occasion to line up meetings of her ladies for Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida). She led four seminars for four different Church groups in Georgia; taught a course for ministers' wives at the Methodist (and Negro) Seminary in Atlanta; was peripatetic for four days in Mississippi, and for two in Alabama; worked with others for a regional meeting of Methodist women coming up next month; and variously spoke to Baptists, to grammar schools, community groups, and Councils of Jewish Women, mostly on the Supreme Court decision.

TOWARD MORE PROGRAM FOR THE STATES

In the formal request to the Fund for the Republic last August a tentative plan for program development in the various states was presented. The plan called for the use of highly trained social scientists as SRC consultants who would hold program evaluation workshops for board members, conduct training institutes for state staff, and initiate a series of regional and subregional conferences to deal more specifically with the problems of school desegregation. On a modified basis, this important professional service is being organized under the direction of Mr. John Hope II, who is on loan to SRC from the Race Relations division of the American Missionary Association. Final details of operation will be worked out at a meeting of the consultants early in January.

THE MONEY

Mrs. Ruth Alexander was confirmed by the Board, November 9, as Secretary-Treasurer, succeeding Miss Katherine Stoney. Mrs. Alexander's report will come along, as an annex, as soon as the auditor can be fetched in.

EAB –

Send copies of each of these to GSM.

H.

Mailed 2/6/56

(Tom)

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

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MEMPHIS TENN JAN 29 1030AMC

GEORGE MITCHELL, CARE PRES RUFUS E CLEMENT

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY ATLA

OUR BEST WISHES TO A DEDICATED AND INTELLIGENT SERVANT OF MANKIND

HOLLIS F PRICE PRES LEMOYNE COLLEGE

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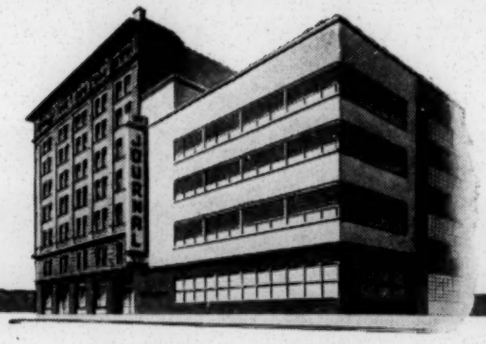


RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

January 28, 1957

Executive Committee in Charge
of Dr. George S. Mitchell Banquet
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

It is with deep regret that I must dictate this by telephone from New York instead of being there to read it in person.

George Mitchell has always been on my conscience because he had more courage than I. He also is one of the most gentle and kind men I have ever known. This, combined with courage, makes him a unique person, all too rare in our time.

Please allow me, thus, to wish for him and his family all good fortune and to assure him we will miss him.

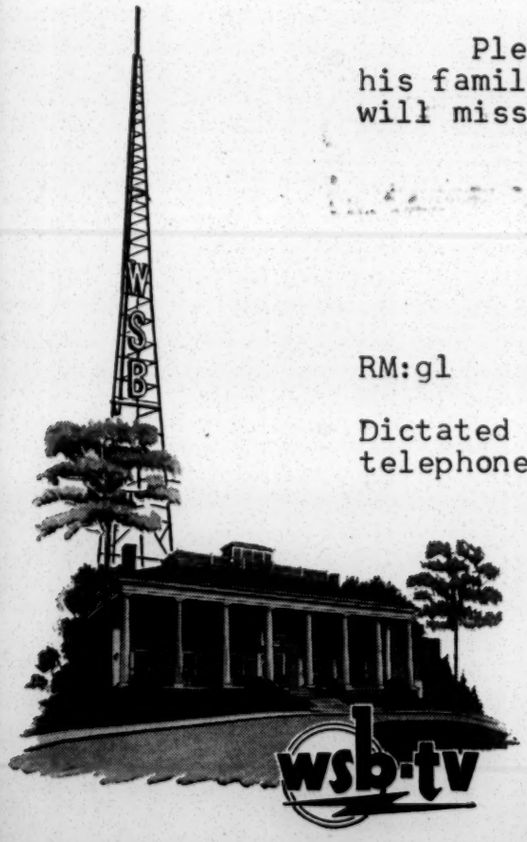
Sincerely yours,

Ralph McGill

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

Dictated by Mr. McGill on Long Distance telephone and signed in his absence.



IN FLIGHT—EASTERN AIR LINES

To Dr. George S. Mulvihill Jr. –

Only the unavoidable necessity of being in New York for a conference with the editors keeps me from being present to pay my respects personally –

It is very much the Southern loss & Rockland's gain that you are transferring yourself & your work there.

In more than 30 years of reporting and trying to interpret the news of the South, I know of no ~~one~~ other person who has done so much for this nation's South as you have. It always has been

pishing and information to benefit you.

All of us in the Atlanta Bureau of Time & Life want to thank you for the usual courtesy & accurate information you have given us on innumerable occasions.

Cheerio & Happy Time m. Rollins

Hope to see you there and sample the genuine ~~refreshments~~ nature drinks!

Bill Harland
Bureau Chief
Time & Life

Please read the attached message at the dinner

IN FLIGHT—EASTERN AIR LINES

Atlanta Ga.
Jan 26, 1957

Dear Harold —

Only the sheer necessity of conferring with the boys about Cincinnati — which I had delayed on account of flu, prevents me from being at the dinner for Lenore —

I'm enclosing a message from all of us at the Atlanta bureau —

As soon as I get home, I'll be talking with you about where, or if, I made White Boy Briggs so ill with the darkest religious brethren in Mount Gilead

Best

Bill Crawford

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell.

Only the unavoidable necessity of being in New York for a conference with the ~~electors~~ editors keeps me from being present to pay my respects personally.

It is very much the South's loss and Scotland's gain that you are transferring yourself and your work there.

In more than thirty years of reporting and trying to interpret the news of the South, I know of no other person who has done so much for his native South as you have. It always has been inspiring and informative to be with you.

All of us in the Atlanta Bureau of Time and Life want to thank you for the wise counsel and accurate information you have given us on innumerable occasions, and to wish you a bonny time in Scotland.

Hope to see you there and sample ~~in~~ all the quaint native drinks!

Bill Howland
Bureau Chief
Time and Life

CLIPSHEET FOR EDITORS

From the Committee for Economic Development

444 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

NO. 15 — 447 — EDITORS MAY USE THIS MATERIAL AS DESIRED. MATS OF ILLUSTRATIONS WILL BE SENT ON REQUEST — OCTOBER, 1952

Economic Stability Of World Hinges on American Policies

Keeping U. S. Economy 'Free, Dynamic and Reasonably Stable' Is Now More Important Than Ever Before, CED Study Group Declares

NEW YORK—The economic stability of the rest of the world now hinges on United States policies as never before. This is one of the points stressed by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development in its recent long-range analysis, *The Threat to Our National Security.*

In a comprehensive study designed "to suggest how to think about" the problems likely to be faced by the American people and their allies in the face of Russian moves in the next few years, the committee says:

"American economic power and the world's economic interdependence are now so great that our domestic policies have an enormous impact, intended or unintended, on other countries.

'Precariously Balanced'

"The stability or instability of employment and prices in the United States is a major factor in the economic health or sickness of many other countries. To the domestic consequences of any serious depression or inflation in the United States must now be added the effects upon the precariously balanced economies of other countries all around the world.

"A depression here would close the American market for foreign goods more effectively than a high tariff. Inflation in the U. S. will raise the prices paid by many countries for essential imports, not only directly from us but also in world markets. In either case the economic stability of foreign countries and their ability to maintain living standards and security programs would be threatened.

'Vital to Stability, Security'

"The present world situation therefore makes even more important what should in any case be the objectives of United States domestic economic policy. We must keep the United States economy free, dynamic and reasonably stable. This has now become vital to the stability and security of the whole non-communist world.

"It is essential not only to maintain reasonable economic stability

Need for U.S. To Help Asia Called Urgent

NEW YORK—"There is need for the United States to assert vigorously, in the name of the whole free world, an interest in social and economic reform in free Asia and to support that interest with practical action through United Nations agencies and otherwise."

This, in the opinion of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, is one of the United States' two "most urgent and critical problems of positive foreign policy." The other is further organization and strengthening of the European and North American countries which form the Atlantic Community.

Skill and Patience Needed

After emphasizing that "the Atlantic Community is the core and backbone—political, military and economic—of the free world," the Committee says in its recent analysis of *The Threat to Our National Security:*

"The positive task of American foreign policy in Asia, and particularly in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, is in many ways more difficult, and more demanding of political skill and patience (though not of economic resources) than the task of organizing the Atlantic Community. For in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, national states, some of them

MEYER KESTNBAUM

Mr. Kestnbaum is Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, non-profit and non-partisan organization of leading businessmen and educators which engages in objective research and education on major economic problems affecting the national interest. *The Threat to Our National Security* is the subject of a recent study by Mr. Kestnbaum's committee of 38 business executives. In private life Mr. Kestnbaum is President of Hart Schaffner & Marx, Chicago.

Inflation Peril Can Be Met, CED Asserts

NEW YORK—"Does the prospect of large security programs for an indefinite period make inflation inevitable?" This is one of the questions considered in a recent study, *The Threat to Our National Security,* by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. The answer reached by the 38 business leaders who form the research unit is: "Not necessarily."

The committee went on to say:

"Inflation can be prevented if the American people appreciate the gravity of the inflation problem. Although we have had over a decade of inflation, with only brief interruptions, the impact of inflation has not yet been fully recognized. We tend too much to think of each wave of inflation as a temporary, and possibly even useful, evil—something we can ride out without much trouble. But the great danger lies in the succession of such waves—interrupted now and again only by

Soviet Threat to World Security, Ways to Meet It Detailed by CED

Positive and Defensive Tasks Facing U.S. Are Outlined by Leaders

NEW YORK—The nature and extent of the Soviet threat to the security of the United States and the free world and what this country and its allies must do to counter it are analyzed in the latest statement on national policy issued by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development.

The 10,000-word study by the national non-profit economic research and education organization of leading businessmen and educators is the result of many months of investigation and discussion with governmental and private authorities on international affairs. Marion B. Folsom, Treasurer of Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N. Y., is CED Chairman.

Policy Goals Defined

The Research and Policy Committee, composed of 38 business executives under the chairmanship of Meyer Kestnbaum, President of Hart Schaffner & Marx, Chicago, drew this conclusion:

"The goal of American foreign and military policy is to build a just and stable peace, and to help create the world political and economic order on which peace depends. To achieve this aim in the present condition of the world is a task of unparalleled difficulty and complexity.

"It is both a *positive* task of overcoming the internal problems of the non-communist world and improving its living standards, and a *defensive* task of preventing the Soviet Union and its communist supporters from interfering.

Major Threat Spelled Out

"These joint tasks will not be quickly or cheaply accomplished. Building the peace is a large and continuing enterprise which will demand all the understanding, steadiness, courage and patience of which Americans are capable for many years to come. It will also require of us a sincere concern for the interests and aspirations of other peoples.

"The major threat we face in this continuing enterprise is that might lead to strong isolationist policies in the U.S.A.—making it possible for the Soviets so to augment their relative power by territorial gains or alliances that they could in time launch an attack on the Western Hemisphere.

"If developments such as these are to be prevented, American thinking and policy must be positive. The threat which communism presents to the freedom and aspirations of free peoples is serious because of the internal weaknesses of some parts of the non-communist world and because of the now-inadequate political and moral solidarity among free countries.

'Four Most Urgent Tasks'

"We believe, therefore, that the task of our positive foreign policy pation on the part of other countries as their economic capacities have improved and as they have gained confidence in themselves and in their international partners.

War Can Be Avoided

"We have faith that, in cooperation, the nations of the free world can avoid a general war with the Soviet Union and can progressively overcome their own problems. We believe that the American people will accept the role of leadership and its burdens, and will prove themselves patient and resourceful in the long and difficult task of building the peace."

Members of the Research and Policy Committee, in addition to Mr. Folsom and Mr. Kestnbaum, are: Elliott V. Bell, Editor and Publisher, Business Week, New York; John D. Biggers, President,

5-Point Plan to Deter Soviets

NEW YORK—A five-point program "to deter the Soviets from general war, and at the same time to deter them from attempting to seize areas we consider vital to our security" is advanced by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development in its statement on national policy, "The Threat to Our National Security."

American military preparations and those of our allies must be of such a size and nature as to make clear to the Soviets that they cannot expect to win a general war," the committee said. "At the same time, our military build-up should not be so formidable in size and character as to induce the Soviets to initiate war."

To achieve these effects, a combination of policies is required:

"In the first place, it is necessary to give clear-cut guarantees that the United States will fight, if necessary, to defend strategically vital areas.

"Second, it is essential to build great power to damage by strategic bombardment the Soviets' industrial capacity and to make American industrial power relatively much less vulnerable than that of the Soviet Union. The question may be raised whether present U.S. programs now give sufficient emphasis to measures designed to reduce the vulnerability of our industrial power and civilian morale.

"Third, we must create and maintain in being U. S. and allied forces large enough to hold essential bases in Europe, Asia and Africa during the initial phase of a possible war, but not so large as to appear to the Soviet Union to constitute an imminent threat of aggression.

"Fourth, we must expand and convert industrial capacity, train workers, and do the many other things necessary to create a broad U.S. and allied "mobilization base"—that is, a capacity to build up rapidly, in the event of general war, a force sufficient to win.

"Finally, we must do the research and development necessary to keep ahead of the Soviets in the technological race, and we must be prepared to make the changes in military plans, in the mobilization base and in defensive measures—especially more rapid industrial dispersion—which new weapons may make necessary."

This, in the opinion of the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, is one of the United States' two "most urgent and critical problems of positive foreign policy." The other is further organization and strengthening of the European and North American countries which form the Atlantic Community.

Skill and Patience Needed

After emphasizing that "the Atlantic Community is the core and backbone—political, military and economic—of the free world," the Committee says in its recent analysis of *The Threat to Our National Security:*

"The positive task of American foreign policy in Asia, and particularly in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, is in many ways more difficult, and more demanding of political skill and patience (though not of economic resources) than the task of organizing the Atlantic Community. For in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, national states, some of them just created, are struggling with the most elemental problems of national existence and development.

"National governments in these regions are frequently weak and lacking in administrative capacity. There is relatively little national cohesion. There is generally lacking a vigorous and enterprising middle class, free of the restraints of outgrown social forms and able to undertake the economic development of the country. In several of these countries, there are major problems of internal security or civil disorder. And in nearly all of them economic progress depends on economic and social reforms — especially land reform — which are long overdue.

No Quick Solution

"These are not problems which will be solved quickly; they will be with us in one form or another for many years. Little progress will be made without continuous political support, technical and administrative assistance, and foreign capital on a large scale from the more advanced countries — most of which can only be provided by the Atlantic Community, particularly the United States. This task has been begun by the International Bank, the Point IV Program, the UN technical assistance programs and the development programs of the Mutual Security Agency in Asia. More will be needed.

"There is need for the United States to assert vigorously, in the name of the whole free world, an interest in social and economic reform in free Asia and to support that interest with practical action through United Nations agencies and otherwise. Above all, perhaps, there is need for Americans to see clearly that political order and economic progress in these areas are not emergency problems which will soon pass, but continuing problems which give rise to continuing responsibilities on the part of the Atlantic Community and the United States."

domestic consequences of any serious depression or inflation in the United States must now be added the effects upon the precariously balanced economies of other countries all around the world.

"A depression here would close the American market for foreign goods more effectively than a high tariff. Inflation in the U. S. will raise the prices paid by many countries for essential imports, not only directly from us but also in world markets. In either case the economic stability of foreign countries and their ability to maintain living standards and security programs would be threatened.

'Vital to Stability, Security'

"The present world situation therefore makes even more important what should in any case be the objectives of United States domestic economic policy. We must keep the United States economy free, dynamic and reasonably stable. This has now become vital to the stability and security of the whole non-communist world.

"It is essential not only to maintain reasonable economic stability in the United States but also, so far as possible, to create confidence that stability will be maintained. Fear of American economic instability is an obstacle to the closer economic and political association of the non-communist countries. And the belief that capitalist societies are inherently and violently unstable has been a main point of communist propaganda. Of course, absolute stability is not to be expected in a free, dynamic society. But reasonable stability is achievable and would be a major gain.

"The threat to our security, and the measures we must take to meet it, make the objectives of a free, stable and growing economy more difficult to achieve. Large budgets, for example, create a danger of inflation. Taxes to finance these budgets may impede economic growth. And a general consciousness of danger leads to the acceptance of crisis measures, freedom-restricting measures, for meeting problems that in a more normal atmosphere would be met in other ways.

Problems Can Be Met

"These are real difficulties, but they are not insuperable. Unless security programs far exceed the amounts now planned, or unless the international situation deteriorates seriously, we believe that sound public policy and responsible private action can overcome these difficulties.

"In the past ten years CED has issued many policy statements on aspects of this problem. These statements emphasize the importance of rigorous control of governmental expenditures; the adoption of fiscal, monetary and credit policies to help offset tendencies toward inflation and depression, to encourage investment and strengthen incentives to increase output; avoidance of direct government control over prices and wages except in extreme emergency; and self-restraint by organized political and economic groups in pressing their demands upon the national economy."

CED Asserts

NEW YORK—"Does the prospect of large security programs for an indefinite period make inflation inevitable?" This is one of the questions considered in a recent study, *The Threat to Our National Security,* by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. The answer reached by the 38 business leaders who form the research unit is: "Not necessarily."

The committee went on to say:

"Inflation can be prevented if the American people appreciate the gravity of the inflation problem. Although we have had over a decade of inflation, with only brief interruptions, the impact of inflation has not yet been fully recognized. We tend too much to think of each wave of inflation as a temporary, and possibly even useful, evil—something we can ride out without much trouble. But the great danger lies in the succession of such waves—interrupted now and again only by short periods of relative stability.

The Perils of Inflation

"We live in a money economy. We make our economic arrangements in terms of dollars—basically in the expectation that a dollar ten or twenty years from now will be worth about what it is now. Long continued inflation would undermine this expectation. It will make economic life less efficient in many ways—interfering with the accumulation of savings for investment, making provision for capital replacement more difficult, diverting energies from production to self-protection against inflation, constantly disrupting industrial peace.

"Relations among economic and social groups would be impaired. In the end we probably could not escape the simple but stultifying solution of permanent government controls of prices and wages. Such controls would temporarily suppress inflation and conceal its source.

Ways to Prevent It

"The danger is not only to our domestic economy but also to the solidarity of the non-communist world. Our allies have had experience with inflation. They fear it, whether in their own countries or here. They view budgetary deficits and rising prices here with concern. While they respect and depend upon our superior economic resources, the danger of American economic instability weakens their confidence in the continuity of American leadership.

"If the danger of inflation is understood and a determined campaign is waged to combat it, it can be prevented. Adequate and effective taxation and credit measures are the basic remedies that go to the root of this disease. We need the most rigorous economy in postponable public expenditures. We need to curb expansion of the money supply by restraint upon bank credit. We need self-restraint by industry and labor in demanding higher prices and wages, and we need to encourage private saving.

Chicago, drew this conclusion:

"The goal of American foreign and military policy is to build a just and stable peace, and to help create the world political and economic order on which peace depends. To achieve this aim in the present condition of the world is a task of unparalleled difficulty and complexity.

"It is both a *positive* task of overcoming the internal problems of the non-communist world and improving its living standards, and a *defensive* task of preventing the Soviet Union and its communist supporters from interfering.

Major Threat Spelled Out

"These joint tasks will not be quickly or cheaply accomplished. Building the peace is a large and continuing enterprise which will demand all the understanding, steadiness, courage and patience of which Americans are capable for many years to come. It will also require of us a sincere concern for the interests and aspirations of other peoples.

"The major threat we face in this continuing enterprise is that the economic weakness and political instability of many non-communist countries will lead to piecemeal communist gains and periodic crises which could undermine the morale of free countries and isolate the United States. Unless effectively countered, this deterioration could lead in a few years time to a serious danger of general war and even to a situation in which we might be in danger of losing a war with the Soviet Union. This, rather than the deliberate initiation of general war by the Soviet Union appears to be the greatest and most probable danger to our aims during the next few years.

"To say this is not to deny the undeniable fact that Russia's goal is a world empire, which she will seek ruthlessly to attain. But the United States and its allies are stronger in military and economic potential than the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union has important economic and political weaknesses; the Soviet imperial system and the uneasy Soviet alliance with China will be subject to growing political strain.

Estimate of Soviet Policies

"Provided our military preparations are adequate and provided we strengthen our allies and friends, it seems reasonable to assume that the Soviet Union will not, during the next few years, deliberately choose general war as the preferred means of achieving its aim. Much more likely is a Soviet policy of continuous political action, propaganda, localized aggression and subversion, designed to demoralize the free world, weaken its will to resist communism and convince it that resistance is either futile, dangerous or unnecessary.

"There is nevertheless inherent in the present world situation a major risk of total war. The foregoing estimate of the Soviets' intentions may be mistaken; they may in fact be planning all-out war. General war could break out accidentally as the result of miscalculations by either side. It is therefore necessary also to prepare against the contingency of total war within the next few years.

Other Possibilities

"If the non-communist world allows the Soviets and their foreign satellites, allies and supporters to be successful in their strategy, and if the demoralizing effects of future communist successes were compounded by political and economic crises among the free nations, the United States could be faced in a few years time with an extremely serious situation, and a grave danger of general war.

"One possibility is that this weakening of the morale and political cohesion of the non-communist world might encourage the Soviets or force the United States into actions which would make World War III unavoidable. Another possibility is that communist success and the growth of neutralism in Europe and Asia

up rapidly, in the event of general war, a force sufficient to win.

"Finally, we must do the research and development necessary to keep ahead of the Soviets in the technological race, and we must be prepared to make the changes in military plans, in the mobilization base and in defensive measures—especially more rapid industrial dispersion—which new weapons may make necessary."

might lead to strong isolationist policies in the U.S.A.—making it possible for the Soviets so to augment their relative power by territorial gains or alliances that they could in time launch an attack on the Western Hemisphere.

"If developments such as these are to be prevented, American thinking and policy must be positive. The threat which communism presents to the freedom and aspirations of free peoples is serious because of the internal weaknesses of some parts of the non-communist world and because of the now-inadequate political and moral solidarity among free countries.

'Four Most Urgent Tasks'

"We believe, therefore, that the task of our positive foreign policy is to attack the sources of these weaknesses, to improve the living standards of free peoples and, at the same time, to strengthen the political and moral ties among free countries.

"To this end, there are four most urgent tasks:

(1) To maintain a high and stable level of employment in the United States, without further inflation.

(2) To strengthen the political, economic and military organization of the Atlantic Community. We need to ask ourselves by what steps the Atlantic Community can evolve from a loose association of separate national states toward a more integrated economic and political system.

(3) To liberalize American import and commercial policies.

(4) To find more effective ways than have yet been found to strengthen governments in Asia (including the Middle East) to improve their administrative capacity and to supply them with the technical assistance and the foreign capital they need for economic growth.

Rapid Build-Up Required

"But success in these positive tasks depends on success in deterring the Soviet Union from general war and in defending the non-communist world from communist aggression and subversion. This is the task of American military policy. We believe that the present world situation requires the rapid build-up of our own military forces and the assistance to friendly nations in building up their military and economic strength which are the purpose of the U. S. Government's security programs. We believe, however, that budgetary savings can be made in the security programs for fiscal year 1953 and later years by improvements of efficiency in planning, in procurement, in use of military manpower and in other ways.

"Provided national economic policies are designed to minimize the effect of military expenditures on the growth of the American economy, and provided the American people are willing to accept, in the interest of freedom and security, a somewhat slower growth in living standards, we believe that our economy can bear the burden of this effort.

"In this policy statement we have focused on American policy, because it is primarily American policy about which Americans have to make decisions. But it is clear from everything that has been said here that our security problem is part of a problem that affects the whole non-communist world. Other countries have responsibilities to help themselves and to share in the common effort. We are encouraged by the trend to increased self-help and participation on the part of other countries as their economic capacities have improved and as they have gained confidence in themselves and in their international partners.

War Can Be Avoided

"We have faith that, in cooperation, the nations of the free world can avoid a general war with the Soviet Union and can progressively overcome their own problems. We believe that the American people will accept the role of leadership and its burdens, and will prove themselves patient and resourceful in the long and difficult task of building the peace."

Members of the Research and Policy Committee, in addition to Mr. Folsom and Mr. Kestnbaum, are: Elliott V. Bell, Editor and Publisher, Business Week, New York; John D. Biggers, President, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, Toledo; James F. Brownlee, Partner, J. H. Whitney & Co., New York; Charles S. Cheston, Philadelphia; S. Bayard Colgate, Chairman of the Board, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co., New York; S. Sloan Colt, President, Bankers Trust Company, New York; Gardner Cowles, President, Des Moines Register & Tribune and Cowles Magazines, Inc., New York; Jay E. Crane, Vice President, Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), New York; Harlow H. Curtice, Executive Vice President, General Motors Corporation, Detroit; D. W. Figgis, Director & Former Chairman of the Board, American Can Co., New York; Clarence Francis, Chairman of the Board, General Foods Corp., New York; Philip L. Graham, President & Publisher, The Washington Post, Washington; Robert Heller, President, Robert Heller & Associates, Inc., Cleveland; Amory Houghton, Chairman of the Board, Corning Glass Works, Corning, N. Y.; Thomas Roy Jones, President, Daystrom, Inc., Elizabeth, N. J.; Ernest Kanzler, Chairman of the Board, Universal C.I.T. Credit Corp., Detroit; Sigurd S. Larmon, President, Young & Rubicam, Inc., New York; Roy E. Larsen, President, Time, Inc., New York; Fred Lazarus, Jr., President, Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati; Leroy A. Lincoln, Chairman of the Board, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York; Thomas B. McCabe, President, Scott Paper Co., Chester, Pa.; Fowler McCormick, Scottsdale, Ariz.; Don G. Mitchell, President, Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., New York; George L. Morrison, Chairman of the Board and President, General Baking Company, New York; Philip D. Reed, Chairman of the Board, General Electric Co., New York; Nelson A. Rockefeller, New York; Beardsley Ruml, New York; Harry Scherman, Chairman of the Board, Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., New York; S. Abbot Smith, President, Thomas Strahan Company, Chelsea, Mass.; H. Christian Sonne, Chairman of the Board, Amsinck, Sonne & Co., New York; Alan H. Temple, Vice President, The National City Bank of New York, New York; J. Cameron Thomson, President, Northwest Bancorporation, Minneapolis; Frazar B. Wilde, President, Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Hartford; W. Walter Williams, President, Continental, Inc., Seattle; Theodore O. Yntema, Vice President—Finance, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Mich.; J. D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corp., San Francisco.

Notes in Quotes

"No mechanism has yet been found that is nearly as efficient as the free market system in providing the driving force for economic growth and in regulating the flow of goods and services.

"Prices are the main instrument in a free economy by means of which goods and services are allocated in response to changes in supply and demand.

"We do not mean to imply that the course of the economy should be controlled only by the forces of the market place; we recognize the need to supplement the free market with government action to protect against certain abuses and to prevent serious economic instability. But the defects of the free market can be remedied without putting the economy in a straitjacket."—**The Program Committee of the Committee for Economic Development in *Ending Price-Wage Controls.***

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"We have seen again and again the resilience and dynamic force of the American economy, and I think there is little ground for pessimism regarding the danger of a sharp reduction in business activity when the peak rate of military spending has passed."—**Marion B. Folsom, Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development and treasurer of Eastman Kodak Co., in a recent report.**

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"There is danger that after so many years of inflation any easing of inflationary pressure may be interpreted as the beginning of deflation. If an attempt is made to give the economy a shot in the arm whenever it shows signs of leveling out the result is likely to be permanent inflation."—**J. Cameron Thomson, Vice Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development and president of Northwest Bancorporation, in a recent speech.**

Briefs and Fillers

The average American employee's hourly wages more than tripled in the first half of this century, in terms of what he could buy with his pay, according to the Committee for Economic Development.

In 1900 the average employee in the U. S. made 43 cents an hour, in terms of 1949 prices. Fifty years later the average was $1.43, according to the Committee for Economic Development.

American industrial research was carried on by 300 laboratories with 9000 employees in 1920, the Committee for Economic Development finds. Twenty years later there were 2200 laboratories with more than 70,000 employees.

Corporate profits taxes have been increased three times since mid-1950, the Committee for Economic Development (CED) says, pointing out that the average Federal tax load of all corporations is approximately 60 per cent of their net income.

Small incomes have increased by considerably greater percentages than large incomes since 1935, according to a Committee for Economic Development analysis.

The average American employee's real wages (what money wages can buy) have increased nearly 2.5 per cent per man hour per year since 1900, according to the Committee for Economic Development.

The average worker's real wages per hour will double in the next 30 years if the productivity rate of the last 50 can be maintained, the Committee for Economic Development says.

Between 1900 and 1950 national production per manhour rose from about 51 cents (in terms of 1949 prices) to $1.83, according to a Committee for Economic Development study.

"Many of the emergency tax increases enacted in 1951 and in 1952 will automatically expire in fiscal 1954," the Committee for Economic Development says in pointing to the need for tax reform planning.

The Atlanta Journal ★ THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, DEC. 14, 1952

Malcolm Bryan Named To Ford Foundation Group

Malcolm Bryan, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, has been named as a member of Ford Foundation committee set up to plan a program for the "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States."

The Atlanta banker and economist is one of a group of 14 "distinguished men and women" named to the committee.

Foundation President Paul G. Hoffman said the new group, to be known as the Fund for the Republic, will be awarded a substantial grant to carry on its work "over a period of years" if it comes up with a satisfactory program.

He said the foundation asked "a distinguished group of men and women" to form an "independent organization" to study the many controversial problems concerning freedom in America.

* * *

OTHERS NAMED TO the group were James F. Brownless of J. H. Whitney & Co., New York; Attorney Huntington Cairns, Washington; President Charles W. Cole of Amherst College; Editor Richard Finnegan of the Chicago Sun-Times; William H. Joyce Jr., Pasadena, California.

President M. Albert Linton of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Philadelphia; President George N. Shuster of Hunter College; Dean Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard Law School; President Meyer Kestnbaum of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago; President Jubal R. Parten of the Woodley Petroleum Co., Houston; Marketing Consultant Elmo Roper, New York; Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio, and President James D. Zellerbach of the Crown Zellerbach Corp., San Francisco.

New York Times, Dec. 15, 1952

Return to K C

FORD BOARD SEEKS TO UNFETTER IDEAS

Foundation Sets Up Fund for the Republic to Fight Curbs on Thought and Expression

15 Directors Appointed

If They Offer a Satisfactory Program, a Grant Will Be Made to Carry Out Work

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A new organization called The Fund for the Republic has been established by the Ford Foundation to work for "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States," it was announced yesterday by Paul G. Hoffman, president of the foundation.

"In the opinion of the foundation," he said, "the many controversial problems in this area can best be acted on by an organization that has complete independence. The foundation has therefore asked a distinguished group of men and women to form such an independent organization and to study the problem and outline a program.

"The foundation has further indicated that if the organization and program arrived at by this fund are satisfactory, a substantial grant will be made to enable it to carry on its work over a period of years."

15 Directors Appointed

Fifteen directors of the fund have been named. Nine of them met this week at the offices of the foundation, 665 Madison Avenue. They will meet again, probably before the next scheduled meeting of the board of trustees of the foundation. It is expected that the directors of the fund will then elect officers, appoint a staff, announce a program and determine on the amount of the initial grant to be sought from the foundation.

The directors who attended the first meeting of the new organization were:

James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney & Co., New York.
Malcolm Bryan, president, Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta.
Huntington Cairns, lawyer, Washington.
Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Russell L. Dearmont, lawyer, St. Louis.
Richard Finnegan, consulting editor, The Chicago Sun-Times.
William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, Calif.
M. Albert Linton, president, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia.
George N. Shuster, president Hunter College, New York.

Other directors of the new organization who were unable to attend the first meeting are:

Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School.
Meyer Kestenbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago.
Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Tex.
Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York.
Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio.
James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco.

Aim of Fund Cited

Mr. Hoffman said the fund had been organized to carry out one of the intentions of the foundation trustees as expressed in a statement issued by them in 1950. In this statement the trustees dedicated the foundation to work for the elimination of war and the improvement of mankind and defined five "areas of action" to guide its future. Those areas are world peace, freedom and democracy, economic progress, educational progress, and scientific progress.

The new fund comes under the first of four subdivisions in the second broad area—freedom and democracy. In this regard, the statement said, the foundation would support activities directed toward "the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States and the development of policies and procecures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

The Ford Foundation, of which Henry Ford 2d is board chairman, was established with funds of the late Henry Ford and the late Edsel Ford. It is believed to be the largest public trust in the world. According to its latest financial statement, its net assests were $502,587,957 on Dec. 31, 1951.

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December 17, 1952

COMMENTS FROM WHO'S WHO ON PERSONS NAMED TO SERVE ON FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC BOARD

Bryan, Malcolm Honore, pres. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta; b. Watseka, Ill., Feb. 15, 1902; s. Wm. A. & Marguerite (Ludy) B; A.B., U. of Ill., 1924, A.M., 1925; m. Nan Coghlan, July 10, 1925; children--Patricia, Wm. A. Prof. economics, U. of Ga., 1925-36; sec. Special Tax Comm. of Ga., 1929; v.p. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta 1938-41; 1st v. p. 1941- ; pres. since 19 ; economist, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, 1936-38; mem. Special Comm. on Banking & Taxation, U. S. Treasury, 1934; mem. American Technical Staff, Bretton Woods Monetary & Financial Conf., 1944. Pres. Southern Economic Assn., 1942. Editor Southern Economic Journ., Oct. 1933-Apr. 1937. Home: 10 16th St., NE. Office: 104 Marietta St., Atlanta, Ga.

Cole, Charles Woolsey, coll. pres; b. Montclair, N. J., Feb. 8, 1906; s. Chas. Buckingham & Bertha Woolsey (Dwight) C; A. B. Amherst Coll., 1927; L.H.D., 1942; A. M. Columbia U., 1928; PHD, 1931; m. Katherine Bush Salmon, Aug. 29, 1928; children--Elizabeth Dwight, Katherine Woolsey. Instr. history, Columbia U. 1929-35; traveling fellow Social Research Council (Paris) 1932-33; asso. prof. econ., Amherst Coll., 1935-37; George D. Olds prof. econ., 1937-40; visiting lectures econs. Yale Univ., 1938-39; prof. history, Columbia U., 1940- ; pres. Amherst Coll. since . Chief Service Trades Branch, Retail Trades & Services Div., Off. of Price Adm., 1942-43; mem. teaching staff, Navy School of Military Govt. & Admin, Columbia U., 1943-44; lecturer Army Sch. of Military Govt., Charlottesville, Va., 1943-44; mem. faculty Manhattan Sch. of Music, 1944-45. Mem Amer. Econ. Assn., Econ. Hist. Assn., Amer. Assn. Univ. Profs., Amer. Hist. Assn., Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Delta Sigma Rho. Presbyterian. Author: French Mercantilist Doctrines before Colbert, 1931; Colbert & a Century of French Mercantilism, 2 vols., 1939; Economic Hist. of Europe (with S.B. Clough), 1941; French Mercantilism, 1683-1700, 1943. Home: 266 Arch Rd., Englewood, N. J.

Finnegan, Richard James, newspaper man; b. Chicago, Ill., Sep. 5, 1885; s. Richard J. & Ella (Biggs) F.; LL.B., Chicago Law Sch., 1907; m. Lucile Adams, July 6, 1907; children—Lucile (Mrs. Willard J. Learis), Ruth Joan (Mrs. Chas. R. Corcoran), Richard Adams. Reporter, Chicago Chronicle, 1901; Chicago Inter Ocean, 1903-04; became connected w. Chicago Daily Journal 1904; city editor, 1914-15; mng. editor, 1916-25; co-editor, 1925-28; editor Chicago Times, 1929-44; editor & pubr. since Apr. 1944. Pres. La Rabida Jackson Park Sanitarium (for care of children after rheumatic fever). Office: 211 Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill.

Linton, Morris Albert, life ins. exec.; b. Germantown, Phila., Pa., Apr. 4, 1887; s. Morris & Ruth A. (Leeds) L; B.S. Haverford (Pa.) Coll., 1908 (Phi Beta Kappa), A.M. 1910; grad. study Federal Polytechnic, Zurich, Switzerland, 1908-09, U. of Mich., 1910; LL.D. Miami U., 1934; m. Margaret Stokes Roberts, Dec. 8, 1914; children—Morris Albert, Elizabeth. Began w. Provident Life & Trust Co. (now Provident Mutual Life Ins. Co. of Phila.) 1909; v.p. 1916-31; pres. since 1931; dir. Provident Trust Co., Western Savings Fund Soc. Mem. bd. Haverford Coll., Am. Acad. Polit. & Soc. Sci; pres. Moorestown Family Welfare Assn.; mem. advisory coun. Soc. Security Bd.; mem. bd. Community Fund (Phila.); ex-chmn. Inst. of Life Ins.; ex-pres. Acturial Soc. Amer; fellow Am. Inst. Actuaries, Inst. of Actuaries (London); mem. Franklin Inst. Quaker Clubs: Midday, Haverford (Phila.); Lake Placid (N. Y.); Pine Valley (N. J.) Golf; Am. & Swiss Alpine, Contbr. on soc. security & life ins. Home: 315 E. Oak St., Moorestown, N. J. Off.: 46th & Market Sts., Phila., Pa.

3--Fund for the Republic

Shuster, George Nauman, author, educator: b. Lancaster, Wis., Aug. 27, 1894; s. Anthony & Elizabeth (Nauman) S; A.B. U. of Notre Dame, 1915, A. M. 1920; Certificat d'Aptitude, U. of Poitiers, France, 1919; grad, study Columbia U., 1925-26, PH.D. from same univ. 1940; m. Doris Parks Cunningham, June 25, 1924; 1 son, Robert George. Head of dept. of English, U. of Notre Dame, 1920-24; instr. in Eng. Brooklyn (N. Y.) Poly. Inst., 1924-25; prof. Eng., St. Joseph's Coll. for Women, Brooklyn, 1924-35; asso. editor The Commonweal, 1925-29, mng, editor, 1929-37, now contbg. ed; fellow Social Sci. Research Coun., Columbia, 1937-39; dean & acting pres., Hunter Coll., N. Y., 1939-40, pres. since 1940. Oberlaender Trust fellow in Germany 1932. Membergen. adv. com., Div. Cultural Relations, Dept. of State, 1944-45; mem. Enemy Alien Bd. No. 2, N. Y., 1942-45. Member U. of Chicago Comm. on the Freedom of the Press since 1944. Served as sergeant Intelligence Section, U. S. Army, World War I. Member Calvert Associates. Catholic Clubs: Century, Players. Author: Catholic Spirit in Modern English Literature, 1922; Newman--Prose & Poetry, 1925; Eng. Lit., 1926; The Hill of Happiness, 1926; the Catholic Spirit in Amer., 1927; the Eternal Magnet, 1929; The Catholic Church & Current Lit, 1929; The Germans, 1932; Strong Man Rules, 1934; Like a Mighty Army, 1935; Brother Flo, 1938; Look Away, 1939; The Eng. Ode from Milton to Keats, 1940; Religion & Education, 1945. Co-author: Pope Pius XI & Amer. Pub. Opin., 1939; Germany: A Short History, 1945. Editor: Malta Books, 1930; Mein Kampf, 1939; The World's Great Catholic Lit., 1943. Editor Century Cath. College Tests in Eng. since 1932. Translator: Jesse & Maria, by Handel-Mazzetti, 1931; Job the Man Speaks with God, by Lippert, 1936; The Vatican as a World Power, by Bernhart, 1938. Home: Stamford, Conn. Office: 695 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

Griswold, Erwin Nathaniel, lawyer, prof. law; b. East Cleveland, O., July 14, 1904; s. James Harlan & Hope (Erwin) G; A.B., Oberlin Coll., 1925, A.M., 1925; LL.B. Harvard U. Law Sch., 1928, S.J.D., 1929; m. Harriet Allena Ford, Dec. 30, 1931; children--Hope Eleanor, Wm. Erwin. Admitted to Ohio bar, 1929, Mass. 1935; practiced with Griswold, Green, Palmer & Hadden, Cleveland, 1929; atty. in off. of solicitor gen. & spl. asst. to the atty. gen., Washington, D. C., 1929-34; asst. prof. law, Harvard U. Law Sch., 1934-35, prof. ~~xxxxxx~~1935- ; dean since 19 . Mem. Alien Enemy Hearing Bd. for Mass; consulting expert, U.S. Treasury Dept., 1942. Trustee Oberlin Coll., Bradford Jr. Coll. Teachers Ins. & Annuity Assn., Harvard Law Review Assn. Mem. Amer. Bar Assn., Mass. Bar Assn., Am. Law Inst., Am. Geographic Soc. Phi Beta Kappa; fellow Am. Acad. Arts & Sciences. Author: Spendthrift Trusts, 1936; Cases on Federal Taxation, 1940; Cases on Conflict of Laws (with others), 1941. Contbr. to legal periodicals & Geographical Review. Home: 36 Kenmore Rd., Belmont 78, Mass. Off: Langdell Hall, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Kastnbaum, Meyer, pres. Hart Schaffner & Marx; b. N. Y. City, Oct. 31, 1896; s. Benjamin & Julia (Weintraub) K; B.S., Harvard, 1918, M.B.A.,1921; m. Gertrude Dana, June 2, 1925; children--Ruth Louise, Robert Dana. Labor & adminstv depts. Hart Schaffner & Marx, clothing mfrs., Chicago, Ill, 1933-40, exec. v. p., 1940, pres. since 1941. Served as lt. 11th Inf. A.E.F. 1918-19. Dir Chicago & North Western Ry. Co., Community & War Fund of Met. Chicago, Inc., Council of Soc. Agencies (pres.), (Chicago); Coun. on Foreign Relations (v.p.). Adviser to off. Quartermaster Gen. Arbitrator & Pub. Panel Member War Labor Bd. Recipient of Purple Heart Medal. Republican. Jewish. Clubs: Tavern, Mid-day, Cliff Dwellers, Literary, Caxton, Harvard (v.p.) (all of Chicago); Grolier (N. Y.); Havisloe Country (Homewood, Ill.). Home: 1218 Madison Park. Off.: 36 S. Franklin St., Chicago, Ill.

Parten, Jubal Richard, bus, exec; b. Madisonville, Tex., 1896; s. W.L. & Ella (Brooks) P; ed. University of Texas, 1913-17; m. Opal Smith Woodley 1917. Started in oil bus., Shreveport, La., 1919; later in oil well drilling bus. & supt. drilling & production 1919-24; one of the organizers & treas. of Woodley Petroleum Co., of Del., Houston, Tex., 1922, pres. & gen. mgr., 1927-42; later dir. of transportation, Petroleum Admistrn. for War, Washington, D.C. Served as captain & major F.A., U.S. Army, 1917-19. Mem. bd. regents, U. of Texas since 1935. Mem. Indep. Petroleum Assn. of Tex. (pres. 1931-35), Delta Chi. Clubs: Houston, Houston Country, River Oaks Country. Home: 3633 Knollwood Dr. Off.: 1413 2nd Nat. Bank Bldg., Houston, Texas.

Roper, Elmo Burns, Jr., marketing consultant; b. Hebron, Neb., July 31, 1900; s. Elmo Burns & Coco (Malowney) R; student U. of Minn. , 1919-20, U. of Edinburgh, 1920-21; A.M. hon. Williams Coll, 1943; m. Dorothy C. Shaw, June 15, 1922; children--Burns W., James J. Marketing consultant since 1933; dir. Spiegl, Inc., Traub Mfg. Co., Internat. Pub. Opin. Research, Inc. One-dollar-a-year mem. adv. com. Purchases Div. OPM, 1941-42; dep. coordinator of information, 1941-42; mem. bd. Off. of Facts & Figures, 1941-42; dep. dir. Off. of Strategic Services, 1942-45; cons. to U.S. Navy & U.S. Army Air Forces, 1944-45; research fit. Gotyunr Dutbry og Pub. Opin; columnist for N. Y. Herald Tribune & other newspapers; asst. prof. journalism, Columbia U. Pres. Ia. Retail Jewelers Assn., 1927. Mem. Am. Marketing Assn., Market Research Coun. (pres. 1942-43), Am. Econ. Assn., Acad. Polit. Sci., Am. Statistical Soc. Clubs: Century, Coffee House, Home: West Redding, Conn. Off.: 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

Zellerbach, James David, paper products; b. San Francisco, Calif., Jan. 17, 1892 s. Isadore & Jennie (Baruh) & Z; B.S. U. of Calif., 1913; m. Hana Fuld, June 29, 1916; children—James David, Richard Calvert. Pres. & dir. Crown Zellerbach Corp., mfrs. paper & paper products; chmn. bd. Fibreboard Products, Inc.; mem. exec. com. & dir. Rayonier Inc.; dir. Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.; apptd. employers' del. to Internat. Labor Organ. Conf. Paris, Oct. 1945. Pres. McKenzie Scho. of Individual Instruction. Dir. San Francisco War Chest; mem. bd. govs. Musical Assn. of San Francisco; mem. bd. of trustees, Inst. of Paper Chemistry; v.p., Newspring Mfgrs. Assn., Am. Paper & Pulp Assn; national v.p., Nat. Assn. Mfrs. Jewish Religion. Clubs: Concordia-Argonaut, San Francisco Commercial, Stock Exchange Lunch Club, St. Francis Yacht, Beresford Country; Catalina Is. Yacht; Bankers of Am. (New York), Home: 2790 Broadway. Off.: 343 Sansome St., San Francisco, Calif.

Cairns, Huntington, lawyer; b. Baltimore, Md., Sep. 1, 1904; s. James Duncanson & Helen Huntington (Heath) c.; grad. Baltimore City College, 1922; LL.B., U. of Md., 1925; m. Florence Faison Butler, May 29, 1930. Admitted to Md. bar 1926; asso. law firm Piper, Carey & Hall, 1926-37, partner, 1933-37; spl. legal adviser, U.S. Treasury Dept., 1934-37; lecturer on taxation, Law Sch., U. of Md., 1940-41; asst. gen. counsel, U.S. Treasury, 1937-43; mem. com. on practice, Treas. Dept, since 1944. Sec. & mem. Am. Comm. for protection & salvage of artistic & historic monuments, war areas, since 1943; sec. treas., gen. counsel, Nat. Gallery of Art since 1943. Awarded 1st prize Law School U. of Md. for thesis on Law of Charitable Trusts in Maryland, 1925; awarded Civic Medallion for most significant contribution to progress of Baltimore during 1935 in field of professions & sci. Mem. Md. Tax Revision Comm., 1938-39; mem. Md. Tax Revision Comm. of 1939 (1939-41). Mem. Am. & Md. State bar assns., Am. Law Inst., Clubs: Hamilton Street, Cosmos, Wranglers. Author: Law & the Social Sciences, 1935; The Theory of Legal Sci., 1941; Invitation to Learning (with Allen Tate & Mark Van Doren), 1941; Masterpieces of Painting from the Nat. Gallery of Art (with John Walker) 1944. Editor: Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture, 1944; The Limit of Art, 1945; Tax Laws of Md. (pub. biennially), Contbr. to mags. & to various symposia, also to

to Dict. of Am. Biog. Home: 2219 California St., NW. Office: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Brownlee, James F., bus. exec.; b. Oakland, Calif., July 29, 1891; s. Malcolm Bruce & Myra Belle (Forbis) B.; B.A., Harvard U., 1913; m. Eveline Morley, March 10, 1917. Began as salesman Am. Sugar Refining Co., 1913, sales mgr., 1925-28; v.p. Gen. Foods Corp., 1932-35; pres. Jefferson Island Salt Co., 1936-38. Pres. Frankfort Distilleries, Inc., 1935-43. Member Bus. Advisory Council, Wash. D.C., 1937-39; War Production Bd., 1942; dir. transportation War Food Admsn., 1943; dep. admnsr., OPA, 1943-45; dep. dir., Off. Econ. Stab., 1946; partner, J.H. Whitney & Co.; dir. Pillsbury Mills, Inc., R.H. Macy & Co., Am. Express Co. Trustee Middlesex Sch. & member policy comm., CED, U. of N.Y. Served as 2nd Lt., U.S. Army, World War I. Clubs: Augusta Natl., Harvard (N.Y.), River Valley (Louisville), Blind Brook Golf & Country, Fairfield Country. Home: Greenfield Hill, Fairfield, Conn.

Joyce, William Henry, Jr., shoe mfg. exec.; b. Los Angeles, March 11, 1900; s. Wm. H. & Josephine (Haskins) J.; student U. of Calif., 1918-20; m. Faie Jarmel, 1938; children--Anthony, Peter, Jill. Pres., chm. bd. of dirs., Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, Calif., since 1932; dir. Joyce Overseas, Ltd., London, Eng., since 1946; asst. adminsr. operations, ECA, Washington, since 1950. Trustees com. for econ. development, Occidental Coll., Town Hall (N.Y. City), U.S. Inter-Amer. Co. Clubs: Annandale Golf (Pasadena); Country; Newport Harbor Yacht; San Gabriel Country. Home: 1440 Circle Dr., San Marino, Calif. Off: 330 S. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena 1, Calif.

Dearmont, Russell Lee, lawyer; b. Mound City, Mo., Feb. 22, 1891; s. Washington Strother & Julia Lee (McKee) D.; A.B., S.E.Mo. State Teachers Coll., Cape Girardeau, 1911; LL.B., U. of Mo., 1914; m. Marie Marguerite Oliver, Apr. 12, 1916 (died 1924) children--Julia Marie, Marguerite Oliver, Sarah Lee. Admitted to Mo. bar 1914, and began practice at Cape Girardeau; mem. firm Dearmont & Russell, 1929-32, Dearmont, Spradling & Dalton, 1933-36; gen. counsel for trustee of Mo. Pacif. RR Co., St. Louis, since Apr., 1936; chm. of bd., Fed. Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Chm. exec. com., Mo. State Democratic Com., 1924-28; mem. Mo. State Senate, 1929-32. Mem. bd. of trustees Westminster Coll. (pres. bd. 1939-41) Lindenwood Coll. Mem. Am., Mo. State, & St. Louis bar assns., Phi Delta Phi, Phi Delta Theta. Mason (K.T.). Clubs: St. Louis Country, Racquet, Noonday (St. Louis). Home: 4954 Lindell Blvd. Off: 705 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

Stevenson, ~~Mrs~~ Eleanor Busstead. Not listed in Who's Who, but her husband, William Edwards Stevenson, pres. of Oberlin College, is listed.

Dec. 23, 1952

Executive Secretary
Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Ave.
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Sir;

The Southern Regional Council forwarded to the Ford Foundation at Pasadena in May, 1951, a formal request for aid, and a bit later sent out also exhibit folders. We have supposed that work in our field would come within the province of the new Fund for the Republic, and were therefore pleased to note the announcement the other day of the Board for this new fund.

I should like to lay before the Fund for the Republic the urgency of favorable action upon the Council's request.

The analysis made in our 1951 request of the situation in the South and the plan there described for an expanded program for integrated action and research stands; that is still the basic program we wish to be enabled to follow.

In the meantime, events call the more urgently for ~~such a~~ this program. I invite the Fund's attention to the problems looming up in the matter of school segregation. The decision next spring of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases lately argued before it will almost certainly begin a period of intense strain in race relations throughout the South. Whatever the terms of the actual decision, each Southern State and each city and rural school board will be confronted with a requirement for ~~material~~ rapid changes in policy and in expenditure, far-reaching administrative adjustment; and a supreme test of the statesmanship of our leaders and of the disposition of the people to abide by the law. It may not be apparent that what is called a "moderate" decision of the Court would bring about such strain; but it is to be remembered that any decision of the Court will make heavy demands in speeding material equalization. This will be most in evidence in the rural areas of the lower South, where our school systems have thus far, in the

main, avoided the expense of consolidation of Negro schools. Such equalization would greatly exceed in cost ~~by large sum~~ the present announced programs of the lower Southern States for their total measures toward equalization.

Even if the Court should uphold the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, ~~Under any circumstances,~~ considerable areas of the South will have before them necessary decisions on the question of segregated schools. Those counties and towns more thinly peopled with Negroes will have as an alternative to the erection and maintenance of physically equal facilities the opening of their present facilities to the small number of Negro students within their populations. For some, the task of providing equal school plants for a mere handful of Negroes would be staggering economically. Here is a test of our deepest traditions. It will be nip and tuck in many such counties whether to open or not. Good work by people effective in leadership could bring the decision down on the side of open schools. And the example of some open schools in most, or in all, of the Southern States would do much to spread that experience.

Clearly, those who have in the past composed the membership of the Southern Regional Council and those who have shared in our approach have a high duty in these coming months to prepare wisely for the strains ahead. Insert 1 Our proposal would be a special organization to meet this special need in education. That has been our method in the past, as when the old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, integral with and yet separate from our predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, produced a South-wide action program whose particular years of work coincided with the years in which the annual figures of lynchings came down dramatically. The present Fellowship of the Concerned works in similar ways to improve an understanding by Southern church women of the courts of law and to ~~educate~~ inform law enforcement officers in the back parts of the South on their proper duty in all matters affecting race relations.

Insert 1-A

Our ~~present~~ thought would be to establish in each Southern State a special voluntary committee of from twelve to eighteen persons, addressing itself to this

problem of the schools and race relations. The members would be representative of interests both of white and Negro citizenship in school matters. Every effort should be made to have the committee itself serve as a cross-over between persons reflecting the views of white and Negro teachers' organizations, white and Negro parent-teacher groups, white and Negro teacher-training institutions, church organizations, and simple citizens with public conscience. Insert 2 The committees would, in some ~~vague~~ sense, parallel official State school boards. Be it noted that in all Southern States except one (North Carolina), no Negro persons sit on the State school boards. The same thing is true of local school boards, with a handful of ~~carefully observed~~ known exceptions. It would be the business of ~~the~~ each committee to inform itself expertly on the practices, policies, personnel, and costs of the schools in ~~their~~ its State, as at any given time conducted. So informed, the state committee would serve as a reliable and competent resource for facts, very difficult to be obtained in the growing public controversy. It would serve also as a meeting place for two sets of opinion now rapidly drawing apart in increasing bitterness and suspicion. Negro groups, rightly pressing for their full constitutional heritage, tighten their insistence upon immediate and drastic solutions. And in too many places, those who figure in State and local government tighten their resistance to any change not in accordance with their own prejudices. In this situation it is the interest of the one party to overclaim on such facts as it can muster, and of the other party to defend and hide known inequities. Insert 3 A committee of fair-minded and thoughtful citizens could do much to give to the citizen body, which is the ultimate judge, both the accurate facts and a lead toward solution.

Voluntary committees of this kind could get little done if they had no funds and no paid personnel. Which is where the paid personnel, State by State, requested in our memorandum of May, 1951, comes in. It would be their first business to serve as executive and research aids for the special school committees.

This would be matching organization to need. It is the wisest thing we can see to do. It will draw upon the best of Southern leadership and tradition and enable it to work factually and effectively and not merely in a weak, though sincere, emotionalism.

One further point. The ultimate solution of this cleavage lies in acceptance of Negroes throughout the South as proper members of State and local school boards. Only when that has been achieved willthe Negro community be officially and regularly supplied with the facts that must rule in every controversy as to what is equal or what is workable. The voluntary committees operating for some years (we would hope only four or five) would accustom the South to a very similar process in which white and Negro citizens cooperating would examine the facts and advise on answers. So we would hope that a service at first provided privately and from the citizen body would be picked up as a regular part of the public life of the South.

The time to make these preparations is now.

We bespeak your earliest attention to the problem of providing funds under which the whole program of the Council, inclusive of this, can move forward.

Sincerely,

MAW

Insert - ~~page~~ # 1-A

A notable example of the Council's successful experience in this approach was the Veterans Services Project carried out in the years 1945x to 1947. The aim was to ease the transition of Southern Negro veterans to civilian life. A field staff of ten veterans, nine of them Negroes, traveled to cities and towns throughout the South, acquainting veterans servicing officials with the needs of Negro veterans and informing Negro veterans of the benefits to which they were entitled. The result was a substantial contribution to orderly and healthy readjustment in the post-war period.

Insert 1

The Council is in many ways uniquely fitted for this task. It has ~~xxxxx~~ behind it an unbroken tradition of trustworthiness and responsible action which has won friends and respect throughout the South. It can summon the cooperation of a network of ~~thought~~ thoughtful and influential people in scores of Southern communities. It has skill and experience in presenting the nationwide demands for full democracy in ways that can win allegiance and acceptance in the traditional South. For these and other reasons, the Southern Regional Council feels equipped to mobilize a constructive body of opinion for the difficult transitions which must be made.

Insert 2

Clearly, the membership of the committee would need to proceed from recognition of the fact that segregated school systems will not endure and that ~~the~~ it is a present duty to plan and work for sound and effective integration.

Insert 3

Oe of the great stumbling-blocks to public understanding of educational inequities has been the failure of public officials to make known the facts, honestly and without distortion.

Executive Secretary
~~The Ford Foundation~~
Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We would like to point out again the urgency of moving ahead now with a ~~wide-spread action~~ specific program in the Southern States.

Our Council's original application to the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, which ~~we understand~~ is before the Fund for the Republic, stands. So also does my letter of December 24, 1952. I now sharpen ~~and renew~~ our specific request.

The South in these particular weeks approaches a crisis in human relations. A hundred years ago, as a similar controversy mounted, we took the wrong turn. Today that old conflict between world opinion and politically predominant Southern opinion presents itself in the issue of segregation in the public schools. That issue is before the United States Supreme Court and will be decided this spring.

What an opportunity that is for constructive statesmanship. ~~to show!~~ For reasons to many to set out, the official leadership of the South, left to its own devices, will resist and delay the integration which is the demand of these years. Clearly, it is right to give strength and voice to those responsible people in the South who wish to be in step with the law of the land and the call of the times. And yet, almost no preparation is made.

None of us know what the Supreme Court will say. It may answer in terms of principle the question of principle before it; it may find in law devices enabling integration over a period of years. In either case, a great effort on the part of Southern people is called for; much information, some organization, thoughtful pronouncement, in situation after situation, steady, watchful, constructive pressure to obtain from State and local deciding authorities the highest response in the American spirit to the questions at issue.

How can that be organized? You've got in these Southern States a quite considerable body of opinion that wishes to abide by the spirit of the law. It is

loosely formed, has little opportunity to consult together, has no specialized body to keep it informed, and individuals who compose it are, ~~for the most part,~~ many of the caught in the pressures and responsibilities of their private or public positions and are reluctant therefore to assume in their own persons the burden of direct representation of their point of view.

A word more on the dilemma of the Court's decision. If segregation is declared per se unconstitutional, over nearly all of the lower South and in some of the upper South our legislatures would take emergency measures purporting to place the schools in private management. And none of us know the law on such a situation, and very little thinking has been done about the consequences. A period of intense strain would follow. Extremists on either side would come to the fore. Honest, thoughtful, and temperate criticism would be much needed. Judicial decision and legislative amendment would vie for control. In the welter of argument, those who had facts could win. The problem would be to obtain and organize and set out the facts.

If the Court gives time, then the existing differences within the South can assert themselves and a solution, adapted to local circumstances, can appear. Hundreds of Southern counties have sparse Negro populations. Those counties are bunched in the Southern Appalachians, in the Ozark and Ouachita mountains and in Western Texas and western Oklahoma. Under a mandate of genuine equalization or desegregation (the Court thus over-topping the requirements of State constitutions on State-wide segregation) many of them might just desegregate. Picture a mountain county with five Negro children of high school age, confronted with the choice of expending scores of thousands of dollars for a mathematically equal high school or of admitting the five Negro high school children to an existing white high school. Public opinion in many such counties, given encouragement and facts, could swing over to the more tolerant proposal. Thus, desegregation would work its way toward those counties in the old plantation areas with very high proportions of Negro

populations, where white resistance to mixed schools may be expected to hang on for a considerable while to come. In that situation, the cue of temperate and forward-looking Southern people is to encourage the spread of unsegregated schools pushing along at a pace as nearly as possible compatible with the change in the status of the Negro and of public opinion, area by area. And obviously, that calls for organization and fact and sustained statesmanlike action.

Either way it goes, you need an answering effort from within the South.

The way to get that is to gather into organizations those citizens of both races, State by State who are willing to work in this spirit. And to arm them with competent, paid personnel, controlled by their State organizations and used to adduce the facts and point out effective courses of action. You have got already in the Southern Regional Council the basis of such a structure. For more than thirty years, the Council and the old Interracial Commission have fingered out the people willing to act in this spirit, have built the indispensable friendships and confidence and have acquired a reputation for truthfulness and responsible, constructive effort. It has already in each Southern State some kind of organization. What is lacking is the money for the paid personnel and for a modest accompanying research program interrelated to the work of the State organizations. All the devices for keeping such an organization scrupulously non-political are understood and have been agreed upon. The thing that is lacking is the money.

We have proposed a budget. It covers five years. A lesser period won't work because responsible Southern leadership is not going to come out into the open and assert itself on short-range commitments. The funds needed come to the following:

The first duty of such a strengthened organization would be the problem of the schools. Probably in each State special School Committees would be established to make use of the paid personnel in getting together the facts and pushing for action here and there, where it seems to offer most effective returns. The school thing, well handled, remaining problems come more easily.

Some of us in the Council suppose that a five-year program of this kind would become self-sustaining at the end of five years. Some of us think it would be slower. Already a good deal of interest appears here and there in human relations work directly carried by municipal or State public funds. A program of about five years doing that job might well be picked up after about that period by local private and public effort. It seems to us inconceivable that the South can expect much longer to turn a blind eye to the work of Northern and Western publicly supported Commissions in the field of race relations.

We make you a specific and moderate request for a program of interrelated action and research, calculated vastly to assist the South and the nation in this period of mounting strain. We earnestly urge that you enable the unprejudiced and statesmanlike forces of the South to get to work at one of the world's most pressing problems.

Sincerely,

Ford Unit to Study Liberties With Grant of $15,000,000

The Fund for the Republic Declares That Communism Is Major Factor, but Sees Danger in Methods Used to Meet It

The Ford Foundation has appropriated $15,000,000 for the newly organized Fund for the Republic, which announced the grant yesterday and said one of its first activities would be a study of civil liberties.

A statement from the fund's directors added that the inquiry would concentrate on five subjects: Restrictions and assaults on academic freedom, due process and equal protection of the laws, protection of minority rights, censorship, boycotting and blacklisting by private groups, and guilt by association.

In Washington, meanwhile, President Eisenhower said it would be extremely dangerous to try to limit the power of Congress to investigate. He cautioned, however, against overzealousness.

The directors of the new fund said they considered the major factor affecting liberties to be communism and Communist influence, but coupled with it the "grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat." They promised to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace, and to seek "a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it."

Paul G. Hoffman, retiring president of the Ford Foundation, has been elected chairman of the fund's board of directors. The board also disclosed the selection of Bethuel M. Webster, president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, as counsel.

The directors' statement follows:

"The trustees of the Ford Foundation in Pasadena this week appropriated $15,000,000 to the Fund for the Republic, an independent corporation established by the foundation last year to 'support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and pro-

Continued on Page 16, Column 6

, 1953.

FORD GRANT TO AID STUDY OF LIBERTIES

Continued From Page 1

cedures best adapted to protect these rights.'

"Paul G. Hoffman, retiring president of the Ford Foundation, has been elected chairman of the board of directors of the fund.

"Bethuel M. Webster, president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, has been selected as counsel to the fund. The president of the new organization has not yet been named.

"Since the announcement of the establishment of the fund in the fall of 1952, a planning committee of the directors, under the informal chairmanship of Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, has been at work on the task of suggesting policies, areas for action and methods that might be employed in the operation of the fund.

"We regard the sphere of operation of the fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights in the United States and take as our basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

"One of the first activities to be undertaken by the fund is a thorough study into the many difficult concepts and problems which are encountered in the field of civil liberties. We see a pressing need for a clear statement in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty. We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom.

"The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. We propose to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to arrive at a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it.

"Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority:

"1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom.

"2. Due process and equal protection of the laws.

"3. The protection of the rights of minorities.

"4. Censorship, boycotting and blacklisting activities by private groups.

"5. Principles of guilt by association and its application in the United States today.

"In addition to Mr. Hoffman, the directors of the Fund for the Republic are: James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney and Company, New York; Huntington Cairns, lawyer, Washington; Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.; Russell L. Dearmont, lawyer, St. Louis; Richard J. Finnegan, consulting editor, The Chicago Sun Times, Chicago; Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.; William H. Joyce Jr., chairman, Joyce Inc., Pasadena, Calif.; Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner and Marx, Chicago; M. Albert Linton, chairman, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia; John Lord O'Brian, attorney, Washington; Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Tex.; Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York; George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College, New York; Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio; James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco."

The fund has offices here at 655 Madison Avenue. When it was set up by the foundation last year, Mr. Hoffman explained that the fund had been organized as a separate group, because officials of the foundation believed "the many controversial problems in this area can best be acted on by an organization that has complete independence."

The foundation, of which Henry Ford 2d is board chairman, was established with funds of the late Henry Ford and the late Edsel Ford. It is believed to be the largest public trust in the world. As of Dec. 31, 1951, its net assets were $502,587,957.

In a statement issued by the foundation in 1950, its purpose was stated to be to work for the elimination of war and the improvement of mankind. It defined five "areas of action" for its work—world peace, freedom and democracy, economic progress, educational progress, and scientific progress. The fund was set up under the second area, freedom and democracy.

Mr. Hoffman resigned on Feb. 4 as foundation president and trustee to return to the Studebaker Corporation as chairman of its board of directors, effective March 1. He formerly was president of Studebaker, but received a leave of absence in 1949 to become Economic Cooperation Administrator. He became president of the foundation in 1950.

The foundation has had offices here and in Pasadena, Calif., where Mr. Hoffman lives, but has announced that its Pasadena operations will be transferred to the East.

Ford Foundation's Administrative Shift to New York Poses Quiz on Policies

By a Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Pasadena, Calif.

The Ford Foundation has questions to answer other than how to spend its $500,000,000 in the most helpful way. Appointment of a new president and a projected centralization of activities in New York City have raised these questions:

Will there be a change in the foundation's global policies?

Does the change-over mean there will be a less liberal accent to its programs?

Will there be more top personnel changes?

H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., San Francisco lawyer, has replaced Paul Hoffman as president of the foundation. Mr. Hoffman resigned recently when the foundation's trustees decided that for housekeeping purposes the foundation must centralize in New York City for efficient operations.

Actually, those who have admired the goals and actions of the foundation can find little to object to in its new administration. Mr. Gaither, a San Francisco attorney who is also chairman of the Rand Corporation, was the chairman of the study committee which set up the Ford Foundation's goals in the first place.

The very fact that the man who headed up the formulation of the foundation's basic approach in the first place has taken Mr. Hoffman's place is an indication to many that there may be no basic change of direction in its policies.

The reorganization in the foundation's affairs now affords him an important opportunity to build a stronger bridge of understanding between the students of society who wrote those goals and the men of affairs on the board of trustees who must support them. It is believed that Mr. Gaither has agreed to stay for at least a year and then will choose between his law practice and this field of public action.

Hoffman Projects Backed

Dyke Brown, who assisted Mr. Gaither in preparing the policy study for the foundation, has been chosen an associate director. The former Yale University law Dean and Rhodes scholar has been granted leave of absence as a member of Mr. Gaither's law firm.

As far as policy and program are concerned, there is no evidence so far of any reversals. The second and last meeting of the trustees to be held in Pasadena gave strong support to projects proposed by Mr. Hoffman—especially in the areas of international relations, education, and civil liberties. There is thus no confirmation of fears on the part of outside observers that the foundation might give up the "bold experiments" promised in the beginning.

J. Allen Hawkins

Ford Foundation officials: From left to right, Chester Davis, associate director; Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr., secretary; H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president; Milton Katz, associate director; Robert M. Hutchins, associate director. The foundation is going through a reorganization involving a move from Pasadena, Calif., to New York City. It was found that it was too awkward to operate from both the east and west coasts, particularly because most of the foundation trustees are located in the East, as well as much of its activity.

Mr. Hoffman told The Christian Science Monitor he would have been willing to stay on as president and director, although he now welcomes the opportunity to return to the Studebaker Corporation as board chairman and to give part of his time to the far-ranging study of civil liberties begun by the Fund for the Republic.

Less in Public Eye

One possible effect of Mr. Hoffman's departure could be that the activities of the foundation will be much less in the public eye. Without Mr. Hoffman's dynamic personality, its work may be done in a more "behind-the-scenes" manner with less emphasis on open discussion of the foundation's goals and programs by officials and more accent on basic research and quiet implementation.

Mr. Hoffman's desire to return to Pasadena after a busy life in Washington and many other parts of the world was accommodated by the foundation trustees at the outset. Buildings were leased here and the associate directors and other staff members moved to California.

Then came the decision, in January of this year, to move the offices back to New York. Apparently there was increasingly strong feeling among board members about the inconvenience of constant airplane trips back and forth. Mr. Hoffman himself was said to have spent more hours in the air than at his home.

Mr. Hoffman said he felt the frictions went beyond this, however. But he denied there ever had been serious disputes with trustees over specific programs. At the same time, he did feel an undercurrent of resistance on at least two counts.

He was surprised at the increasing strong objections to centering anything at all in "the West," expressed by some board members who evidently "believe New York must be the center for everything." And he felt from time to time continuing objections to spending so much money beyond the borders of the United States.

As far as the feeling "against the West" is concerned, it has been indicated on the other hand that there was no feeling as such. That is, there was a physical need to centralize in one spot, it is said, and as the greatest number of those concerned were in the East, and the greatest number of facilities for forwarding the Ford program were there, the East it was—but not because of any feeling against the West.

While Mr. Hoffman may have felt resistance to spending so much overseas, the recent meeting of the trustees voted at least 90 per cent of the staff's recommendations in this and other areas of activity. At least $3,500,000 is earmarked for overseas projects in the coming year.

The former director of the Economic Cooperation Administration has initiated foundation activities of worldwide scope, under the authority of the first Ford "area for action," briefly summarized as "the establishment of peace."

Vast Spending Overseas

Nearly $30,000,000 — or the equivalent of one year's income from the foundation's funds—has been spent on programs for reduction of tensions and increase of understanding among peoples. These include agricultural training programs in India and the Near East, the East European Fund for Russian refugees, support for groups promoting democracy in Germany, and various research projects.

As for the feeling on the part of some that the reorganization eventually might bring a less "liberal" approach to areas of study and action, the only thing concrete that can be offered in evidence on one side or the other is the existence of the $15,000,000 Fund for the Republic, just established. This fund is the single largest grant yet made by the trustees and will be used to "restore respectability to the legacy of American liberty" by exploring many areas of civil liberties.

There also has been considerable speculation over the futures of the various associate directors with the foundation, now that the move from California is set to take place in a year.

Milton Katz, the former Harvard law professor and American diplomat associated with Mr. Hoffman in ECA, is known to be wholeheartedly and enthusiastically behind the projected program and policies of the foundation.

Skilled Financier

Chester Davis, former president of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank, is a man well ad- [illegible] a distinguished career. [illegible] ers feel that at this [illegible] s experience there is [illegible] e he would embark on [illegible] er after taking the big step into the Ford Foundation. There is always the chance, of course, that he may retire rather than take the jump to New York.

As for Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, he is known as a man of completely independent mind. That, of course, is why he is with the foundation which has been up to this time a bold mover. At this writing there does seem to be some question as to what he will do when the New York move is made. It is known that he is deeply involved in the Fund for Adult Education and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. It is possible that he would continue wholeheartedly his work with these funds, but apart from New York as some of the staffs of the independent funds created by the foundation may choose to remain on the West Coast, since these funds have their own boards of directors.

It is perhaps not without significance that at the recent congressional committee hearings on tax-exempt foundations, Henry Ford II was by implication urged to retain active interest in the foundation. Questioning by certain committee members disclosed that they were concerned that his "practical" experience be applied.

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Opponents of Velde Blasted in House

By the Associated Press

Washington

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The Rev. Mr. Williams is not now a resident of Birmingham and could not be reached for comment.

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Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, Mr. Jackson said, "has been to the Communist front what Man o'War was to thoroughbred racing."

Oxnam Hits Back

The churchman, who has been a vigorous critic of the Un-American Activities Committee and especially of the methods it has pursued in its investigation of communism in education, hit back quickly with a statement:

"Congressman Jackson should know that there is no congressional immunity from the Biblical injunction, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.'

"It is to be regretted that he should have used the floor of the House to broadcast a lie.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities releases falsehood and rumor which it admits it has not investigated and which does not represent a conclusion or judgment of the committee, and does so to silence critics, it becomes party to slander and justifies the mounting nationwide criticism of its methods."

Mr. Jackson's other clergyman target was the Rev. Claude C. Williams of Birmingham. He said the Rev. Mr. Williams is alleged to have said in a public meeting that he is in the church "because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for communism."

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The congressman's statement brought a quick denial from H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., president of the Ford Foundation at Pasadena.

"No grant has ever been made by the Foundation for an investigation of Congress and its investigating committees," Mr. Gaither declared in a telegram addressed to Mr. Jackson, copies of which were released to the press. He added:

"The Ford Foundation recently appropriated $15,000,000 to the Fund for the Republic, an independent organization, the stated purpose of which is 'to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights.'

'Menace of Communism'

"In their statement on Feb. 26, 1953, the directors of the Fund for the Republic said, 'The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country."

Mr. Gaither suggested that Mr. Jackson read the conclusions of the special committee of the House of Representatives which last year investigated the Ford Foundation.

The whole Jackson speech appeared designed to bring to a head the roaring controversy that broke out after Mr. Velde suggested on a Mutual Broadcasting System program a week ago that individual churchmen were a possible subject for investigation by his committee.

Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (D) of New York followed up with a resolution calling on the House to toss Mr. Velde out as chairman.

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March 2, 1953

The Fund for the Republic
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to point out again the urgency of moving ahead now with a specific program in the Southern States. We presume that our original application to the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, is before you. That stands. So also does my letter of December 24, 1952.

This whole matter of helping the growth of democratic race relations in the Southern States is not easy to blueprint. We work on a living body. It is changing rapidly. Our programs have to change with and ahead of the changes in the South. Also, much of what we do do and should do is best done quietly. Over a period of thirty years we have come to know those people in the South who are both influential and of good will in these matters. Usually the price of their being willing to turn a wheel for progress is no one's saying too much about it.

We have to be prepared with the facts and friends and influence and personnel and time for whatever emergencies arise. There is still violence and, pervasively, the threat of violence. Southern opinion is sensitive and defensive at many points and is easily hardened into bitter opposition by too much advance discussion of changes to be sought. A practical organization like the Council must, therefore, ask for a certain amount of leeway in charting its course. Our record is in many ways the best index to the merit of our request for future action. We believe that the record clearly confirms that your help to the Council would evoke much of the finest leadership the South has in this field. As responsible people, they can be expected to use resources wisely.

That said, we can describe some of the things that would unquestionably be early and important parts of the program of an expanded Southern Regional Council. You will recall that the main object of our request is to be enabled to provide professional staff persons in each of the Southern States. This State personnel would give full-time guidance and direction to such efforts as those described below.

1. Action on segregation in the schools. The South is at a crisis on this. The Supreme Court will rule this spring. It has clearly before it an issue of principle. It may rule on the principle and declare segregation immediately unconstitutional. It may find some basis in law for permitting segregation to continue for a further period. But it is certain to confront the South with far-reaching and rapid and vastly expensive changes in the public school system.

   What we want to do is to establish, within each Southern State, a special voluntary group of citizens called, perhaps, the Alabama School Committee or the South Carolina School Committee, as the case may be. It will be drawn from both races and from among people already informed on school matters. It would use the paid personnel of the State organization of the Southern Regional Council for getting the exact facts on all the issues as they arise. The Committee would be an informed, temperate, constructive voice, calling for lawful adherence to democratic arrangements.

2. A delicate and difficult thing--steady, informed comment on undemocratic features of State and local government, area by area, within the South. Remember that our State governments were nearly all shaped after slavery had tainted the tradition of popular self-government. Various devices, too many to spell out, have kept us narrow franchise, ludicrously unfair apportionment, and the customary exclusion of a third of our people from office or political influence. We have had this disease so long that we think our unhealth is normal. Yet our traditions can be brought to encompass the normal working of American democratic arrangements.

   It takes facts and constructive comment to bring to the fore the better tradition. And it would have to be done in faithful avoidance of legislative pressure. We know how to do that and have done it in the past. Pronouncements by our State organizations, based upon the facts, would be eagerly seized as components of public opinion while truly democratic arrangements make their way in these States. Be it noted that this gets at the vitals of the special problem of the South. We are special largely because the normal American system of government is not permitted to apply.

3. Agricultural opportunity. The roots of many of our economic and political problems are in land tenure. Wide stretches are organized in a way that accords special privilege to the larger farm landlords. In those areas Negro farm labor is predominant. One desirable goal is widespread farm ownership. Under present conditions, that seems extremely difficult to realize. The alternative is efficient farm labor, growing in stature and civic acceptance by reason of its competence in handling the heavy, complicated machinery now in use. That is a fundamental problem as to which we in the Council have a good deal of knowledge. Those further down in the scale of Southern agriculture are almost voiceless today. Our State organizations could bring this basic problem into current discussion and in many ways bring about alleviating private and public action.

4. Equal justice. It is an old habit in the South for our courts of law to admix questions of race in arriving at decision and penalty. This is flagrant in crimes of violence of Negroes against whites, and is persistent, if subdued, in many lesser cases. Crime as between Negroes is often jestingly considered and lightly handled. The consequence is that Negroes too often regard the courts as places from which will come decisions giving either shockingly severe or scoffingly light penalties. The international complications of this regular Southern habit blaze in the press of the world several times each year.

Remedy: A volunteer panel of distinguished Southerners of both races, many of them connected with the legal profession, to shape a new awareness in this field. A first step would be careful studies, published in State law school reviews, documenting the history of unequal penalties by race in certain major and certain lesser crimes for four or five States, five or six cities, and seven or eight rural counties. This documentation would afford the substance of a report to the South by the panel or commission, showing the inadequacies of past practice and recommending for the future. If the commission is properly chosen, its report would command the respect and attention of the entire legal profession in the South.

Through the aid of organized bodies of church women, who have frequently helped in matters of this kind and are presently accustomed to working through the Fellowship of the Concerned, associated with the Council, it would be possible to get the directions of the commission brought to the fore in thousands of court proceedings stretching over years to come.

We have a thousand or two dollars in hand for this proposal, and hope, with more funds, to go through with it in the near future.

5. Community self-surveys. We have found and used repeatedly a special knack for getting Southern cities and towns to review all their practices, facilities, and arrangements relating to matters of race. You carefully draw together a bi-racial committee of responsible and respected citizens who themselves—not through alternates—gather the facts, sift them, publish them, and make their recommendations, and then convene again every six months and tick off the things accomplished and concentrate forces for the next steps.

Jacksonville, Florida, did it; Greenville, South Carolina, did it; Shreveport, Louisiana, is doing it. Dallas did some of it. The product is new schools and new homes, swimming pools, desirable transportation, new parks, better police administration, more fire protection, more sewers, more paved streets. And more important than those, the product is a working friendship and faith in justice on the part of both white and Negro citizens. Here is what a militant Negro editor from South Carolina said a year after Greenville had, by this device, remedied the worst of Negro grievances:

"Last fall, following a visit there [Greenville] by this writer, we commented upon the spirit of the citizens, of the close co-operation between the two races, of what appears to be a solid backing of the Negro community by white Greenvillians. We found no bitterness; we heard of none. All Greenville Negroes need do—it seems—is to let it be known they wish a community fault corrected. The entire community evaluates it, and if it is a valid complaint, with both races working around the conference table they explore it with available resources. The white citizens don't get angry and hunt out 'ring-leaders' among the Negroes. The net result has benefited the community, and today a Negro in Greenville will tell you quickly he's prouder of his community than the whitest white man."

The Council has the people who know how to work this device, and we could spread it so that in every year in each State one or two cities would put through healing self-examinations of this kind.

6. Human relations in the schools. Surely it is the call of the age that white and Negro school children shall have experience of each other. And yet, almost no preparation is made within the school system for such a change. Worse: Southern schools teach divided doctrines as to Southern history and Negro history and as to the facts of race. In white schools the South over, by formal management and informal pressure, the comfortable assurances of white superiority and of the natural apartness of the Negro pervade the classrooms. Negro school teachers pump into their children pride of Negro achievement and determination to bring about unqualifiedly equal citizenship.

New texts must be written, teachers must be brought to many conferences, the racial separateness of teacher organizations must be overcome, teacher training institutions must bring in a new doctrine—the walls that have kept out of the South the world's view on human relations must come down. That's a job that will take years of persistent, tolerant, wise effort. Ours are the friends throughout the South who can be brought to organize this task.

7. Police administration. One of the richest contributions that can be made to better race relations and more faith in our civil institutions is to speed the flow into Southern police systems of tolerance and scrupulous impartiality. One fruitful device for that is getting Southern States and counties to use more Negro police officers. The Council has had a hand in that in the past and has helped the amazing growth of Negro police officials from 134 in 1945 to 589 in February, 1953. Some cities in every Southern State now use Negro policemen.

But beyond employment of Negro police officials is the old problem of better pay and better training and more civic appreciation for the work of local police forces. Here, again, we have had the help

of church women throughout the South who have carried our publication on race and law enforcement to their sheriffs in 140-odd counties already and are building a direct local relationship with this whole problem of fair-minded police administration.

8. Race in the news. Until only three years ago nearly all the newspapers of the South continued to treat Negro news in a pattern of amused contempt, not much modified from the 1850's. Our little booklet RACE IN THE NEWS was got to every editor and publisher in the South. Often we have been able to get local committees to call on the editor and ask adherence to the simple rules of courtesy and equal coverage laid down in the booklet. The change, whether from our publication or from the temper of the times, has been one of the most significant improvements in race relations in recent Southern history. Many of our papers, from being daily fountains of prejudice, have become helpful and impartial organs of public enlightenment as to our divided citizenries. For all the gain, our reach has still been small, and many a paper remains to be brought round. That's a local task, which our people can take on, paper by paper, town by town, county by county. It's a work of some years, but we know how to do it and lack only the resources to spread that most helpful improvement.

9. Segregation on common carriers. The law in the last few years has gone beyond practice on trains and buses in interstate transportation. Despite the clarity of the law, coach travel on the rails and bus travel on the roads all over the South continues to be segregated, with the rarest exceptions. We can make the law known to railway officials, major and minor. We can follow through with particular individual incidents that arise of unlawful segregation. We can calm where there may be public hysteria. Our State organizations can work, also, to reduce segregation in intraState transportation.

10. Employment opportunities. The Council would not wish to take on detailed case work in that field assumed by the Urban League, taken up in spots by the Job Opportunities Project of the American Friends Service Committee, and being considered by other organizations. Our approach is in encouraging industrialization, advancing general and technical education, and influencing those Southern rural institutions which are the source of the pool of almost completely skillless labor. But our influence could tell heavily in private negotiations with employer groups and with the leadership of organized labor. The democratic South for which the Council works would needs be one in which employment was democratic too. And everywhere, our forces work toward that end.

These are ten specific fields in which we would expand and make widely effective our work.

In all of them, we plan to inter-relate modest research activity, usually performed not by ourselves but by academic bodies. This we propose to manage through a staff of three or four people in our central office competent in sociology, economics, anthropology, and education.

Something should be said about organization. The Council is now a Southwide membership body, governed by a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee, employing central staff only. Our members in each State are formed into a State Division of the Southern Regional Council. (In three or four of the States our movement is otherwise related to the Council, but the distinctions are pro forma.)

Given new resources, we would turn over the membership in each State to strengthened State organizations, each with its own Board and each directing the work of its own paid State staff. The Council itself would become a body of trustees, administering the assistance to the State groups and reviewing, pushing, and correlating their work. This is all laid out in new by-laws, ready for submission to the membership. The new machinery contains stringent safeguards against any political activity by State organizations or the Council itself. We propose the change in order to draw out to the fullest local and State pride in achievement and in the expectation that several years of work by these private State organizations will lay the groundwork for independent, self-sustaining bodies.

Some of us think that within five years the work of the State bodies would be picked up by local private or public funds. Others think it would be longer before the lesson of Northern and Western State and local publicly supported commissions in this field would be transferred to the South. In any case, in the five years' program which we want to do, the test could be made, and a greatly strengthened pattern of cooperative achievement would be laid down.

Here is a careful, intelligent, and brave proposal to speed the growth of fully American institutions in our States. The people who are prepared to work in this way have experience, some stature, and the confidence of much of the leadership of the South.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

MAW;ec

News from NAACP

WHITE HAILS SELECTION OF CASE FOR FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC POST

May 28, 1953

NEW YORK, May 28. -- Appointment of Representative Clifford P. Case of New Jersey as president of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic was today hailed as "a most appropriate choice" by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a telegram of congratulations to the liberal Republican congressman, Mr. White said: "They could not have chosen a better man." He also congratulated the Fund upon the selection.

During his five terms in the House of Representatives, Mr. Case consistently supported civil rights legislation, often taking the leadership in fighting for enactment of legislation to extend civil rights and in opposing bills which would restrict such rights.

He played an important role in the defeat of the Gossett-Lodge amendment which was proposed by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas with a view to nullifying the importance of the northern Negro vote and strengthening that of the Dixiecrats. He was

also a strong supporter of the Powell bill for an FEPC with enforcement powers. He helped in the defeat of the Rankin bill to establish a Jim Crow veterans hospital. He introduced an anti-lynching bill and another to protect members of the armed services against attacks of civilians and local law enforcement officers.

Last year at the 43rd annual NAACP convention, Mr. Case made the presentation of the Spingarn Medal, awarded posthumously to Harry T. Moore, victim of a hate bomb on Christmas night, 1951. In his address of presentation, Representative Case said, "that our greatest problem is to quicken the development of understanding on the part of the people as a whole and to eliminate from their hearts the prejudice and intolerance which still exists there."

Southern Regional Council, Inc - Atlanta, Georgia - October 23, 1953

To: Fund for the Republic
The Ford Foundation
New York, N Y

ITEM D.

1. Mimeographed copy of new by-laws of the Southern Regional Council.

2. Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council as of October 23, 1953:

Abram, Morris B	Attorney	Healey Building Atlanta, Georgia
Atwood, Dr R B	Educator	Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky
Barbare, Dr Ralph	Educator	Winthrop Training School Rock Hill, S C
Bates, Mrs W F	Church Leader	125 Atkins Street Little Rock, Arkansas
Birnie, Mrs Cassandra M	Attorney	864 Hunter Street S W Atlanta, Georgia
Bond, Ulysses S	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Christopher, Paul R	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building Knoxville, Tennessee
Clement, A J	Insurance Executive	Charleston, S C
Clement, Dr R E	Educator	Atlanta University Atlanta, Georgia
Clingman, Rt Rev Charles	Bishop	421 South Second Street Louisville, Kentucky
Coker, James L	Manufacturer	Sonoco Products Hartsville, S C
Davidson, Herbert M	Editor	Daytona Beach News-Journal Daytona Beach, Florida
Duncan, O D	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College Stillwater, Oklahoma
Friedman, S Thomas	Social Worker	Southwestern Jewish Community Relief Council - Houston, Texas
Gomillion, Dr C G	Educator	Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Griffin, John A	Professor	Emory University, Georgia
Hamilton, Mrs Grace T	Executive	Atlanta Urban League Atlanta, Georgia
Johnson, Dr Charles S	Educator	Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee
Johnson, Dr Guy B	Professor	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, N C
Looby, Dr Z A	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee

Item D
Page two
October 23, 1953

Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	Rabbi	808 Mamie Street Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Mays, Dr B E	Educator	Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia
McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baroone Street New Orleans, Louisiana
McDowell, Dr E A	Professor	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary - Wake Forest, N C
Milner, Dr Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N C
Milton, L D	Banker	212 Auburn Avenue, N E Atlanta, Georgia
Moron, Dr A G	Educator	Hampton Institute, Virginia
Palmer, E W	Publisher	Kingsport Press Kingsport, Tennessee
Parrish, Dr C H	Professor	University of Louisville Louisville, Kentucky
Penick, Edwin A	Bishop	Diocese of North Carolina Raleigh, N C
Rayzor, Mrs J N	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane Houston, Texas
Reddix, Dr J L	Educator	Jackson College Jackson, Mississippi
Richards, Dr J M	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary Decatur, Georgia
Richardson, Dr H V	Educator	Gammon Theological Seminary Atlanta, Georgia
Robinson, Mrs E U	Church Leader	675 N Waters Street Gallatin, Tennessee
Shean, Rev M V, C O	Priest	Box 895 Rock Hill, S C
Smith, J Edwin	Attorney	Scanlan Building Houston, Texas
Spearman, Mrs E H	Church Leader	1511 Laurel Street Columbia, S C
Stroud, Mrs Tommie B	Civic Leader	3225 Maple Avenue Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work New Orleans, Louisiana
Thomas, Judge L E	Attorney	1035 Northwest Second Avenue Miami, Florida
Turnipseed, Reverend A S	Clergyman	301 Dexter Avenue Montgomery, Alabama
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta Street Atlanta, Georgia
Wheeler, John H	Banker	Mechanics & Farmers Bank Durham, North Carolina

Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	Athens, Georgia
Williams, Paul D	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Road Richmond, Virginia
Young, Thomas W	Publisher	Journal & Guide Norfolk, Virginia

The following have been invited to membership but as of this writing have not yet accepted completing the elective Board of fifty members:

Lanier, Dr R O'Hara	Educator	Texas Southern University Houston, Texas
Shaw, Charles A	Insurance Executive	2602 Dowling Street Houston, Texas
Tilman, Mrs J Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tennessee

In addition to fifty elected persons the Board presently contains the following officers of the Southern Regional Council:

Marion A Wright	President	"Top Knot" Linville Falls, N C
Dr Gordon B Hancock	Vice-President	Box 6056 Richmond, Virginia
Alfred Mynders	Vice-President	The Chattanooga Times Chattanooga, Tennessee
Dr A W Dent	Vice-President	Dillard University New Orleans, Louisiana
Carter Wesley	Vice-President	The Houston Informer Houston, Texas
Leonard Haas	Counsel	Haas-Howell Building Atlanta, Georgia
Dr George S Mitchell	Executive Director	63 Auburn Avenue, N E Atlanta, Georgia

In addition it will contain the Chairmen of each State Division or affiliated or closely related State Committee, plus other persons to be chosen by each such State organization. The present Chairmen who therefore are ex officio members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council are:

Reverend Dan Whitsett	Alabama	Sylacauga, Alabama
Vacancy (Lately Rev Lewis H Deer Little Rock)	Arkansas	
Davisson Dunlap	Florida	Barnett Building Jacksonville, Florida

Reverend George E Clary	Georgia	631 E Victory Drive Savannah, Georgia
J M Tydings	Kentucky	Starks Building Louisville, Kentucky
Reverend L J Twomey, S J Acting Chairman	Louisiana	Loyola University New Orleans, Louisiana
Reverend John Long	Mississippi	Edwards, Mississippi
Reverend Leon Russell	North Carolina	Greenville, N C
J M Dabbs	South Carolina	Mayesville, S C
Mrs J S Crate	Texas	2410 Inwood Drive Houston, Texas
Alfred Mynders	Tennessee (Inactive)	The Chattanooga Times Chattanooga, Tennessee
Reverend W Carroll Brook	Virginia	Staunton, Virginia

This Board, containing in toto eighty members, would, when the new by-laws become fully operative, be the Southern Regional Council. It would have the policy management of the re-organized Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, chosen from the Board, contains the following:

Marion Wright - President
Dr Gordon B Hancock - Vice President
Alfred Mynders - Vice President
Dr A W Dent - Vice President
Carter Wesley - Vice President
Leonard Haas - Counsel

Members are:

Dr Harry V Richardson
Mrs C M Birnie
John A Griffin
Reverend Andrew Turnipseed
Paul R Christopher
Reverend Maurice Shean
Rufus E Clement

Please Return to HCF

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 3, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Since Frank Loescher's visit we have been busy with review of plans and budgets. Here is a revised request which the Southern Regional Council now makes of the Fund for the Republic.

It has been a tough thing to work out a program that would be sound and that would cost substantially less than that offered in our original request of May, 1951. One thing is on our side; the situation has moved on, and interest is greater in getting done locally what our program proposes. Hence we are emboldened to expect a larger proportion of locally raised funds than we had originally forecast.

We have made two serious sacrifices.

(1) We originally asked for enough money to let us start and run for five years a program in each of twelve Southern states. Five years, because we thought it would take that to cut grooves that the state programs could run on in, with local private or public funds. Five years seems not long for that objective, but we are willing to promise the best effort of all our people in the South to get that done in shorter periods. For the more difficult states, we've set a full four-year program. For those where the going should be easier, and local funds could come forward more readily, we've said three years.

(2) With the greatest reluctance we have eliminated the full-time service of associate secretaries (who would be Negroes) from the state organizations, and come to what is a poor substitute: three associate secretaries dividing their time between seven of the states which stand in greatest need of help of this kind. (Exhibit III) It isn't fair and square, and it is not the best start in the task of enlisting the whole-hearted cooperation of Negro citizenry in the developing program. It's what happens so often in things Southern: people say get it started with a mainly white staff, and in time it can do what's right on dividing responsibility between people from both races. And the time comes mighty slowly. To do it right, from the beginning and for three years, would cost another seventy-five thousand dollars. That would make a total of

six associate secretaries, serving full-time the states most in need, and affording some travel into the other states as well. This extra seventy-five thousand is not budgeted, though we still think it is a needful part of doing the job the right way.

One thought counterweighs. Though it will almost certainly be the judgement of each state organization that its full-time secretary at the beginning should be white, it is quite possible that in two or three years some of the states would operate in full effectiveness with Negro secretaries alone.

The whole budget, for the state organizations and for a central office, is set out in the attached exhibits.

We have carefully weighed each figure, balancing what is absolutely necessary for effectiveness against the heed for a supportably low final figure. I invite inspection, for example, of the budget for each state organization's first year. What business firm would put in a branch office on those figures for personnel and equipment and 'phone bill and travel? And we have agonized over each fifty-dollar increment or decrement in these items, to be sure we could offer what our state people would think workable, and what would meet the Fund's experience and purposes. The same is true for the central office. The expenditures proposed are inescapable if the job is to be done.

Back on the point of continuity -- three years and four years and five years. The people who must be asked to do the staff jobs, and the members of state organizations who must work cooperatively and give policy guidance and raise funds and do forward-looking things in their own communities have more than the normal American temptations to inactivity or lip-service. Livelihood, reputation, organizational commitments, the whole structure of Southern society is strained by this growth-from-within. We have to be in a position to offer tolerable security and tolerable continuity; else only the footloose and the ineffective will help.

On actual funds, we would be agreeable to whatever device you wish. Annual grants, each one after the first to be conditioned upon review of performance and of adherence to budgeted figures, would be, we think, a reasonable device. And for interim reports, we would be happy to submit quarterly accountings, and an annual audit of all receipts and expenditures by state organizations and by the central office. We ask the power of shifting funds as between the state programs, within a tolerance of say twenty per cent. We do not suppose that advance budgeting as herewith submitted could exactly match the give-and-take needs of developing state programs.

We think the program here attached would yield the things outlined in our original request, and in the subsequent correspondence with the Fund for the Republic. We are satisfied that the figures are as low as is workable. Also, we believe that in most if not in all the states the program undertaken would be picked up and carried along after the initial period of subsidy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 22, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

Dear SRC Board Member:

The first grant period from the Fund for the Republic to SRC ends September 30, 1955. Our request for the second grant period must be in not later than August 20, 1955. It seems desirable to review and evaluate the program of the Council and of the various affiliated state organizations during the first grant period.

To that end, we ask that you be kind enough to send us your confidential evaluation of the operation within your own state. We would like to have a frank statement by you of your opinion of the effectiveness of the program; of the problems which have arisen; and any suggestions you may have for improving the state operation.

We hope that it will not be too great an imposition for you to send your comments to us sometime before August 5th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

3 August 55

To: GSM

After considerable thought about how we might strengthen participation of our Executive Committee and Board of Directors in SRC activities, and how we might demonstrate to the Fund For the Republic such participation I came up with the idea that the next request to the Fund for a renewal of our grant could be signed by you, as Executive Director; M.A.Wright, as President; and Rufus Clement, as Chairman of the Exec.Com.

One of the chief purposes of the on-coming Exec Com meetin at Mammouth Cave is the consideration of the grant renewal and such a plan would help them feel a "real part" of the show.

FBR

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

8/8/55

TO: FBR
CHP
RA

First rough draft of a budget request for 1955-56 to the Fund for the Republic.

Please review and advise.

I hope Ruth Alexander will satisfy herself that any and all figures used are accurate.

FILE COPY

August 10, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for renewal of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957."

Our letter of March 15, 1954, envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956 of $22,847,50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder, but the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis-period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April, 1954, and the crucial decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, but barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of a field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed instruction, and implementing guidance which the state organizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it." We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independent of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

[Here follows justifications for the training program and a calculation of its cost]

[Then follows a grand total of the request.]

We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now coming to an end. We have reported in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports have been filed for each quarter, and another audit, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FILE COPY

August 15, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I was to send you some notes on program.

Overall job is endlessly detailed, and reaches many people, movements, and places. For special items from Central Office:

Interpreting Change. The Council's little magazine, New South, has been remade and is doing a bigger and better job. SRC got a three-year grant from Marshall Field to help carry the extra printing cost, and a one-year grant from Doris Duke to improve the flow of fact to the magazine. Total of the two grants $25,000.

The effort has been not for scraps of news but for interpretation of trends. Each issue features some particular interest, and SRC sends that issue to officials and persons affected by that article. Examples: parks and recreation; integration in baseball.

The information service has added personnel.

Paid circulation of the magazine now in excess of 3,000 and growing at the rate of about 200 a month. Each new member added by a state organization becomes a $2.00 paid subscriber to New South. The information staff continues to do an incalculably valuable job in briefing slews of article writers coming South and needing the facts. And we think New South's point of view finds its way into much of the current controversy.

The Churches in the South. SRC and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it have had a long link with religious

Carbon Copy Onion Skin

purpose in the region. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of the Council's staff, has given notable leadership to the churches in the last year or so of special strain. She collected and compared the pronouncements of each major Southern denominational body, and by providing an interchange of these pronouncements had some hand in shaping the language of official statements. By constant correspondence with leading church people over the South, she brought in fact and encouragement. She convened in a Southwide meeting the leaders of church women, and she has met state by state with the church women leaders, white and Negro together, in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. Similar meetings are upcoming in the other states. The women show inspiring courage and devotion to religious principle. When the whole history is told, this will have been the very period in which the religious forces of the South will have found a corrective to their Southern separatism; and Mrs. Tilly, inconspicuously, but through a thousand friendships, all of them moved by a spiritual force, has served in the finest tradition.

Attitude of the Labor Movement in the South. For some years past, SRC's Executive Director has been in demand for week-long summer institutes training labor leadership in the South. Mitchell teaches them "Southern Problems": no small part of which is civil rights and court decisions, and enlightenment on an attitude of compliance. These institutes came thick and fast in this current summer. Two for the CIO, one for the A. F. of L. in the Southeast, one for the A. F. of L. in the Southwest, one for the A. F. of L. in Kentucky, another in Arizona (the man's vacation), and a quickie in Miami. Some everyday local union members, but mostly local and central labor union officials. Plumbers, carpenters, electricians, paper workers, steel workers, rubber workers, furniture workers, textile workers. We went through the bumps. In each week's session group reaction followed a predictable cycle. Deep interest, the shock as they realized the imminence of change, angry discussion in the dorms at night, seventy-five to ninety per cent agreement at the end that labor would have to help. Bitterly costly in terms of time, but in this particular summer an opportunity to seize. Enough was done with labor leadership for SRC to feel secure that organized labor in most spots will be a force for compliance. Another summer the task will have to be moved to other shoulders.

On the State Programs, you well understand that much program is involved in simply having such organizations in being and with full-time staff. Their very processes of organization, opening an office, recruiting members,

building a Board, meeting with their Executive Committees, and getting word around to can-be cooperating individuals and organizations do a lot to move people and groups to consider, plan, and act. Also, much of what is done in the South must be done without boast; the bargain is everywhere that public officials and influential private persons get urged to do their proper duty, the urgers agreeing by convention to respect the privacy of the person's method of work. Also few things are done by SRC's people alone, and it is a narrowing of truth to report on "accomplishments" when any or all of a dozen people and organizations will have helped on most things!

Notwithstanding these cautionary remarks, some identifiable and more or less separable items can be listed:

Kentucky. In each of 23 counties some one of the consultants has spent a day or more in the county, visiting school officials and leaders of public opinion, urging preparation for compliance with the Court's decision. Good device, that pays off.

New South is being sent at the expense of the Kentucky Council to a long list of effective citizens.

Tennessee. Again in over twenty counties a consultant, or two consultants, have worked through officialdom and local leaders. Same object; same gratifying beginnings. People are willing, but need to be moved!

Georgia. Now has twenty local interracial committees, in such scattered towns as Gainesville, Milledgeville, Statesboro, Thomasville, Macon, Albany, and Rome. Four of these are new. Substantial contacts have been made with leading individuals on the Board of Regents of the University System. Also with staff persons in the State Department of Education.

Mr. Wells, the Director, has spoken to more than 70 local civic clubs over the state, with suprisingly good reception.

The Georgia Committee has raised $3,500, more than a thousand in excess of its covenanted amount (staffed for 16 months in this fiscal period).

Louisiana. Has new local chapters at Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, and another being worked up at Shreveport. Has held two workshops on compliance with the Court's decision, one in New Orleans and one in Baton Rouge. Radio broadcasts in human relations.

Texas. The school superintendents in Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Austin and Waco interviewed. Much activity just now in offsetting the agitation of the White Citizens' Councils at Kilgore and elsewhere. State has about raised its quota of funds.

North Carolina. Got many private letters written to the Governor, attempting (with little success!) to stiffen his willingness to lead the state into compliance. Good contacts made with state school officials. Busily if belatedly raising money.

South Carolina. Has ploughed the state in contacts with other organizations, particularly PTA's, white and Negro, and women's groups and Church groups.

Alabama. Has had a close finger on the Citizens' Councils; is achieving a breakdown of itself into seven sub-regional groups. Effective local church contacts.

Mississippi. Has now an integrated staff, building contacts with the few of the needed degree of courage in the state.

Arkansas. Has done the best job of getting full-time white and Negro staff, has excelleng contacts with local and state school officials, and is obviously helping the whole state.

Virginia and Florida are brand new. Virginia clearly has good staff and a good Board. Florida begins with paid staff August 15th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for continuance of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957."

Our letter of March 15, 1954, envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956 of $22,847.50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder. But the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April, 1954, and the crucial decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, only barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of a field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed instruction, and implementing guidance which the state organizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it." We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independently of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

The Southern Regional Council is the only Southside organization, having interracial policy-making bodies at the regional level and in the twelve states, helping with the problem of adjustment to the Supreme Court decision on the schools. These state boards consider problems, assess resources and their application to the problems, guide the staff, raise funds and work for improved human relations in their areas. How well they fill these functions is terribly important, not only to SRC's program, but to the success or failure of the South's adjustment to social change.

The people who make up these boards are not skilled technicians of social change; they are laymen and women of good will who believe in democracy. To the extent that we can increase their sensitivity to problems, their understanding of possible action, and their skill in relating to professional staff we will have increased the probability of success. What is proposed then is an adequate training program for these all-important and unique lay boards; a service which the central office cannot compass with only its present staff.

The device for work in this matter with state board people will be self-analysis, by way of evaluation conferences, by such state board people in company with the Program Director of SRC and several of the proposed special consultants. Such conferences should be held in each of the twelve states at least once in the coming fiscal year, and twice in six of the states. Total such evaluation and training conferences, eighteen.

In addition to program work of this kind with the state boards, the Southern Regional Council should call in to training and program review meetings twice each year the principal staff persons (usually two) from each state.

The entire training program should be coordinated by a Program Director travelling from the Atlanta office, and suitably underpinned with clerical help.

The bulk of the training work, both for the state boards and for state staff, would be carried by special consultants, appointed by the central office. They would number from three to six. They would be well versed in community relations and would have experience and skill in processes of desegregation. Examples:

Dr. Benita Valien, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Mozell Hill, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Harry Walker, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Lewis Killian, Florida State University, Tallahassee
Mr. Dan Dodson, New York University Center for Human Relations
Dr. G. D. Wilson, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
Dr. Miller Ritchie, President, Hartwick College, Oneonta, N. Y.
(Floridian, long in charge of the Department of Human Relations, University of Miami)

They should draw $50 a working day, plus travel at about $100 a trip. About three such consultants would be used for each training or program review meeting.

The growth of the work in the central office, including undertaking the training effort, makes it highly desirable to add to the Atlanta staff an administrative assistant to the Executive Director. He would be an office manager, would have charge of budgets, and would give answers to field inquiries within agreed policy. The services of such an assistant will release the Executive Director for more policy and program work.

A small sum should be available to meet occasional travel costs of state board people, and for contingencies in the development of the program. A moderate allowance is made for space, supplies, and telephone and telegraph.

The figures for this implementation program are these:

Program Director	$ 7,500	
Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director	6,000	
Clerical	6,000	
Social Security	470	
Travel, Program Director	2,000	
Consultants' Fees	4,000	
Travel of Consultants 54 trips @ $100	5,000	
Training meetings of state staff	5,000	
Travel of an occasional state board member, and contingencies	3,000	
Supplies, space	500	
Telephone and Telegraph	800	
Total		$40,270
Less, unspent balance of 1954-55 allocation for states		10,000
Sum requested for implementation program		$30,270

Here is a summary of our total request for 1955-56.

Estimated Cost of proposed additional services to state organizations	$40,270	
Unspent balance 1954-55 state funds to be applied	10,000	
Proposed increase of grant	$30,270	$30,270
Regular request for renewal		
Central Office	$25,000	
State Organizations	125,433	
Total	$150,433	150,433
GRAND TOTAL		$180,703

We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now coming to an end. We have reported in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports

have been filed for each quarter, and another audit, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab
Encl.

NOTE ON FUND-RAISING 1954-55

The Southern Regional Council for its central office has raised, as of August 11, 1955, independently of the grant from the Fund for the Republic approximately $47,000. If certain subscription payments from SRC's state organizations to the central office be allowed as funds raised by the central office, the amount raised by August 11th will be raised to $49,000. But these same payments are considered in the first instance as sums raised by the states toward the amount which each state must raise in order to qualify for assistance from SRC in SRC's second fiscal period.

As of August 11, 1955, the degree of success by the state organizations in raising their pro rata amounts, independently of grants to them from SRC, was approximately as follows. The word "approximate" is used as figures are taken from state reports without as yet advantage of audit.

The column "to raise" means the sum specified by SRC as the amount for each state to raise. The modal figure, it will be recalled, was $1800 based on the assumption that each state would begin with staff October 1, 1954 and continue thus to the end of the fiscal year. In cases where the quota set by SRC exceed $1800, staff was taken on earlier than October 1st in the states, and we have required that staff employed prior to October 1, 1954 be paid for by the states. In some instances, also, the modal quota of $1800 is increased by reason of salaries higher than the $5,000 which SRC was able to provide for principal staff personnel.

Sums markedly less than $1800 are calculated on a pro rata basis month for month of operation with staff. Thus six months of operation with staff yields a quota of six-twelfths of $1800; two months of operation with staff yields a quota of two-twelfths of $1800 (plus in some instances, increases in pro rata quota by reason of higher salary payments at the instance of state programs).

UNAUDITED REPORT ON STATE MONEY-RAISING
August 11, 1955

STATE	BEGAN WITH STAFF	TO RAISE	JULY 31 HAD RAISED
Alabama	October 1, 1954	$ 1800	$ 1600
Arkansas	April 15, 1955	825	150
Georgia	June 1, 1954	2400	3536
Kentucky	November 1, 1954	1650	702
Louisiana	June 1, 1954	3000	2650
Mississippi	Jan 1, 1955	1350	600
North Carolina	October 1, 1954	2800	1000
South Carolina	October 1, 1954	1800	1200
Tennessee	June 1, 1955	700	170
Texas	November 1, 1954	1690	1790
Virginia	July 15, 1955	825	—
Florida	August 16, 1955	350	—

The Southern Regional Council is confident that all, or virtually all, of the states will meet their quota by or before September 30, 1955. All states were notified in the beginning, and renotified months ago of the amounts of their quotas and of the firm requirement that they be raised. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting August 16, 17, and 18, 1955, resolved that states failing to raise their quota would receive no assistance in the coming fiscal year until they had met their past as well as current fund-raising obligation.

August 29, 1955

(Dictated 8/19/55)

GSM:

In discussion of the awards idea, it was thought that there should be a two-year program, beginning actually to give awards in, say, April, '56.

GSM/eab

FILE COPY

August 31, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Attached is a proposal that the Fund for the Republic make a two-year grant to the Southern Regional Council enabling the Council to administer a program of awards to Southern communities undertaking public school integration.

This proposal has been considered and approved by members of the Executive Committee and staff -- with the understanding, however, that it be regarded as entirely separate from and secondary to our major request sent to you on August 19th. For that reason, I would be reluctant to submit it at this time, were it not for Frank Loescher's assurance that the submission will not be misconstrued. Frank felt that we should send it up prior to your forthcoming Board meeting so that it may be considered along with any similar ideas that may be discussed.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina, the President of the Council, played a major part in the development of this proposal. If the staff and the officers of the Fund felt that it would be beneficial to discuss the idea in person with Mr. Wright, I am sure that he would be glad to come to New York at a mutually convenient time in the near future. This is merely a suggestion, which I leave entirely to your judgment.

In any case, we are aware that any final favorable action on this proposal would probably be preceded by further discussion as to details of the program.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

COMMUNITY AWARDS PROPOSAL

Staff members of the Fund for the Republic have invited the views of the Southern Regional Council on the usefulness and possible mechanics of a program of awards to Southern communities which do an outstanding job of desegregating their public schools. This matter was discussed at some length by the Executive Committee of the Council at its meeting of August 16-18, 1955. The following proposals represent the combined thinking of the Executive Committee and the staff of the Council.

While there would be ample arguments for a program of awards if Southern communities were left to their free choices, the arguments are the more compelling because of pressure in many areas to preserve the present status. This pressure is both official and non-official.

For example, Louisiana sets aside a fund of $100,000 to employ segregation attorneys to defend local suits. Georgia authorizes use of state funds of an unstated amount for the same purpose, and, additionally, assigns two members of the Attorney General's staff to assist in defending such suits. That State has also passed legislation denying state funds to desegregating communities. North Carolina with State funds creates an advisory commission (all white) to assist communities to institute a program of voluntary segregation. Instances might be multiplied, of the full weight and resources of states being employed to dissuade communities from compliance with the decrees.

In addition, there have been spawned in the South a host of private organizations upon whose shoulders the mantle of the Ku Klux Klan has fallen, such as the White Citizens Councils, White America, Inc., Knights of the White Christians, Southern Gentlemen, Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, Maryland Petition Committee, Baltimore Association for States Rights, States Rights League, National

Association for the Advancement of White People, Virginia League, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and Federation for Constitutional Government. The states represented in this list are Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia, and Tennessee.

There is, then, a truly impressive exhibition of official and privately organized resources and individuals whose sole purpose is to coerce or terrify communities into non-compliance with law. They etch the necessity for counteraction.

THE PLAN

One appropriate strategy to counter this combination of public and private power seems to be self-dictated. If there is to be punishment for non-compliance, there should be reward for compliance. Stated otherwise, if there is to be from some quarters obloquy and reproach for those who seek to uphold the law, there should be from other quarters honor and approbation. If a community is to be subjected to pressure to be craven, there should be upon it an off-setting pressure to be bold. And, since a community may be bold without being wise, the reward should go to communities which exhibit both boldness and wisdom in their approach to integration.

As important as may be words of judicious praise, the reward should not consist of compliments alone. It should be tangible. It should be monetary and in an amount sufficient to be appreciated and striven for.

The plan, in brief, is that to each of ten units of school administration -- district, city or county, as may be determined -- there should go an award of $10,000 for its boldness and wisdom in accomplishing integration

in the public schools "with all deliberate speed." Co-incidentally, there should be awarded to individuals -- trustees, superintendents or others responsible -- appropriately engraved gold medals. The total program should extend over a two-year period.

The plan recognizes that the community is an entity and that the action is group action. It also makes acknowledgement that behind, and responsible for, the action is an individual or group of individuals.

OBJECTIVES

There would be three major objectives:

1. To accord deserved recognition to communities and individuals who have moved with courage and statesmanship.

2. To encourage hesitant or wavering communities or individuals so to move.

3. By publicizing the policies pursued in successful integration, to educate others as to proper techniques.

The award method possesses certain distinct virtues.

It is positive rather than negative. However deserved adverse criticism for failure to act may be, commendation for those who do act is believed to be more effective as an incentive to move. The carrot should be tried before the stick.

The method lends itself to widespread and favorable publicity. Awards recently made by the Fund for the Republic for liberal action in fields at least tangential to public school integration were widely covered by press, radio and television.

In several Southern states, by operation of newly enacted legislation, counties and districts now have autonomy in assignment of pupils. They can integrate if they want to. Many such counties and districts are

pondering their courses. Where the scales are nearly balanced, the distinction and monetary award which came to another Southern community may prove decisive.

Nobel and Pulitzer wisely appealed to men's competitive instinct and their natural thirst for well grounded approbation. Such would be the reason underlying the plan herein proposed.

Upon the individual, as distinguished from the community level, there may be division within a board of trustees, or a superintendent may have his moments of doubt. The public recognition and acclaim which have come to other trustees or superintendents may be of crucial importance.

MECHANICS

To effectuate the plan, it is proposed:

1. That the Southern Regional Council should set up a board of seven Southern educators of both races whose respective institutions would be ineligible for any award. The board would determine the recipients. The board would elect from its members a chairman and a secretary. The Southern Regional Council would fill vacancies if any.
2. The board would have complete authority as to its choices, community and individual, for awards, but should select only one community (and the individual or individuals concerned) at a time, and at intervals of not less than one month. It should take into account the resolution and tact displayed, the steps pursued, including their adaptability to other communities, and the results achieved, if results have become evident.
3. The board may make such investigation as it desires and use such

evidence, information and reports as it deems credible in arriving at its decision. Records of the Southern Regional Council shall at all times be available to the board, and it is anticipated that the staff of the Council and its affiliated state organizations may be called on for first-hand investigation of likely communities.

4. The board shall make no disclosure of its awards except to the Southern Regional Council in order that the Council may make them public at such times and under such circumstances as to secure maximum favorable publicity.

5. An award shall be delivered only upon receipt by the Council from the responsible school official of a full report of the integration experience of the community involved; this report should be a critical self-evaluation of the process to date, designed for maximum usefulness to other communities. The Council shall have the right to distribute and publicize such report as it may see fit.

6. Awards to communities shall be ten in number in amount of $10,000 each. Individual awards in a number to be determined by the board shall be suitably inscribed gold medals of the value of $50.00 each.

7. The use to which the monetary award is put shall be left to the discretion of the recipient board of education. The only condition would be that the sum not be merely merged with general funds, but be spent for some specific purpose which will impartially benefit school children of both races. It is felt that the award will confer greater prestige and recognition if its use, within the limits described, is left to the decision of the local school board.

8. The contemplated duration of the program is two years. During the impending school year, 1955-56, the number of Southern communities

actually undertaking school integration will be relatively small and will be concentrated in areas with proportionately few Negroes. Several well chosen awards in this year, however, should help to augment the substantially larger number of communities which may be expected to begin integration in 1956-57. A much wider selection of communities would thus be possible in the second year of the program.

9. The board of awards shall receive travel and maintenance allowance for purposes of conference and a per diem for each day spent in conference.

10. It is estimated that $10,000 will cover the cost of board meetings, necessary travel for investigatory and publicity purposes, clerical expenses, and cost of individual awards. Hence, the amount of the grant should be $110,000.

HCF/eab
8/31/55

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

September 1, 1955

Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a copy of the Awards proposal as it went forward to the Fund for the Republic yesterday. Frank Loescher, by telephone, made certain suggestions about its submission, and these were incorporated in the covering letter. You will see that we very generously offered them a visit from you; presumptuous of us, but we thought you would approve.

Best regards,

Fund for Republic
Request for Grant 1955-56

September 16, 1955

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director HCF

This is to summarize telephone conversations with Frank Loescher Thursday and Friday.

(1) The board of Fund for the Republic acted favorably on our request for the expectable grant for the coming year. The question of an additional grant for the so called training program did not come up in the meeting. Action on the proposal for community awards was deferred until the next board meeting.

(2) Ashmore discussed with Loescher his (Ashmore's) failure to bring up the question of the additional training funds. Ashmore felt that the agenda was so packed that there was little chance of satisfactory consideration of the question. He and Frank agreed that perhaps the best thing would be for Harry to have a full discussion with Ferry prior to the next regular meeting of the Fund Board. Frank further suggests that we arrange for a full workout with Harry, in the course of which a new or more saleable formulation might be agreed on.

(3) The Fund is prepared to assist some organized plan for supporting teachers fired because of their views on integration. They failed to provide a stand-by fund for this purpose pending an approach by an organized group willing and able to administer such a program. I told Frank we would see what we could do to further the idea.

(4) Frank has had discussions with Oscar Lee, Ed Lucas, and Thelma Stevens regarding the need for pamphlets on important aspects of race relations. I will discuss this with you further next week.

(5) There is some possibility that the Fund may want to distribute copies of Marion Wright's speech before the Committee on Rural Schools. We still have the stencils and I said we would supply copies at cost.

(6) Frank had received a call from Almita Robinson about her readiness to work for the Texas Commission. He merely conveyed the fact to us for information with no desire to interfere. I told him what I knew of the Texas situation.

ys

FILE COPY

September 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the Central Office in Atlanta.

In our grant letter for the eighteen-month period April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955, we stated that the grant had been made with the understanding that the Fund,

> "...will consider future grants, on a showing of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources, of not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and of not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. This grant carries with it the stipulation that there will be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the SRC after September 30, 1957."

The present grant is made on the same terms as our first grant. However, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and through you George Mitchell and his staff for the excellent progress made during the first year and a half of operation under the Council's expanded program. We appreciate the many difficulties that have confronted the Council in the past months, particularly in its successful endeavors to reorganize and staff the various state affiliates.

When the time comes for another appraisal of the operations of the Council by this Fund, we will, of course, want to look very closely at the actual accomplishments of the state organizations. We hope that during the next twelve months all the state chapters will build a record of achievement of which this Fund and the Council can be proud.

We look forward to receiving from Mr. Mitchell the same type of excellent quarterly reports he has furnished us during the first eighteen months of our support, and such additional informal progress reports as he may wish to give us.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC #101 (6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $150,000.00 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 26, 1955

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEP 29 1955

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Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

MEMORANDUM

January 9, 1956

TO: Members of the Executive Committee of SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell

FILE COPY

RE: The Future of the SRC

It will be recalled that at the Board Meeting at Tuskegee. November 9, 1955, upon the resolution of Miss Josephine Wilkins "the staff was directed to submit to the Executive Committee, at an early meeting, not later than the April meeting, proposals for the continued existence of the Council after the expiration of the grant from the Fund for the Republic."

The Executive Director has queried each principal staff member for the memoranda. The full memoranda are available, but for convenience they are compressed herewith:

C.H. PARRISH

States will need further subsidy after 1957. Without honest subsidy, some states would be tempted to soften program to get money. "Local financial support for Southern Regional Council program would appear to be in inverse relationship to need."

Central office function is to demonstrate integrated professional service. If strong states, central office can be skeleton one, but subsidy to difficult areas and coordinated provision of findings of research (by others) would continue to be needed.

G.S. ALEXANDER

Continuing need for "hub of communications."

Problem is money.

H.C. FLEMING

Five alternatives:

1. Liquidation.

2. Limited continuation, dropping all functions, except that of direct field servicing of state organizations.

3. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of information --i.e., publications, information

center for press, other agencies, and state affiliates.

4. Continuation at present level of operation, retaining all functions.

5. Continuation with expanded functions.

At least three years of need for central office after end of 1957.

If states were left alone, the weaker units would soon wither, leaving areas of most need least serviced.

Also the opposition sprouts region-wide organization, and its delusions call for skilled and united countering, regionally and nationally.

Main problem is money.

Plan ahead to find our maximum support and we could.

Go ahead on present scale - or go out of business.

FRED ROUTH

Need will continue in an era moving from accelerated change to jet-propelled transition. Foolhardy if we fail to assist the change, in expanded way.

At end of 1957 desegregation of schools will not have reached hard-core states.

Must continue to provide an integrated professional service to meet a multiplying need for just the skills involved.

MRS. DOROTHY TILLY

"Challenging opportunities... with adjustment to the inevitable enforcement of its... decisions. To retrench would... betray..."

"Poor indeed will be the South... with the field left to a Regional setup of the Citizens' Councils."

"A Finance Committee, really feeling the seriousness, could... secure the funds needed."

States can't stand alone for a while yet.

Need yearly conferences of Southwide groups in Social Sciences, Church Women, the heads of denominational Boards of Education.

Alter New South:

"We should face the fact that our publications, for the most part, reach only those whose social conscience is already quickened. However, these will continue to need something like New South. There should be found some way to reach the masses so easily persuaded by the propaganda of such organizations as the Citizens' Council. Simple factual material tied up some way with their Bible Belt South, I believe could be just as effective as Talmadge's Statesman, etc. This too, calls for more finances, but if it can be done-- it will strengthen the appeal for funds."

George Mitchell says we should plan for three further years, after the expiry of the help from the Fund for the Republic, which occurs in September, 1957. His plan contemplates three years of further modest aid to some of the States, and continuance on a reduced basis of the most essential services of a central office.

Argument on the States runs as follows. In 1957 we shall be aiding the States on a level of $8,500 for each State. Each will run to a total budget of over $15,000. After 1957 there will be some of the States which in all likelihood could not carry on in reasonable strength unless they had some extra help. SRC would be free of any commitment to help all the States alike, and could put help on the States that would need it most. How many? Say six. How much? Say an average of $6,000 each. Call it $35,000 of annual subsidy to State organizations, on a minimum basis; and $50,000 of annual subsidy on a reasonable basis.

On the central office, certain services would have to be saved. You should keep up an interchange through an organ like New South. You need a paymaster, by title a Secretary-Treasurer. You would have to have at least one man travelling out to the States a great deal; ideally a combination administration and program man. New South lives by having someone to collect information, that gets called a Director or Research. You would need two and probably three clerks. And you would need some sort of Director. In a budget, for minimum and for reasonable, it looks like this:

Possible Budget for
Southern Regional Council

Typical Year 1957 et seq.

States	Minimum	Reasonable
For subsidy	35,000	50,000
Central Office		
Salaries		
Executive Director	8,000	10,000
Secretary	3,500	3,500
Secretary-Treasurer	4,000	5,000
Director of Information	7,000	7,500
Director of Research	7,500	5,000
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Field Man	7,000	7,500
	37,000	43,800
Travel	5,000	8,000
Rent	1,200	1,500
Supplies	1,000	1,200
Telephone & telegraph	1,200	1,500
Postage	800	1,000
Printing	10,000	10,000
Social Security	1,200	1,400
Miscellaneous	500	500
	57,700	68,900
Total, Central Office	58,000	69,000
Total, Central Office & State	93,000	119,000

In three years,
Central Office and State

Minimum	279,000	-	280,000
Reasonable	357,000	-	360,000

How do you get together such sums?

By all experience, there is something that the staff can raise aided by friendships of the past. I would estimate this as follows:

(1958-60)
Per Year

From Churches	10,000
From Labor	10,000
Subscriptions to New South	15,000
Individual Gifts	1,000
Sale of Literature	1,000
Honoraria	1,000
Total	38,000

Annually, on the minimum budget of $93,000, this leaves $55,000 to be raised by a finance committee.

On the reasonable budget, it leaves $81,000 to be raised annually by a finance committee.

If you go on a three year basis:

Minimum budget:

Needed - 3 years
$280,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$166,000

Reasonable budget:

Needed - 3 years
$357,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$243,000

All of which is to say that three more years would cost on a mimimum basis, say $165,000 more than is in sight; and on a reasonable basis, $240,000 more than is in sight.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

Tues 14 Aug 56

CSM —

I have read the proposed letter to the Fund. My corrections are minor — and are in the text in this ink.

I would advocate the seperation of the budget from the text — or an additional item called "Budget" putting all proposed allocations in Table form.

Finally I feel the Central Office figure should be $50,000 not $25,000; we need all the staff we have to do an adequate job of 1. Servicing state organizations; and 2. Serving as an information center.

FBR.

corrections on pgs. 3, 4

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

8/13/56

Gabe:

Can you make the correct insertions for me on page 4?

(figures not to be obtained until August 31st.)

DRAFT
(Dictated August 10, 1956)

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Perforce we begin to think about fundless days which begin October 1, 1957.

In the Spring of 1951 when we made our major proposal to the Ford Foundation, we asked for enough funds to enable us, with what could be raised otherwise, to put a reasonable subsidy for five years into twelve state organizations, and to keep going a sufficiently strong coordinating central office. The Fund for the Republic, when it came to reviewing the proposal, made to us in April, 1954, a much appreciated but much reduced grant. ~~The Fund for the Republic~~ You undertook to assist ~~the central office~~ us for three and one-half years ~~and state organizations for three years~~. The original request to the Ford Foundation had been in terms of ~~$900,000 for the states and $253,000 for the central office, plus $253,000 for research interpretation, which died aborning~~ a million, four hundred, latter. In the actual event, the grant made by the Fund for the Republic in 1954 was ~~to yield upon completion $380,000 for subsidy~~ to state organizations, and ~~$110,000 for subsidy to the central office.~~ a shade less than half a million dollars. ~~(Figures rounded for convenience.)~~

~~I am~~ We are quite aware of the firm language which you used, and which the Fund's letter of grant of April 2, 1954 used, to the efffect that the Fund for the Republic had no intention of helping the Southern Regional Council after the expiration of the three and a half years during which the Fund's grants were prospectively to run.

I will not say that the job we have of persuading the South to accept non-segregation has turned out to be more difficult than we in the Council thought it would be. We always thought it would be difficult and it has certainly turned out to be difficult. So difficult that I think at least our original estimate of a needful five years assistance to the state organizations is in order; and most people would agree that the period should, if possible, run longer.

It needs be clear that I, Mitchell, am not one to argue for a perpetual Southern Regional Council. I have thought all along that each Southern state should have a strong statewide agency in human relations, hooked to some national congeries of such agencies; and that we should get over

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Thinking of the South as forever queer, requiring special, different treatment. I voice this view repeatedly in SRC's Board meetings, and each time am cried down: "That may be very well in some long run, but for the next few years we have to have a Southern Regional Council." With that limited need I agree. I say three more years.

~~Seven and possibly eight of the state organizations we have helped can be expected to come through as intended, and be mainly self-sustaining after October, 1957.*~~

Also the letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, said firmly that "the future financial health of the Council and the state organizations might be seriously impaired if they were not to find substantial Southern financial support." To this the best we can plead is that we and the state

---

Move note to p.1 SM

* The sentence was: "There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

organizations have met the requirements put upon us by the Fund for the Republic for fund-raising from other sources. The state organizations have found their other money almost one hundred per cent from within the South. The central office hasn't done so well on this. I would estimate that of what we have raised ourselves not more than one fourth ~~per cent~~ has come from within the South. Our cause has not been popular in the South. It is everybody's experience that Southern money willing to assist interracial effort to obtain enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision is mighty ~~mightly~~ scarce.

- gathered as currently getting these figures

So we would like to ask for enough money to enable us to keep going for three more years some needed subsidy to the state organizations and to a central office.

As to aid to the state organizations: ~~that~~ should clearly now be tailor-made state by state and year by year. We, ourselves, at the beginning of the current grant our program promised the states that we would give them stated amounts for each of three years. We have come in the last year to an arrangement providing some flexibility in this. Some states for this last year will receive more of our help than others. Differences in financial stability and in need and worthwhileness of program will continue and will grow. So should the difference in our help continue and grow.

The Fund for the Republic, in its original grant to the Southern Regional Council contemplated a situation at the end of September, 1957, in which twelve state organizations would be independent and able to stand on their own two feet financially. To that end it has been required that each state organization raise a growing proportion of its expenditures each year. Here is a table as to the/ir achievements as of August 31, 1956, in fund-raising within the eight strongest state organizations. Membership figures are given as some measure of stability.

	AMOUNT RAISED 10/55 - 8/31/56	NUMBER OF MEMBERS as of 8/31/56
Virginia		
Kentucky		
Florida		
Texas		
Arkansas		
South Carolina		
Georgia		
Alabama		

I expect that even these eight strongest states will find it quite a tussle to raise in fiscal 1956-57 the covenanted $6,500. Assuming that they do, they would confront under present circumstances at the beginning of fiscal 1957-58 the mountainous task of raising from local sources $14,000 or $10,000 per state per year. Quite clearly they cannot do that so early in their lives.

PROPOSED ALLOCATION TO STATES:

We would like to be able to give these eight states a round $5,000 a year for each of three years.

Four other states are weaker. Here are the figures for them.

~~Mississippi~~	AMOUNT RAISED 10/55 - 8/31/56	NUMBER OF MEMBERS as of 8/31/56
Mississippi		
Tennessee		
North Carolina		
Louisiana		

Mississippi is currently "on probation," until September 30th, and by that time decision would have been taken by SRC's Executive Committee as to whether to continue with aid to that organization or not. We think there should be available for providing three of these weaker organizations a sum on the order of $7,500 for each of three years. ~~That is~~ $22,500 per year, ~~or a total of~~ $67,500 for the three years. Adding the proposed subsidy for the stronger and weaker state organizations, the total for one year of operation is ~~$187,500~~ $62,500 and for the three years altogether $187,500. One component of subsidy to the states ought clearly to be an increase in the salary payable from the central office for state executive directors. Nearly all of them get $5,000. It is quite unrealistic to suppose that with prices what they

are, the state organizations can be served by qualified people at this figure. We would raise them to $6,000.

As to the central office: what with the things to be done, this office is strung out to where its annual budget is at or slightly above $100,000. Some of this is because tasks needing to be done have been clamped on to a staff in being. I presume that the principle interest of the Fund for the Republic would be in maintaining a central office only sufficient to supervise and reasonably to instruct the on-going state organizations. Such a minimum central organization is going to cost altogether around $75,000 a year. We can raise $50,000 of that ourselves. If the fund-raising requirement is greater, the central office of the Southern Regional Council becomes predominantly a beggar and not an administrative engine. It would take dependable aid of $25,000 a year to keep the central office going. So we ~~will~~ ask for a total of $75,000 for three years for the central office.

If you add what is asked for the states to what is asked for the central office, it comes out to $262,500.

If you add a grant in these terms to the original grant of $500,000 made in April, 1954, you get a total investment by the Fund for the Republic in the program of the Southern Regional Council of $762,500. Whereas originally we asked for a million four hundred for five years ~~million one thirty-eight for five years if you delete the request for $253,500 for research interpretation~~ ~~which was deleted~~), this is forty-two per cent less ~~than we originally asked for to spread such a program in the South for five years. Such a program will be conducted six years~~. And this ~~would~~ gives a total of six years of aid — not five.

Sincerely,

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 13, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 15 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your note of August 8 and the encouraging news about fund raising. This reminds me to ask you when we may expect a formal request for funds for the 1956-57 year. I see from our files that our Board approved the most recent general grant in September, 1955. Our next Board meeting is September 12, and we should have something from you people in hand before the end of this month if we are to get it out to our Board before the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

Note: no daily file copy made
Green copy shown to HCF
FBR

August 22, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Taft Hotel
Seventh Avenue at Fiftieth Street
New York, New York

Dear Marion:

I am glad you wrote your good long letter about the request to the Fund for the Republic. The truth is that your letter shortly before that July meeting of the Executive Committee reminding me that it would be well to send a draft out to members of the Executive Committee before the meeting caught me with only a first rough draft in hand. I touched it up a bit and sent it around as a basis for discussion.

I quite agree with your proposal for a more formal letter. All experience is that one makes the formal request not chatty, and the chatting that occurs between staffs adds a considerable number of informal hedgings and internal commitments which are best recorded, if at all, outside the formal documents.

I was really not disagreeing with the Board's view that the show ought to run on for a further period. I thought I was adducing an argument in our favor when I put in the anti-bureaucratic note.

The present draft (largely on Harold's advice) deals heavily on our request in 1951 for a lot of money with which to do a long range job. That is a superior argument.

We are of the view that it would be well in this draft not to make a breakdown as between the central office and the state organizations. The catch is that the Board of the Fund for the Republic will be interested in paying out a lump sum to get a job done. The staff of the Fund for the Republic is another matter, but we would reach our agreements with them. Notice that the letter of grant from the Fund for the Republic made no formal mention of a breakdown as between central office and state organizations.

Noble punch line in your letter at the end:"Neither you nor we will wish to leave the job half done."

My only real difference of view with you is on the final sentence in the fat mid-paragraph of the first page of your draft of a letter to Freeman: "Hence, since you know us and enjoy a partnership with us in common enterprise, we turn again to you." Foundations are notably skittish of any presumption that one period of aid implies another. My feeling would be that we ought to argue our case without implying that they are willy-nilly in the boat with us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED AUG 22 1956

Taft Hotel
7th Avenue at 50th Street
New York City
August 18, 1956

Dear George:

I, of course, regret that I could not attend the Frogmore meeting and participate in the discussion of our next approach to the Fund for the Republic. It was an excellent idea for you to have on hand a preliminary draft of a letter to Mr. Freeman. Since the matter is reserved for further consideration, I presume it would be appropriate for all members of the Executive Committee to favor you with their criticisms. My own are herewith advanced with no unchangeable conviction as to their merits but solely in order that they may have your attention.

1. Is it wise for the letter to indicate that your own individual views may not accord entirely with the views of the organization as a whole? (Par. 4 on page 1). The request is the act of the corporation and not your individual act. I doubt that it is wise advocacy to suggest that you have reservations about the position you are directed to take. If there should be a disposition not to help us, it may be easy for the Fund to say "We feel that Mitchell's original position was the correct one".

2. Is it a mistake to suggest three possible types of organization of the central office, calling for aid in three different amounts? It seems to me this may be an invitation to the Fund to decide upon the most sketchy of the three plans and make the smallest of the three proposed grants. The board, I think, should determine now the most desirable type of organization and present a solid front on that type. To present alternatives may be confusing to the Fund.

3. While the Fund may take judicial notice of certain facts, it may be wise to call them specifically to attention. We had expected in a three and a half year period to be much farther along with our job than we are. I am sure that none of us had foreseen - certainly I had not - the stone wall of official and non-official opposition to the Supreme Court decrees. This has made our task immeasurably greater than we or the Fund had anticipated and will protract the period in which we must function. The Fund should perhaps be reminded of the nature and extent of the forces with which we must cope.

4. I would be disposed to make the letter somewhat more formal and serious in tone. As between you and Freeman, who understand each other well, the light touch may be desirable. But the letter may get into a file and ultimately be before the Fund board members. These, I will assume may be grave and

solemn gentlemen. The letter should keep their critical faculties clearly in mind.

The approach I would suggest is apparent in the enclosed. It is intended to indicate the spirit, rather than the precise form, of the letter.

Best regards.

M.A.W.

M.A.W.

Enclosure

Make sure a case
a grant for
1956-57

August 22, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to request of the Fund for the Republic, in accordance with its original letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, the amount of $110,000 therein indicated as possibly approvable for the third grant period.

September 31, 1956, will mark the end of the second fiscal year of aid to the Council by the Fund. During that period, substantial progress has been made toward the Council's main commitment to establish and strengthen human relations organizations, progressionally staffed and representative of both races, in the twelve Southern states. The Council has also carried on, through its central office, essential information, publication, and consultative services.

The Fund has been kept advised of the activities of the Council and its state affiliates through detailed quarterly reports and other less formal correspondence. Thus we forego any recital of them in this request. It is pertinent, however, to mention the results of the central office's fund-raising from other sources thus far in the current fiscal year. Between October 1, 1955, and August 15, 1956, the Council had raised a total of $52,656.80. This is exclusive, of course, of the amounts raised by the state organizations, as required by our arrangements with them.

I know you are as aware as we are of the increasing need in the Southern states for the accurate and careful counseling offered by the Southern Regional Council. We will be deeply grateful to the Fund for the Republic for further aid in carrying on this important work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DRAFT
Dictated August 23, 1956

For Review by: HCF
FBR
GSA
RHA

FILE COPY

cc: For Review by: JH
CHP

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
~~2~~ 60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

It had been the earnest hope of this organization and the Fund for the Republic that the grant of April 2, 1954, would enable the Council to make such substantial progress in three and a half years that it could then stand alone. The grant expires on October 1, 1957. It is quite evident that on that date our task will be far from complete and that we shall not then be able to function effectively upon resources obtainable in the South. We must, of necessity, begin to plan for the period after October 1, 1957.

We are sure that neither we nor the Fund had correctly gauged the extent or nature of the forces which we would encounter in persuading the South to follow an honorable course in complying with law. As Southerners, we are humiliated to indicate, however inadequately, some of the factors which make up this opposition.

?[HCF here to insert paragraphs as indicated in MAW's draft, which is attached]

The existence of this truly formidable hostility to everything for which the Southern Regional Council stands postpones the date when it may relax its efforts. More, it has tightened Southern purse strings. The awesome pressure of public opinion makes many Southerners indisposed or afraid to contribute to any liberal cause. Hence, we must look beyond the region for help. ~~Hence,~~ Since we think we have performed worthily under the directions which you put on us we turn again to you.

DRAFT

David Freeman - 2
August 23, 1956

Some reassurance comes pretty clearly from the couple of years of experience we have had in working with state organizations. And, generally speaking, we continue to think that that is the best device. But we are convinced that the method has, as its major shortcoming, weaknesses in just those states where strength is most needed. We have come to distinguish between the "hard-core" states and the others in the South. By almost any reckoning, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and Louisiana are the "hard-core" states. And in three, or possibly four, of those five states the SRC assisted organizations, have shown a reticence of purpose amounting almost to timidity. Indeed in Mississippi we think we have failed to establish a representative and forward-looking Board capable of supporting an active program. And for quite other reasons -- mainly connected with the difficult geography of the state -- we have not yet got going in Tennessee an organization capable of independent action.

But to match these areas of special difficulty there is a success story with most of the rest of the state organizations. Arkansas and Texas and Virginia and Kentucky and Georgia and Florida have done a magnificent job. In each of those states the organization has made a real dent on public opinion. And the Alabama Council on Human Relations should be added to the honor roll of ones that have succeeded; by nearly all measures they have performed well.

So when you sum it up you have got six state organizations that have done notably well; three or four that have done well enough to make it likely that they can continue to be quite useful in their states; and one, two, or three that have not yet found a pace and a way to work.

DRAFT

David Freeman - 3
August 23, 1956

We began in your first period of aid to us with an even-~~steven~~handed offer to each of the twelve states. In the last few months we have found it clearly wisest to tailor-make our aid to some. And for the coming twelve months, which will be the last period of your present grant, we will go further ~~forth~~ in altering the amounts of our aid state by state. It averages out pretty well for the twelve states, but some will get a little more and some a little less.

And we think this is the method to follow for the future.

Now what does one do in places where the state organization is weak and the problem is extra hard? By stimulus from the central office you get persons already established in those states (academics or ministers or others) to proceed to pull together the material available in the locality for conferences and understanding between the races. This is a simple extension of the machinery we have worked out for employing locality per diem consultants. We could even envision a situation in which there were no state organizations, but in which at selected spots demonstration projects in bi-racial study and conferences would be proceeding.

Out of the travail of the South this central office continues to be called upon for expanding rather than diminishing services. The staff in Atlanta are not empire builders (indeed they have a good deal of disposition in the other direction) but the Council has been hard put to it to find the funds to enable it to keep alive a ~~small staff~~ sufficient body of informed and sympathetic people aided by a ready and trustworthy flow of fact.

Experience has likewise taught us that the state organizations pretty early come up against a wall of what they can raise locally without grave sacrifice to program. Three or four thousand dollars a year strains

the best of them. We can't expect to get a useful program, state by state, at an average figure of less than ~~the~~ $7,500 a year of subsidy from the Southern Regional Council. Take the $4,000 they may, perhaps, be able to raise, and you still only have $11,500 which is precious little on which to pay a full-time executive, a clerk, quite a number of consultants, a lot of travel, and the rent and the telephone and the rest.

The central office can pull together $40,000 or $50,000 in a lucky year. And Southern money for our cause is harder and not easier to get. It is taking about $100,000 a year now to run what is called for in the central office. We do not see how a responsible service can be provided on less than direct aid of $40,000 a year.

As to how long a new program should run. When the Southern Regional Council made its original proposal to the Ford Foundation in 1951, we asked for help for five years. We now think that at the end of three more years of aid the back of the problem would be broken. Enough Southern communities would have opened their schools to prove to most of the rest that the change is manageable and ought to be welcomed. At the end of that time we think that quite a number of our state organizations might well have been transformed into agencies assisted from state funds, working the more efficiently because of the accumulated non-official experience and because of the availability of trained personnel.

Even in the more difficult states the habit of ready interchange between Negro and white citizens would have been launched.

DRAFT

David Freeman - 5
August 23, 1956

The whole cost of such a program is $130,000, or for each of three years a total cost of $390,000. And the Southern Regional Council requests the Fund for the Republic to consider a grant to it beginning October 1, 1957 in those terms.

I, myself, and the members of the staff will be, as heretofore, most anxious to supply you with whatever detailed information and appraisal the Fund for the Republic may wish.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

It should be recalled that our original request to the Ford Foundation in 1951 contemplated a five year program costing $1,400.00 This present proposal coupled with your generous grant for 1954-7 gives a total of well under $900,000, and ~~includes~~ extends help for six years instead of five.

August 24, 1956

Mr. John Hope
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Here is a much revised draft of a possible post-1957 letter to F for R.

By no means final yet.

For speed's sake I send you this rough copy for your comments, the while other copies circulate to the staff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED AUG 29 1956

August 27, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your two letters of the 22nd and your less formal communication of the 23rd which answered for me the only question I was about to ask. We will proceed to put the whole matter before our Board at its meeting on September 12-13, and will be in touch with you shortly thereafter.

Attached

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

August 23, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I mailed you yesterday the Southern Regional Council's formal request for the third installment of aid from the Fund for the Republic to SRC.

I now write you less formally.

I remember with clarity the expressed expectation that the Southern Regional Council would come up with at least $55,000 of money raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic during our second grant period, October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956.

As of August 15th, the figure was $52,656.80. Here is a breakdown (to be reported on later in minute detail):

Contributions:

Individuals	$ 3,035.00	
Organizations	4,996.00	
Churches	3,570.00	
Foundations	30,500.00	
Total contributions		$42,101.00

Other Income:

SRC Dues (Associates)	$ 346.00	
New South Subscriptions	5,638.17	
Sale of Literature	1,271.83	
Honoraria	1,362.80	
Interest Income	1,937.00	
		$10,555.80

The apparent shortfall from $55,000 is $2,343.20. Probably we will take it in. Maybe we will take in a good deal more. If we come up a few hundred dollars short, our fall-back would be the claim that for fiscal 1954-55 we did raise $6,798.10 more than we had to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

T

1956-57 grant request

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

Dave Freeman called with an urgent request for the latest total of funds raised by the states in this fiscal year. He was lavish with statements of reassurance that this had no ominous significance and that he understood full well the difficulties of Southern fund raising in this period. But he wanted to be armed with these figures in coping with his Board.

Ruth cast up for me the figures attached. Note that this is the status as of August 1st, and that Texas was revised upward by $600, representing Ruth's estimate of what they had raised, but had not yet reported in June and July.

Dave was interested only in the totals here shown, not the state by state breakdown. He recalled that according to our original requirement the amount to be raised by the states would total $42,000 (@ $3500 ea.). I gave him the total of the revised amount - $36,000. He was well enough pleased with this showing, but raised two questions:

1) In the case of those states whose fund raising requirement was reduced, ~~would~~ did they receive a proportionately smaller allocation of F for R funds? I replied, that in general, the answer was yes. We agreed that the unexpended balances had been redirected to central needs, in each case with the knowledge and concurrence of the Fund's staff.

2) Dave had gathered from recent communications that there was some possibility that Mississippi would be cut off. If this should happen, he would want us to report the fact by letter and make some proposal for alternative allocation of the funds withheld from Mississippi or any other state group in like circumstances. We wouldn't have to be too formal about it, he said. He simply wants the staff to be protected in the event Board members raise the question during the coming year. I assured him that we would, as in the past, consult fully with him about any proposed diversion of funds from their originally designated purpose. I also remarked that, in the unhappy event any of the state groups were cut off, we would hope to service that state direct through some other staff device. He readily understood this and expressed approval of the general idea.

All the way through, Dave was at pains to make it clear that he was not raising any questions out of dissatisfaction, but was simply informing himself in order to prosecute the Council's request before the forthcoming Board meeting.

If any of this is not clear, let us discuss.

HCF:mbo
Attached report

1.25.000

August 1, 1956

ALA.	2,500	—	2,675.25
ark.	3,500	—	1,465.89
Fla.	3,500	—	2,263.29
GA.	3,500	—	3,726.24
Ky.	2,000	—	2,065.16
LA.	2,000	—	1,916.85
Miss.	3,500	—	1,423.87
N.C.	3,500	—	2,565.55
S.C.	3,500	—	2,983.60
Tenn.	1,500	—	976.39
Texas	3,500	—	2,155.42 (June 1, 1956) + 600 est.
Virginia	3,500	—	3,972.17
Pro Forma 42,000	adjusted 36,000		28,189.68
			600
			28,789.68

T

36.000.00

28.189.68 -

7.810.32 T

T

T

2.500.00

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MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED AUG 31 1956

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DATE: 8/30/56.

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: John Hope II.

RE:

In your absence, I talked with Harold by phone about the Fund letter. Because of absence of steno. help and because Harold feels you will want to have these materials on the week-end, I am sending both this and a rough draft of my memo on the New World Foundation matter

Vacation absence from office has delayed these replies. Hope they'll help

I put JH's report on consultants with the correspondence re the New World Foundation.

EAB

RECEIVED AUG 3 1 1956

DRAFT
Dictated August 23, 1956

For Review by: HCF
FBR
GSA
RHA

cc: For Review by: JH
CHP

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
~~2~~ 60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

It had been the earnest hope of this organization and the Fund for the Republic that the grant of April 2, 1954, would enable the Council to make such substantial progress in three and a half years that it could then stand alone. The grant expires on October 1, 1957. It is quite evident that on that date our task will be far from complete and that we shall not then be able to function effectively upon resources obtainable in the South. We must, of necessity, begin to plan for the period after October 1, 1957.

We are sure that neither we nor the Fund had correctly gauged the extent or nature of the forces which we would encounter in persuading the South to follow an honorable course in complying with law. As Southerners, we are humiliated to indicate, however inadequately, some of the consequences of factors which make up this opposition.

~~?[HCF here to insert paragraphs as indicated in MAW's draft, which is attached]~~ does not apply

The existence of this truly formidable hostility to everything for which the Southern Regional Council stands, particularly public school desegregation, postpones the date when it may relax its efforts in this area of program emphasis. More, it has tightened Southern purse strings. The awesome pressure of public opinion makes many Southerners indisposed, and frequently ~~or~~ afraid to contribute to any liberal cause. Hence, we must look beyond the region for help. ~~Hence, since~~ We think we have performed worthily under the ~~directions~~ confidence which you put on us, we turn again to you.

Might briefly summarize major opposition factors that have resulted in the developments and shifts in plans described below.

a la Fleming memo on negative factors

DRAFT

David Freeman - 2
August 23, 1956

Some reassurance comes pretty clearly from the couple of years experience we have had in working with + through state organizations. ~~And, generally~~ speaking, we continue to think that that is the best device. ~~But~~ we are convinced that the method has, as its major shortcoming, weaknesses in just those states where strength is most needed. We have come to distinguish between the "hard-core" states and the others in the South. By almost any reckoning, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and Louisiana are the "hard-core" states. ~~And~~ In three, or possibly four, of those five states, ~~of~~ The SRC assisted organizations, ~~is~~ have shown a reticence of purpose amounting almost to timidity. Indeed in Mississippi we think we have failed to establish a representative and forward-looking Board capable of supporting an active program. ~~And~~ For quite different ~~other~~ reasons -- mainly connected with the difficult geography of the state -- we have not yet got going in Tennessee an organization capable of independent action.

~~But~~ To match these areas of special difficulty, there is a success story ~~with~~ in most of the ~~rest of the~~ remaining state organizations. Arkansas and Texas westward to the ~~and~~ Virginia and Kentucky at the border, and Florida and Georgia in the deep South have done a magnificent job. In each of these states, the organization has made a real dent on public opinion. ~~And~~ The Alabama Council on Human Relations should be added to the honor roll of ones that have succeeded (when the severe obstacles in special climate and available staff & board resources are taken into account); by nearly all measures they have performed well.

So when you sum it up, ~~you have got~~ six state organizations ~~that~~ have done notably well; three or four ~~that~~ have done well enough to make it likely that they can continue to be quite useful in the states; and one, two, or three ~~that~~ have not yet found a pace and a way to work.

(A)

Note

You may be interested in the results of information given by the state director which indicate in weak states "where strength is most needed" which seem the weakest the percent of total staff time use in program development is generally lower than in other states, e.g., Miss. 25%; La. 25%, Ala. 20%, Ga. 40%

It should be emphasized that these are only rough "guesses" for my guidance and the range of error may be wide. Further, they should be held confidential

since this is the basis upon which they were given.

DRAFT

David Freeman - 3
August 23, 1956

We began in your first period of aid to us with an even-steven-handed offer to each of the twelve states. In the last few months we have found it clearly wisest to tailor-make our aid to some. ~~And~~ For the coming twelve months, which will be the last period of your present grant, we will go further ~~forth~~ in altering the amounts of ~~our~~ aid state by state. It averages out pretty well for the twelve states, but some will get a little more and some a little less.

And we think this is the method to follow for the future.

Now what does one do in places where the state organization is weak and the problem is extra hard? By stimulus from the central office you get persons already established in those states (academics or ministers or others) to proceed to pull together the material available in the locality for conferences and understanding between the races. This is a simple extension of the machinery we have worked out for employing locality per diem consultants. We could even envision a situation in which there were no state organizations, but in which at selected spots demonstration projects in bi-racial study and conferences would be proceeding.

Out of the travail of the South this central office continues to be called upon for expanding rather than diminishing services. The staff in Atlanta are not empire builders (indeed they have a good deal of disposition in the other direction) but the Council has been hard put to it to find the funds to enable it to keep alive a ~~small staff~~ sufficient body of informed and sympathetic people aided by a ready and trustworthy flow of fact.

Experience has likewise taught us that the state organizations pretty early come up against a ~~wall of what they can raise locally~~ serious and growing problem of raising funds locally without grave sacrifice to program. Three or four thousand dollars a year strains

DRAFT

the best of them. We can't expect to get a useful program, state by state, at an average figure of ~~the~~ Less Than $7,500 a year of subsidy from the Southern Regional Council. Take the $4,000 they may, perhaps, be able to raise, and you still only have $11,500 which is precious little on which to pay a full-time executive, a clerk, quite a number of consultants, a lot of travel, and the rent and the telephone and the rest.

The central office can pull together $40,000 or $50,000 in a lucky year. And Southern money for our cause is harder, ~~and~~ not easier to get. It is taking about $100,000 a year now to run what is called for in the central office. We do not see how a responsible service can be provided on less than direct aid of $40,000 a year.

As to how long a new program should run, When the Southern Regional Council made its original proposal to the Ford Foundation in 1951, we asked for a ~~help for~~ five years grant. We now think that at the end of three more years of aid the back of the problem would be broken. Enough Southern communities would have opened their schools to prove to most of the rest that the change is manageable and ought to be welcomed. At the end of that time, we think that quite a number of our state organizations might well have been transformed into agencies assisted from state (public) funds, working the more efficiently because of the accumulated non-official experience and because of the availability of trained personnel.

Even in the more difficult states the habit of ready interchange between Negro and white citizens would have been launched.

DRAFT

David Freeman - 5
August 23, 1956

The whole cost of such a program is $130,000, or for each of three years a total cost of $390,000. And the Southern Regional Council requests the Fund for the Republic to consider a grant to it beginning October 1, 1957 in those terms.

I, myself, and the members of the staff will be, as heretofore, most anxious to supply you with whatever detailed information and appraisal the Fund for the Republic may wish.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

It should be recalled that our original request to the Ford Foundation in 1951 contemplated a five year program costing $1,400.00 This present proposal coupled with your generous grant for 1954-7 gives a total of well under $900,000, and ~~includes~~ extends help for six years instead of five.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Comparison of 1955-56 Budget with Actual
Income and Expenses as of August 31, 1956

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

INCOME:	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 8/31/56	Percent of Budget realized
Contributions from Individuals, organizations, churches, etc.	$ 14,000.00	$ 12,150.00	86.7
Dues	500.00	346.00	69.2
New South Subscriptions	6,000.00	5,825.67	97.0
Sale of Literature	3,000.00	1,288.38	42.9
Honoraria	1,000.00	1,362.80	136.2
Interest Income	800.00	2,132.00	266.5
Fund for the Republic	25,000.00	25,000.00	100.0
Unexpended Balance in Duke and Field Funds	12,100.00	12,100.00	100.0
Surplus 1954-55 (Estimated)	2,500.00	2,500.00	100.0
Sub Total	$ 64,900.00	$ 62,704.85	96.6
*Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget	28,180.00	14,150.00	59.9
Sub Total	$ 93,080.00	76,854.85	82.5
Special Project - Fund for the Republic		1,000.00	
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	77,854.85	

EXPENSES:	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 8/31/56	Percent of Budget Expended
Salaries	$ 61,600.00	60,851.99	98.7
Social Security Tax	800.00	799.22	99.9
Travel	7,500.00	8,092.33	107.8
Printing New South & Postage	6,500.00	5,991.79	92.1
Printing other	2,000.00	1,049.63	52.4
Rent	1,680.00	1,540.00	91.6
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	2,615.77	104.6
Postage	2,000.00	1,024.40	51.2
Books and Subscriptions	300.00	392.97	130.9
Accounting fees	500.00	415.00	83.0
Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense	300.00	410.81	136.9
Office Supplies	2,900.00	1,970.64	67.9
Annual Meeting & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	2,000.00	2,115.20	105.7
Legal Expense		150.00	
Special Mtgs. in connection with Women's Work	2,500.00	586.89	23.4
Sub-Total	$ 93,080.00	$ 88,006.64	94.7
Special Project - Printing		1,004.22	
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	89,010.86	

*Includes $5,000.00 from unexpended State Funds

9/20/56

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Staff Forecast of Income for Remainder
of Current Fiscal Year (October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956)
And Statement of Income Received to Date

Budget for 1955-56		$ 93,080.00
*Amount received from individuals, organizations, foundations, subscriptions, miscellaneous sources to date	$ 35,636.00	
Surplus 1954-55 (Cash Balance)	2,500.00	
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.	25,000.00	
Unallocated State Funds - 1954-55	8,000.00	
Carry-over from Duke and Field Funds (1954-55)	9,000.00	
Sub Total	$ 80,136.00	
**Amount of new money expectable, as of 9/19/56	1,300.00	
Total amount raised or expectable as of this date		$ 81,436.00
Balance to be covered by unexpended State Funds, ect.		$ 11,644.00

*Amount raised to date:

(1) The Marshall Field Foundation	$ 3,750.00
The Doris Duke Foundation	7,000.00
The John H ay Whitney Foundation	1,000.00
Small foundations	400.00
Labor organizations	4,875.00
Small organizations	110.00
Episcopal Church	1,000.00
Other Churches	2,820.00
Board Members	1,631.00
Individual Contributions	1,624.00
Associate Members	356.00
New South Subscriptions	6,046.00
Honoraria	1,568.00
Interest	2,132.00
Sale of Literature	1,324.00
TOTAL	$ 35,636.00

**Amount expectable:

New South	$ 100.00
Honoraria	100.00
Board Members	100.00
Sale of Literature	100.00
Small foundations	600.00
Other (Misc.)	300.00
TOTAL	$ 1,300.00

(1) Only $3,750.00 of this amount applicable to 1955-56 Budget Period.

September 20, 1956

September 19, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We were holding against your prospective arrival this incoming from the Fund for the Republic. Hearing today through Mr. Clement that unfortunately you can't get here this time, I slit the letter and took out the check and gave it to Mrs. Alexander as Secretary-Treasurer. It was payable to SRC and she will therefore deposit it.

We have made a photographic copy of your incoming from Yarmolinsky, and send the original on to you for your reply to him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - original th. plus
official receipt

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 17, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. has approved a grant of $110,000 to the Southern Regional Council, for the fiscal year October 1, 1956 to September 30, 1957, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to assist the central office in Atlanta.

We hope you will express to the Board and staff members of the Council and the state affiliates our appreciation for their leadership in the cause of equal treatment and equal opportunity for all people.

We especially want to thank George Mitchell for his devoted work. We are sorry to learn that he is retiring. Do give him our warmest regards.

We look forward to receiving quarterly reports and informal progress reports.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We should appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling from the Treasury Department, and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $110,000, and should appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Adam Yarmolinsky
Secretary

H.C.F.

DRAFT - FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
September 21-22, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

In view of the evident need in the South for extended effort in the field of human relations, the Southern Regional Council must now begin to plan for the period beyond October 1, 1957. That is the date of expiration of the current grant from the Fund for the Republic. Clearly our task will not be complete then, and we shall not be able to function effectively upon resources obtainable in the South. This proposal is submitted in the hope that the Fund will consider favorably the possibility of further assistance to our work for a further period.

September 30, 1957, will mark the end of three and one-half years of major support of the Council's program by the Fund for the Republic. The original hope of both the Council and the Fund was that the progress of the South and the growth of local support for our activities would render further grants from the Fund unnecessary. The reasons why these expectations were not realized are best seen in the perspective of the past few years.

BACKGROUND

It was in 1951 that the Council requested of the Ford Foundation a grant of $1,400,000 over a five year period to make possible the development of strong, professionally staffed state organizations. This seemed to us, as it does now, an effective long-range approach to interracial adjustment in the South. The subsequent creation of the Fund for the Republic resulted in a grant on April 2, 1954, enabling the Council to

undertake the state organizations' program. The grant for the first year was $240,000, for the second year $150,000, and for the third year $110,000 -- or a total of $500,000 for the state efforts, plus several generous grants for lesser projects totaling approximately $60,000. At the beginning of the grant period, the Supreme Court's school decision had not yet been rendered, and its nature and terms were matters for speculation. The ruling was issued only a few weeks later, however, and overturned the long-standing legal structure of segregation. Thus between 1951 and 1954 the Council's principal task was redefined as building strong, self-supporting state groups in three and one-half years rather than five years, with a total grant of $500,000 rather than $1,400,000, and in a legal and social framework that was presently to be drastically altered.

We are sure that in April, 1954, neither we, nor the Fund, nor the nation accurately gauged the extent or nature of the forces which we would encounter in persuading the South to accept the then impending decision of the Supreme Court. As Southerners, we are humiliated to indicate, however briefly, the main elements which make up this opposition.

"RESISTANCE FORCES"

The political organization of the lower South is such that the state governments are responsive only to intransigent pro-segregation opinion. Hence the power of state legislation, administrative action, public funds, and the prestige of state officials are all directed toward the maintenance of segregation. This official action is supplemented by the widespread development of such private organizations as the White Citizens Councils, which have become powerful instruments of political, social, and economic

pressure. There are now more than 50 such "resistance" organizations in the South, and the White Citizens Council movement alone claims 500,000 members.

Perhaps the most unfortunate result of these powerful efforts to mobilize prejudice and fear is the intimidation of much of the South's positive leadership. The cost of dissent from the segregation orthodoxy is so great that positive voices and efforts have been all but stifled. We do not make this dismal summary in any defeatist spirit; the forces moving toward integration are less spectacular and more long-range in nature, but in the end we believe they will prove more powerful. Meanwhile, however, we feel that the Southern Regional Council, as the only southwide, interracial body that has as its primary purpose the mobilization of constructive leadership across racial lines, bears a unique responsibility.

The existence of this truly formidable hostility to everything for which the Southern Regional Council stands -- particularly public school desegregation -- postpones the date when the Council may relax its efforts. More, it has tightened Southern purse strings. The awesome pressure of official and public opinion makes many Southerners indisposed and frequently afraid to contribute to any liberal cause. Hence, we must look beyond the region for a substantial part of our support. Since we think we have performed worthily under the confidence which you put in us, we turn again to you.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Some reassurance comes from the two and one-half years of experience we have had in working with staffed state organizations. And

generally speaking we continue to think that that is the best device. But we are convinced that the method has as its major shortcoming weaknesses in just those states where strength is most needed. We have come to distinguish between the "hard-core" states and the others in the South. By almost any reckoning, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana are the "hard-core" states. In three of those five states the SRC assisted organizations have shown a reticence of purpose amounting almost to timidity. Indeed, in Mississippi we think we have failed to establish a representative and forward-looking Board capable of supporting an active program. For quite different reasons -- mainly connected with the difficult geography of the state -- we have not yet got going in Tennessee an organization capable of independent action.

To match these areas of special difficulty, however, there is a success story in most of the remaining state organizations. Arkansas, Texas, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, and Florida have shown gratifying development. In each of those states the organization has made a real dent on public opinion. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should be added to the honor roll of ones that have succeeded, when the severe obstacles in social climate and the limited resources available are taken into account; by nearly all measures it has performed well.

To sum up, six state organizations have done notably well; three or four have done well enough to make it likely that they can continue to be quite useful in their states; and one, two, or three have not yet found a pace and a way to work.

We began in your first period of aid to us with an even-handed offer to each of the twelve states. In the last few months, we have found

it clearly wiser to tailor-make our aid to some. For the coming twelve months, which will be the last period of your present grant, we will go further in altering the amounts of aid state by state. It averages out pretty well for the twelve states, but some will get a little more and some a little less.

And we think this tailor-making method is the one to follow for the future.

Now what does one do in places where the state organization is weak and the problem is extra hard? By stimulus from the central office you get persons with professional skills, who are already established in those states (academics or ministers or others), to proceed to pull together the material available in the locality for conferences and understanding between the races. This is an extension of the machinery we have worked out for employing local consultants on a per diem basis. Clearly the complex problems of the South cannot be met with rigid assumptions about method; a realistic and flexible approach is essential.

Out of the travail of the South this central office continues to be called upon for expanding rather than diminishing services. The staff in Atlanta are not empire builders (indeed they have a good deal of disposition in the other direction) but the Council has been hard put to find the funds to enable it to keep alive a sufficient body of informed and sympathetic staff members aided by a ready and trustworthy flow of fact. For the next few years, at any rate, a strong central organization seems essential to the success of this movement.

Experience has taught us that the state organizations pretty early come up against a wall of what they can raise locally without grave

sacrifice to program. Three or four thousand dollars a year strains the best of them. We cannot expect to get a useful program, state by state, at an average figure of less than $7,500 a year of subsidy per state organization. Take the $4,000 they may, perhaps, be able to raise, and you still have only $11,500; which is precious little on which to pay a full-time executive, a clerk, quite a number of consultants, a lot of travel, the rent, the telephone, and the rest.

CENTRAL OFFICE

The central office can raise $40,000 to $50,000 in a good year. And Southern money for our cause is harder, not easier, to get. It is taking about $100,000 a year now to run what is called for in the central office. We do not see how a responsible service can be provided on less than direct aid of $40,000 a year in addition to what we can raise from other sources.

DURATION OF AID

As to how long a new program should run, we now think that at the end of three more years of aid the back of the problem would be broken. Enough Southern communities would have opened their schools to prove to most of the rest that the change is manageable and ought to be welcomed. At the end of that time we think that quite a number of our state organizations might well have been transformed into agencies assisted from state funds or local gifts, working the more efficiently because of the accumulated non-official experience and because of the availability of trained personnel. Even in the more difficult states the habit of ready interchange between Negro and white citizens would have been launched, at least in some areas.

The whole cost of such a program amounts to $130,000 per year or a total cost of $390,000 for three years. The Southern Regional Council requests the Fund for the Republic to consider a grant to it beginning October 1, 1957, in those terms.

It should be recalled that our original request contemplated a five year program costing $1,400,000. This present proposal completed with your generous grant for 1954-7 gives a total of well under $900,000, and includes help for six years instead of five.

I, myself, and the members of the staff will be, as heretofore, most anxious to supply you with whatever detailed information and appraisal the Fund for the Republic may wish.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

eab/
9/12/56

September 26, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Your letter to Yarmolinsky of September 24th was constructed in a masterly fashion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

✓ Ref to see

RECEIVED SEP 25 1956

September 24, 1956

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky, Secretary
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Yarmolinsky:

I acknowledge with appreciation the grant of $110.000 to Southern Regional Council, Inc. as announced in your letter of September 17. Official receipt of the Secretary-Treasurer is herewith enclosed.

The aid which the Council has received from the Fund has been the indispensable factor in keeping alive in the South organized and intelligent determination that law shall be observed and all citizens shall receive equality of treatment and opportunity.

As highly as we value the financial aid do we also value the sense of comradeship with the Fund in the joint enterprise so well initiated but so far from completion. For our part we pledge that there shall be no flagging of spirit short of attainment of these goals.

We appreciate warmly your expression of confidence in our board and staff. We concur heartily in your comments about George Mitchell whose departure we all regret. He has been for all of us spark and in-

spiration and guiding genius.

We hope that you and your associates will continue to give us the benefit of your counsel and advice.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

President

MAW:ejg

b c to George S. Mitchell

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

October 22, 1956

From: Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Executive Committee

To: Members of the Southern Regional Council

Subject: Proposals re Future of SRC

The Executive Committee, at its meeting of September 20-21, considered at length the orientation and emphasis of the Southern Regional Council's program in the period ahead. Staff members had submitted, in the form of a memorandum, proposals which were worked over by the Committee in great detail. At the conclusion of these deliberations, the Executive Committee voted unanimously to "approve in principle the suggestions made in the staff memorandum of September 12, 1956, to the effect that the Southern Regional Council move toward, and arrive at, by September 1957, a program which places major emphasis upon a centralized regional operation rather than, as heretofore, a state program."

The present memorandum, drafted by the staff at the direction of the Executive Committee, sets out the proposals and the considerations which led us to submit them to the full Council for decision. I hope that you will

find the opportunity to acquaint yourself thoroughly with this material so that our discussion at Williamsburg may reflect the most thoughtful judgments of everyone present.

End of Present Grant Program

The current three-year period of aid from the Fund for the Republic, which expires on September 30, 1957, has been largely devoted to decentralizing the SRC movement in terms of both use of funds and program emphasis. The original expectation was that once the legal principle of integration was established, the problems of adjustment would break down according to widely varying local circumstances. Thus the energies and resources of SRC have been largely directed to subsidizing and servicing state affiliates. Within the three-year grant period, SRC has sought to create strong, professionally staffed, self-supporting, integrated agencies in the 12 Southern states.

By October 1, 1957, this objective will have been achieved in considerable part. In a few states, the present affiliates have failed to get off the ground, and one or two others might not survive the withdrawal of major subsidy by SRC. But, in most cases, the state groups should be expected to have reasonably effective programs and enough fund-raising competence to continue -- though the first few years would be difficult for many of them.

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance in the South, we believe the three-year state organization effort will represent a creditable achievement. But we also believe that the efforts of the state organizations alone cannot meet the critical challenge of this period in the South. A renewal of program through regional staff is also essential.

SRC in a Time of Crisis

Since May 1954 and particularly within the past year, a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well known to people in SRC, but we list a few of the highlights.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decision, but has also taken the turn of oppressive measures against Negroes or whites within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the phenomenal growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, set-backs in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by the more responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank and file Southerners to violence in several instances - even in areas in Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, and West Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of this Southern revolt on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, respect for law and order, and recognition of the rights of minority group citizens are major threats to the national welfare.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, such a mobilization has not taken place - largely because of confused national opinion about the workability of desegregation, about the extent and depth of resistance in the South, and about the potentialities of Negro citizens.

The Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. The effectiveness of these efforts to sell the racial "status quo" are evident in various ways: The U. S. News and World Report has given major support to pro-segregation views, most notably through popularization of one psychologist's thesis that Negroes are inherently less intelligent than whites. Such nationally syndicated columnists as Dorothy Thompson and Walter Lippman have argued that the trend toward integration should be slowed or halted. The platforms of both major political parties failed to endorse the Supreme Court's school decisions.

In short the climate of opinion has worsened not only in the South, but in the rest of the nation as well. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted by a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress. It is true, of course, that some of the Congressmen signed under duress. But the fact that such duress was possible indicates the power of the monolithic approach.

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the SRC. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in

the field of race relations, we must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before. And we must recognize that we are dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their impact.

Our task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. We must play a greater role in establishing a broad national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. We must assume more of the leadership in educating and rallying those national forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Indeed, it is doubtful that the Southern Regional Council can secure further major financing unless it develops program aimed at meeting these broader needs.

Relationship with State Organizations

SRC, with the generous aid of the Fund for the Republic, has made an extensive and valuable contribution to the growth of skill and organization in the several Southern states. Our state affiliates, against sizable odds, have shown gratifying development. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states.

However, their effectiveness - indeed, their survival - is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If we are to protect our investment in them, we must necessarily apply the resources and skills of SRC to this broader arena of opinion and practical forces. To do this will require basic reassessment of our financing, organizational structure, and program emphasis.

Proposed Future Relationship

In the light of prevailing circumstances, it is our judgment that SRC should now plan for a period after October 1, 1957, of approximately three years of increased effort as a regional organization carrying on program activities through its own staff.

During the last two and one-half years, we have devoted most of our resources to building and assisting the state affiliates. We have, necessarily, had to forego the development and execution of many program activities by the regional staff. Under the proposed plan, SRC would maintain a cooperative and helpful relationship with the state organizations but it would undertake itself a number of functions that are now performed either sketchily or not at all

Such a reorientation would be best accomplished if the current grant period ending September 30, 1957, were completed according to the terms originally set in 1954. This means that the state organizations would exchange their affiliate status for one of autonomy, and that their relationship with us would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals.

Future Financial Aid to State Groups

We recognize that a measure of continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose, though the amount procurable would undoubtedly be on a smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used during the affiliate period, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization would submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational effectiveness

sufficient to carry out the program proposed. SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for political or other improper purposes would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group.

Such a revision in the relationship between SRC and the state groups would require certain by-law changes, including alteration of the present arrangement for election of some SRC board members by the state organizations.

Structure of SRC

A reorientation of SRC along the lines described above would necessitate some redefinition of the present staff structure. Present positions and staff duties are largely geared to the needs of the current state organization effort. In taking on more direct program functions, it would be necessary to supplement the existing staff and to redefine the responsibilities and duties of some of the present staff members. We are not attempting here to propose a detailed reorganization of this kind. That could best be done perhaps by a special sub-committee of Executive Committee members working closely with the staff.

Functions of SRC

The following types of activity represent new or heightened program emphases which the Council might undertake:

1) Consultant services to established public and private agencies

The consultant service project under the direction of John Hope II has so far been used as a service exclusively to the state affiliates. It has proved to be an extremely effective technique. Already we contemplate making

these services available to interested private groups and public bodies concerned with desegregation, the expectation being that such groups would bear the cost of the consultant services to them. In the next phase of the Council's work, broader use of the consultant services deserves high priority. The range of consultants available should be increased to include educators, police officials, public administrators, and others with first-hand experience in integrating communities. SRC's role would be that of "broker" between community leadership and those experts whose counsel would be most helpful. These services should be provided free, if necessary, in those situations which are likely to produce the most effective results.

2) Coordination of Agency Leadership

SRC now has more opportunities than it can grasp to advise and coordinate the leaders of national, Southern, and local groups concerned with race relations. In the coming period, SRC should take the initiative in bringing together such leadership for joint thinking and planning, and in stimulating needed activities. This will take staff time, travel, and resources that have not been available in the past. The arguments for extending this function are very strong. SRC has information and insights that are not available to other agencies and groups, and it commands the respect of a host of such organizations of many different types. The effective mobilization of the religious, labor, civic, and other agencies should be a major part of the desegregation effort.

3) Speakers

Several of the staff members and officers of SRC are now heavily in demand for speaking engagements. In this case too the demand is greater than the supply, and the potential demand is greater yet. Many of these occasions

are invaluable opportunities to express our general point of view to important segments of the public. In the coming period, we should recognize assistance to groups in securing speakers as an important organizational function. In order to make the best possible use of speakers without unduly diverting from other activities we should systematically draw on our lay leadership. The selection and briefing of persons available for speaking engagements would be a staff function.

4) Free Distribution of Materials

SRC has in the past produced little in the way of free literature. Our budget alone has made it essential for us to sell our materials to interested people and groups, however worthy the use to which they are to be put. We should seek the resources to enable us to distribute without cost literature that will serve a specific, effective purpose and for which no purchasers are available. We do not conceive of broadside or indiscriminate distribution of free literature as a worthwhile method. More strategic uses, however, are often possible but must be forgone because there is no ready way for the cost to be borne from non-SRC sources. It should be noted here that the White Citizens Councils and other resistance groups are making wide-spread distribution of free material, with telling results.

5) Interpretation and Application of Social Science Findings

There is a considerable body of social science findings with positive implications for action in the South today. This knowledge is having little practical effect, mainly because of the communications gulf between academic social scientists and the lay public. SRC is peculiarly well fitted to bridge this gap. Working in collaboration with the social scientists and their professional organizations, we could play a key role in getting their insights interpreted through popular media and brought to bear in local situations.

Our consultant service program is a valuable beginning in this direction, but the precedent needs to be greatly extended and raised to the national level. To carry out this role we must be prepared to expend a substantial amount of staff time and effort, as well as some money.

6) Expanding present functions

Many of the activities now carried on by the central office should be intensified or, if temporary, continued on a regular basis. An outstanding example of this is the work with church women directed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly; the need for more funds and wider impact of this program is already recognized.

Another example of a different sort is the fact-finding program now being carried on under a special nine-months grant from the Fund for the Republic. The results of this program are now coming in and will be aired through SRC publications and general publicity. These findings should serve to shed new light on the nature of the South's problems and promising approaches to their solution. This special fact-gathering and interpretation should be a continuing part of SRC's program.

Additional examples in this category would be intensified work with the press, television, and other mass media; conferences of Southern leadership; and work with the college students and other young people in the region.

7) Finances

It will take much more detailed planning before there can be meaningful estimates of the budget that would be required to carry out a program of the sort here outlined for a three-year period. A rough estimate would be no less than $200,000. annually. In the last fiscal year, SRC raised approximately $60,000. from sources other than the Fund for the Republic. During the coming fiscal year, October 1956 - October 1957, we must exceed our past performance by a goodly margin. If we are successful in raising the larger amount from

other sources required for our operation in 1956-57 we believe that the Fund for the Republic will be more receptive to our request for future aid. By the same token, they will probably expect similar performance from us in subsequent years.

These facts, coupled with the resignation of the present Executive Director, make urgent the assumption of greater responsibility for fund-raising by officers and members of the Council.

It is also to be hoped that in financing the Council for a future period it will be possible to secure funds on a flexible basis, and that rigid allocations of funds for pre-determined purposes can be avoided. The situation in the South today is an extremely fluid one, subject to rapid and unpredictable changes. Our program and financing should be readily adaptable to these changes in need that cannot be anticipated far in advance.

Nothing said here is intended to conflict with the Council's wholehearted follow-through of the third and last year of the state organization program, which began October 1, 1956. If this general proposal should be approved, however, it might well be possible in the weeks and months just ahead to begin developing some of the additional functions contemplated and seeking additional financing for them.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

~~December 27,~~ 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Quarterly Report, October-December, 1956

Harold Fleming: INFORMATION

The information staff's already full schedule was increased by several far-reaching developments during the quarter. Clinton, Tenn., erupted for the second time in early December, presenting the gravest test yet of the enforceability of the courts' decisions. We thought it wise for SRC to have at the scene of the disorders a staff person who could serve both as observer and adviser to the press. Accordingly, John Constable flew up. He spent much of his time with the newspapermen -- a useful vantage-point for first-hand observation -- and was able, in turn, to give them helpful background.

The Supreme Court's final decision in the Montgomery bus segregation case also claimed a large share of attention. Two weeks before the court's desegregation order became effective, we sent out a background memorandum to more than a hundred editors, alerting them to the coming showdown and summarizing the developments which led up to it. Our information approach was tied in with field work in Montgomery, as Fred Routh will report.

PRESS RELATIONS AND PUBLIC INTERPRETATION

Following are some noteworthy instances of work with the media during the quarter. Others are reported under "FACT-FINDING".

* Promoted and assisted an Associated Press news feature on social science findings re segregation and race relations; the resulting story should run nationwide shortly.

* Lengthy briefing session with the Christian Science Monitor's editorial writer who handles matters racial.

* Enlisted the good offices of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in getting the facts for Life about the Causey family of Choctaw County, Alabama. (Following their appearance in a Life picture-text story, the Negro family suffered economic reprisals and have had to be relocated.)

* Following the publication in U. S. News of the widely noted (and deplored) McGurk article, worked with a group of social psychologists on the development of a counter-statement; the statement was signed by 18 leading social scientists and (thanks mainly to Joseph Lyford) received wide publicity.

* Opened up the information files and the collective knowledge of the staff to John Bartlow Martin, who is preparing a three-part series on pro-segregation forces for the Saturday Evening Post.

* Harold Fleming and John Constable wrote a Public Affairs pamphlet, just published under the title "What's Happening in School Integration?".

Omit from FFR version

* On an October New York trip, HCF spoke on invitation to the assembled staff of the Fund for the Republic.

EB do as HCF says

* Additional newsmen briefed and otherwise assisted ranged from an editor of the New Statesman and Nation to an editor of the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger.

INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION

Partly as a result of the Tuskegee Meeting (reported elsewhere), SRC's information and advice have been increasingly sought by other agencies. We have cast up facts and materials for the YMCA and YWCA projects on campus race relations in the South. We prepared a roundup of economic reprisals for the AFSC's Rights of Conscience program. In staff conferences, we worked out detailed coordination with the AFSC's North Carolina desegregation project and the Anti-Defamation League's various programs in this field. Harold Fleming represented SRC at two inter-agency meetings resulting in the establishment of a national Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

RESEARCH AND REFERENCE

In addition to managing the clipping files (intake: approximately 500 clippings per month) and other reference materials, Research Assistant Florence Irving has been heavily engaged in statistical analysis of the voting survey findings. In preparation for Mrs. Tilly's Southwide meeting of church women, she also compiled the complete record of pro-segregation measures passed by Southern states. The normal flow of mail requests for information were handled. Among the more interesting inquirers: a white Alabama minister who had organized an interracial discussion group; the director of planning in St. Petersburg, Fla.; a college president; a group seeking employment of Negro policemen; the director of records at Tuskegee Institute, seeking data for Tuskegee's celebrated Annual Report; and personnel of the Presbyterians, U.S.A., who are preparing a study manual on race relations.

NEW SOUTH

The three issues of NEW SOUTH since the last quarterly report dealt with several of the most emergent issues of the period. William Gordon, an able Negro journalist, contributed a first-hand account of the bus boycott in Tallahassee, Fla., currently front-page news. "The Right of Dissent" by South Carolina editor Jack O'Dowd put into sharp focus the threat to basic liberties posed by pro-segregation intolerance in the deep South. A summary of church pronouncements on segregation in the October issue was in heavy demand and (unfortunately) was completely out-of-stock within days after publication. Scientific findings on race and intelligence, designed to combat the "master race" revival, were summed up in November.

FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Integration North and South, containing the report of SRC's desegregation survey, was published in October by the Fund for the Republic and received remarkably wide publicity. Ten thousand copies of the booklet were printed; SRC is assisting

in its promotion and distribution. We have drawn on the survey material for a variety of information and program uses.

Survey of Negro Suffrage. The fact-finding phase of this twelve-state project has been completed and we will soon finish a regionwide analysis of the findings which we will publish and release to the press. A preliminary news release on November 4, giving Negro registration figures state by state, had good press treatment. The U. S. Department of Justice requested and was given a full set of the state reports, as part of the current Federal appraisal of the right to vote in the South. Newspaper features on the Louisiana, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia studies have appeared or are in prospect.

Survey of Pro-Segregation Organizations. This was the first significant study of the development, leadership, and methods of the Southern "resistance movement." A summary special report (mimeographed) by Paul Anthony has been distributed to appropriate agencies and individuals; the Methodist Women's Society for Christian Service ordered several hundred copies for use as program material. Further reports and a special issue of New South on the subject are in process. Meanwhile, the survey findings have already had considerable press treatment. They were the subject of a lengthy feature story in the New York Times, a well publicized NAIRO speech by Fred Routh, a forthcoming article in Phylon, and an impending series in the New York Post. Paul Anthony, who did the field fact-finding, has made a number of speeches and has briefed a variety of newspaper men and magazine writers. John Bartlow Martin has drawn heavily on these findings for his Saturday Evening Post series.

April 18, 1957

A PROPOSAL TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

September 30, 1957 will mark the end of the Fund for the Republic's assistance to the Southern Regional Council for a three and one-half year program of development of state organizations. This is a request for a further period of support of the work of the Council by the Fund.

Summary of the Proposal

The generous assistance of the Fund for the Republic has made it possible for the Southern Regional Council to create professionally staffed human relations councils in ten of the Southern states and to foster heightened interracial activity in two additional states. This aid, supplemented by funds from other sources, has enabled the Council to make a major contribution to Southern race relations during the momentous period that has followed the Supreme Court's decisions on school segregation.

It should be noted, however, that this program was developed and the first grant in the series made before the Supreme Court's school decision was rendered. The assumption then was that, once the legal principle was clearly defined, the problems of implementation would become community problems, to be solved by detailed local action. Hence the program placed

major emphasis and the greatest part of the funds on the decentralizing effort to build state organizations, with little allowance made for the support of a strong, continuing central operation.

Instead of further breaking up of the "solid South," however, the last two years have witnessed a revival of regional solidarity under the leadership of the rural "black belt" counties. The unexpected severity of Southern reaction to the school decisions has created new and acute problems which cannot be met by activity at the state and local levels alone. In recent months, the Council has made a thorough appraisal of these problems and has sought to reexamine earnestly and objectively how it can make the most effective contribution in the period immediately ahead.

We have concluded that, to meet this challenge, the Council must expand and intensify its functions as an information center, a regional clearing house for organizational efforts in this field, a resource for enlightened public officials and private leadership throughout the region, and in general as a spokesman and rallying ground for the forward-looking elements within the South. Some measure of continuing aid to the state human relations councils is also essential. Obviously such a program calls for a budget sufficient to maintain a skilled, specialized staff, to meet the operating expenses necessary for such a staff to work effectively, and to provide funds for aid to the state groups.

For these purposes, this proposal projects an annual budget slightly in excess of $200,000, or a total for a thirty-nine month period of $653,585. Of this amount, we ask the Fund for the Republic for $250,000 to be applied on a diminishing basis over the thirty-nine months following September 30, 1957.

The Southern Regional Council would undertake to raise the remaining sum of approximately $400,000 from other sources, and in addition the state organizations would be expected to raise the greater part of their budgets. We anticipate that approximately twenty-five per cent of the Council's budget for this period would be used for direct aid to the state human relations councils or the equivalent.

We propose that the grant of $250,000 requested should be distributed as follows: $120,000 for the first fifteen months (October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958); $75,000 for the year 1959; and $55,000 for the year 1960. The detailed basis for these overall figures is appended.

The Grant Period Ending September 30, 1957

Since April 1, 1954, the Fund for the Republic has made grants to the Southern Regional Council for the state organizations and the central operation totaling $500,000. In addition, the Fund has made three special purpose grants to the Council -- one for $5,000 to convene a selected biracial group of Southern leadership in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision, one of $1,000 to publish a pamphlet in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association, and one of $50,000 to carry out a special fact-finding program.

As initially agreed, the greater part of the main grant has been distributed to the Council's state affiliates to assist them in maintaining professional staff and developing their activities. Of the $500,000, approximately $345,000 will have been spent for direct aid to the state groups by the end of this last grant year. The remaining $155,000 has been

applied to the central program of the Southern Regional Council on a yearly diminishing basis. We estimate that during the three years ending September 30th the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund nearly $200,000, and the state affiliates slightly over $100,000, or an aggregate total of approximately $300,000.

Since the Council has rendered frequent and detailed reports to the Fund, we will forego here any comprehensive account of the achievements which the past grants have made possible. Instead, we are submitting as an appendix a recent summary of the Council's various activities. This may be supplemented by the following general observations.

The State Organizations

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance to desegregation in the South, we believe the three year state organization effort represents a creditable achievement. As a result of the Council's efforts assisted by the Fund, there are today ten human relations councils professionally staffed, actively at work in the South. These state bodies represent an impressive amount of courage, devotion, and skill displayed by white and Negro Southerners in the face of tremendous odds. They have, almost uniquely, provided an organized Southern expression of the forces for democratic change affecting race relations in the United States.

The programs of the state organizations have reflected the wide diversity of conditions to be found in the South. The Kentucky Council, for example, has worked closely with state and local officials through consultative

services to desegregating school systems, through preparation of materials which have been distributed by the State Department of Education, and through educational programs aimed at promoting the full inclusion of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the state council has had to work in the harshest kind of pro-segregation climate, official and private. It has been able to do little except provide one of the few remaining channels for communication between the races and demonstrate in some measure the irrepressible quality of the belief in human freedom and dignity.

Between these two extremes lies a varied range of constructive activities. The Alabama Council, which has the participation of an unusually large number of church people, has performed effectively against great odds; it worked devotedly to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery. The Arkansas Council, with an extremely able bi-racial staff, has given invaluable leadership in that state; its quiet efforts were largely responsible for the Roxie school board's success in maintaining desegregation in the face of organized resistance. The Virginia Council has mobilized positive sentiment among ministers of that state and has built active local councils in such key communities as Charlottesville and Richmond.

These few highlights will suggest the quality of participation and activity that the state councils have achieved. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states. However, their effectiveness -- perhaps their survival -- is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If the

investment in the state councils is to be protected, more resources and skills must be applied by the Council in this broader arena of opinion and action.

Southern Resistance to Desegregation

Since May, 1954, and particularly within the past year, something approaching a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well known to the Fund for the Republic, but we list a few examples.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but has also taken the turn of punitive measures directed at individuals and groups within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

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Accompanying this official posture have been the ~~phenomenal~~ growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious reversals in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by most of the influential elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances -- even in ~~areas in~~ parts of Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, ~~Kentucky, and West~~ and Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-

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segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions -- governors and attorneys general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, no such mobilization has taken place. Rather, the Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. In short, the climate of opinion has worsened. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted with a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the one South-wide interracial body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their scope. ~~This we propose to do.~~

The Council's task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. It is essential that the Council play a ~~broader role~~ major part in creating a national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. This means assuming greater leadership in educating and rallying those national and regional forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Within recent months the Council has revised its staff structure and program orientation so that it may better work toward these objectives. (An organizational chart, adopted in January, and a descriptive list of staff members are included in the appendices.) The major points in this new orientation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The Council suffered a loss in the recent retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as Executive Director after ten years of able and devoted leadership in this position. On the positive side, however, his leaving presented a challenge that has evoked new dedication and commitment from staff members and lay leadership alike. His successor, Harold C. Fleming, brings to the position the advantage of ten years' experience as a senior staff member

identified mainly with the Council's central program activities.

Interagency Cooperation.

2. ~~The Council has already, of necessity,~~ assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work in cooperation with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a large number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has ~~twice~~ four times served as convener of ~~twenty-five~~ 30 of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts ~~and will soon convene them again for a third planning session.~~

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National Communication.

3. The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

Federal Agencies

4. The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, largely made possible through the fact-finding grant from the Fund for the Republic. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

Interpretation through the Press.

5. One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the

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South. The Council and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program, established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened ~~is greatly broadening~~ its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within the last few weeks, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Under the Apprentice Training Program initiated by the Fund for the Republic, the Council has received a grant of $5,000 from the New World Foundation to engage an apprentice staff member in the area of field services. It is our hope and expectation that this position will be permanently filled, thus increasing the amount of skilled field work that we will be able to perform from the regional office. The current demand for such services, from the Council's state and local affiliates and from a host of other community groups, far exceeds the availability of staff.

Work with Labor.

8. Under a special arrangement, the Council ~~has recently~~ acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and a liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that ~~we are determined, if at all possible, to continue it~~ it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

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Other Functions.

9. All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, support of the rights of such beleaguered dissenters as those at Koinonia Farm, our monthly publication New South, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other sponsors.

In undertaking the reorientation illustrated above, the Council is strengthened by a large backlog of experience within its staff and lay leadership. What is involved is not so much the learning of new functions as the expansion and refinement of activities that heretofore have had to be carried on sporadically or too limitedly.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the next three years. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is ~~dynamic and~~ volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be

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firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently elastic and versatile to render a major service in ~~the three year period of operation now being planned.~~ this critical period.

Financial Analysis

Insert D

We are proposing a thirty-nine month grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the past few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial base of the organization is ~~to hang in the balance month by month or even year by year.~~ not secure for a reasonable period ahead.

It will be noted from the figures below that, while the grant requested is substantial, it is approximately forty per cent of the total budget projected for the period; if the amounts to be raised by the state organizations were taken into account, the percentage would be significantly smaller. This means

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

that the Council is undertaking to raise more funds from other sources than ever before. We feel that the fund-raising objectives set are reasonable, since they continue the trend of increasing support to the Council during the last few years. By the end of the current fiscal year, for example, we anticipate that the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic approximately $87,000. This compares with $60,000 in the preceding fiscal year, and $52,000 in the year before that. The state organizations have increased their performance from an aggregate total of roughly $22,000 in the first year to a projected $45,000 in the current fiscal year.

Following is a summary of the budgetary considerations which underlie the grant requested of the Fund for the Republic. The first budget period was made fifteen months in order to round out the period from October 1, 1957 to December 31, 1958, thus putting the operation on a calendar year basis. (A detailed breakdown of the annual budgets is furnished as Appendix A.)

Summary of Projected Budgets and Grant Request

15-month Budget (Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1958)	$247,665	
To be raised from other sources	127,665	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$120,000
1959 Budget	$201,960	
To be raised from other sources	126,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 75,000
1960 Budget	$203,960	
To be raised from other sources	148,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 55,000
TOTAL REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$250,000
TOTAL TO BE RAISED FROM OTHER SOURCES		$403,585
TOTAL BUDGET, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960		$653,585

APPENDICES:

A - Breakdown of Annual Budgets, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960
B - Organization Chart
C - Descriptive List of Central Staff
D - "The South of Promise," a summary of program activities

RECEIVED APR 24 1957

April 22, 1957

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Chairman,
Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 18 forwarding a request for further financial assistance for the Southern Regional Council.

Your proposal will receive careful consideration here and we will be in touch with you or Harold Fleming as soon as there is any news.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

cc: Harold Fleming

File in FFR-
Regular Grants

May 23, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Since this welcome letter from the Fund for the Republic came to this address, we are taking the liberty of sending you a copy rather than the original, in order that the original may be safely stowed away in our permanent files.

I have made no acknowledgment -- except in telephone conversations with David Freeman -- since that clearly should be done by you.

The funds are already invested in the way that we discussed by telephone the other day. We had the benefit of the soundest advice available through Mr. L. D. Milton of the Citizens Trust Company and Mr. Joseph Hyman of the Trust Company of Georgia, and the step was taken with the full approval of Dr. Clement. As the investment program has finally worked out, no funds are invested beyond November 1958, and the greater portion will mature in March 1958, at which time we can consider further investment programming. Happily, our advice and the market were such that we will get the maximum yield consistent with security for each short-range investment. The yield will run between 3.7 and 4.125 on the several securities.

It is our thought that word of the grant should be sent to members of the Executive Committee, but I will take no action until you signify your approval.

We have just completed a healthy workout with the state staff members. Sorry you couldn't be with us. One way or another, I will be seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

April 24, 1957

Mr. Wright:

Since we were working against a deadline following the Executive Committee's approval of the request to the Fund for the Republic, we decided that Mr. Clement should sign the letter of transmittal, in lieu of your availability.

Here's a copy of the acknowledgement from David Freeman of the Fund.

Encl.
HCF/eab

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Here is a much revised draft of a possible post-1957 letter to F for R.

By no means final yet.

For speed's sake I send you this rough copy for your comments, the while other copies circulate to the staff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FIRST TRIAL DRAFT OF A LETTER TO F FOR R
BEGGING MONEY FOR POST-1957

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Perforce we begin to think about our fundless days which begin October 1, 1957.

I am quite aware of the firm language which you used, and which the fund's letter of grant of April 2, 1954 used, to the effect that the Fund for the Republic had no notion of helping the Southern Regional Council after the expiration of the three and a half years during which the Fund's grants were prospectively to run.

Yet the job isn't done, and we aren't strong enough to stand alone.

It needs be clear that I Mitchell am not one to argue for a perpetual Southern Regional Council. I have thought all along that each Southern state should have a strong statewide agency in human relations, hooked to some National congeries of such agencies; and that we should all get over thinking of the South as forever queer, requiring special, different treatment. I voice this view repeatedly in SRC's Board meetings, and each time am cried down: "That may be very well in some long run, but for the next few years we have to have a Southern Regional Council." With that limited need I agree. I say three more years.

Reasons?

THE STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Six and possibly seven of the state organizations we have helped can be expected to come through as intended, and be self-sustaining, or almost entirely so, after October, 1957. Some of them will cut down their staffs, but this many can live practically alone, and deepen their local roots. Here are these agencies, and the figures that make us feel they are safe:

Draft - 2
David Freeman:

ALL RIGHT	AMOUNT RAISED 10/55 - 6/30/56	NUMBER OF MEMBERS AS OF 7/1/56
Virginia	$3,331.00	547
(newly staffed) Kentucky	717.00	233
Florida	1,318.00	331
Texas	1,737.00	201
Arkansas	814.00	148
South Carolina	2,337.00	399
Georgia	3,332.00	628
Alabama	2,283.00	485
CIEARLY WEAK:		
Mississippi	1,005.00	252
Tennessee	937.00	201
WOBBLY:		
North Carolina	1,588.00	471
Louisiana	1,823.00	264

We would like to be able to help the weak and the wobblers with up to four or five thousand dollars a year for the next three years. That would average out at $25,000 a year for the state organizations. We wouldn't covenant to help each equally each year (as we have done until quite lately with the current grant). We would tailor-make each State's aid to its carefully assessed need. And we would feel free to help even the strong or ones with a hundred here and there.

Draft - 3
David Freeman

For the central office there's a choice of three plans:

Type One. A paymaster and an inspector and a clerk, and a little for travel and rent money and supplies and postage. Cost $24,000 a year.

Type Two. Minimum coordination. A head-man, a Secretary-Treasurer, a field man, an information man. This would let us get out a magazine somehow, travel to the states, tie them together a little, do little or nothing of our present job of interpreting change to the nation. Cost $50,000 a year.

Type Three: Workable coordination. Better-paid people, more clerks, continue to work with the Church Women, travel more, keep on being port of lading for national inquirers. Cost $70,000 a year.

Budget-Type One	
Director	$8,000
Sec'y-Treas	5,000
Clerk	3,000
Travel	4,000
Rent, etc.	3,000
Board	1,000
Total	$24,000

Budget-Type Two	
Director	$8,000
Sec'y-Treas	5,000
Clerks	6,000
Field man	7,000
Information	7,000
Research (includes clerical)	7,000
Rent, etc.	4,300
Board	1,500
Travel	5,000
Total	$50,800

Budget-Type Three	
Director	$10,000
Sec'y Treas.	5,000
Clerks	9,000
Field man	8,000
Information	8,000
Research (includes clerical)	7,000
Dir. of Wm's Wk. & Program	10,000
Travel	6,000
Rent, etc.	5,100
Board	1,500
Total	$69,600

. . . .

Draft - 4
David Freeman

SRC's OWN MONEY-RAISING

This whole proposal is grounded on the idea that at least six of the state organizations would raise all or practically all of their own money. That's on the order of $13,000 a year apiece. Total about $75,000 a year.

It also expects six state organizations to raise most of their own money; about $50,000 a year.

Which is a self-raised amount of $125,000 a year for each of three years. All in, $375,000. From the states alone.

Now turn to the central office. It can raise around $35,000 a year, by staff efforts. If the Fund for the Republic would put in $20,000 a year for each of three years that's $55,000. It would be possible to stop at that, and finance a Type Two office. I recommend that SRC's Board be charged with raising enough more, by its own efforts, (at least $15,000), to stretch up to the Type Three budget.

REVIEW OF REQUEST AND FORECAST:

Three years more of aid.

States to raise $125,000 a year. Fund for the Republic to put in for the states, $25,000 a year.

Central office to raise $50,000 a year. Fund for the Republic would put in $20,000 a year.

For three years, totals

SRC to raise $525,000

Fund for the Republic to put in $135,000

Draft - 5
David Freeman:

We are exceedingly grateful for the rich, and we think rewarding contribution, which the Fund for the Republic has made to the support of equal protection of the laws in the South. We acknowledge that we all hoped that three and a half years of help would be enough. We find that it won't be enough, and we ask for this modest terminal grant.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
7/16/56

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Budget - 1957

CENTRAL OFFICE PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATION

(January 1, 1957 - December 31, 1957)

Synopsis

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES, 1957	$ 130,618.49
Forecast of Income	90,156.80
BALANCE (to be raised from new sources)	40,461.69

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES, 1957

Salaries	$ 72,688.59	
Social Security Taxes	1,501.00	
Travel	7,844.75	
Printing & Postage, N. S.	7,129.06	
Printing, Other	1,261.80	
Rent	1,855.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,071.94	
Postage	1,397.55	
Books & Subscriptions	1,134.77	
Acc't. Fees & Legal Expense	565.00	
Ins. & Misc.	425.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	1,944.03	
Annual Mtg. & Executive Com. Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Total		$ 105,118.49

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

Direct Supervisory Ser. & Overhead	6,000.00	
Communication	400.00	
Fees for Consultants	4,600.00	
Consultants' Travel	4,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	5,000.00	
Total		20,000.00

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Travel & State Mtgs. of Church Women	5,500.00	
Total		5,500.00

Total (Estimated Expenses)	$130,618.49

INCOME FORECAST

Contributions:		
Individuals	4,963.43	
Organizations	5,419.41	
Churches	4,305.00	
Foundations	68,953.60	
Total		83,641.44

OFFICE-RELATED INCOME

New South Subscriptions	4,603.84	
Sale of Literature	1,372.40	
Honoraria	539.12	
Total		6,515.36

Total (Income Forecast)	$ 90,156.80
Balance	$ 40,461.69

APPENDIX

Breakdown of Projected Budgets, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1960

PERIOD I

PROPOSED 15-MONTH BUDGET, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$103,200.00	
Social Security Taxes	2,300.00	
Travel	10,800.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	9,400.00	
Printing, Other	4,800.00	
Rent	2,475.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	5,550.00	
Postage	2,500.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,650.00	
Acc't. & Legal Fees	850.00	
Insurance & Misc.	825.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,740.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,600.00	
Total		$151,690.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 5,000.00	
Communication	600.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,150.00	
Consultant Service Travel	6,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,500.00	
Total		$ 25,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Materials Distribution		$ 8,475.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 62,500.00
	TOTAL	$247,665.00
To be raised from other sources		127,665.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$120,000.00

PERIOD II

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1959

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$ 84,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$124,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution		$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 50,000.00
	TOTAL	$201,960.00
To be raised from other sources		126,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$ 75,000.00

PERIOD III

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1960

Central Office (program and administration)

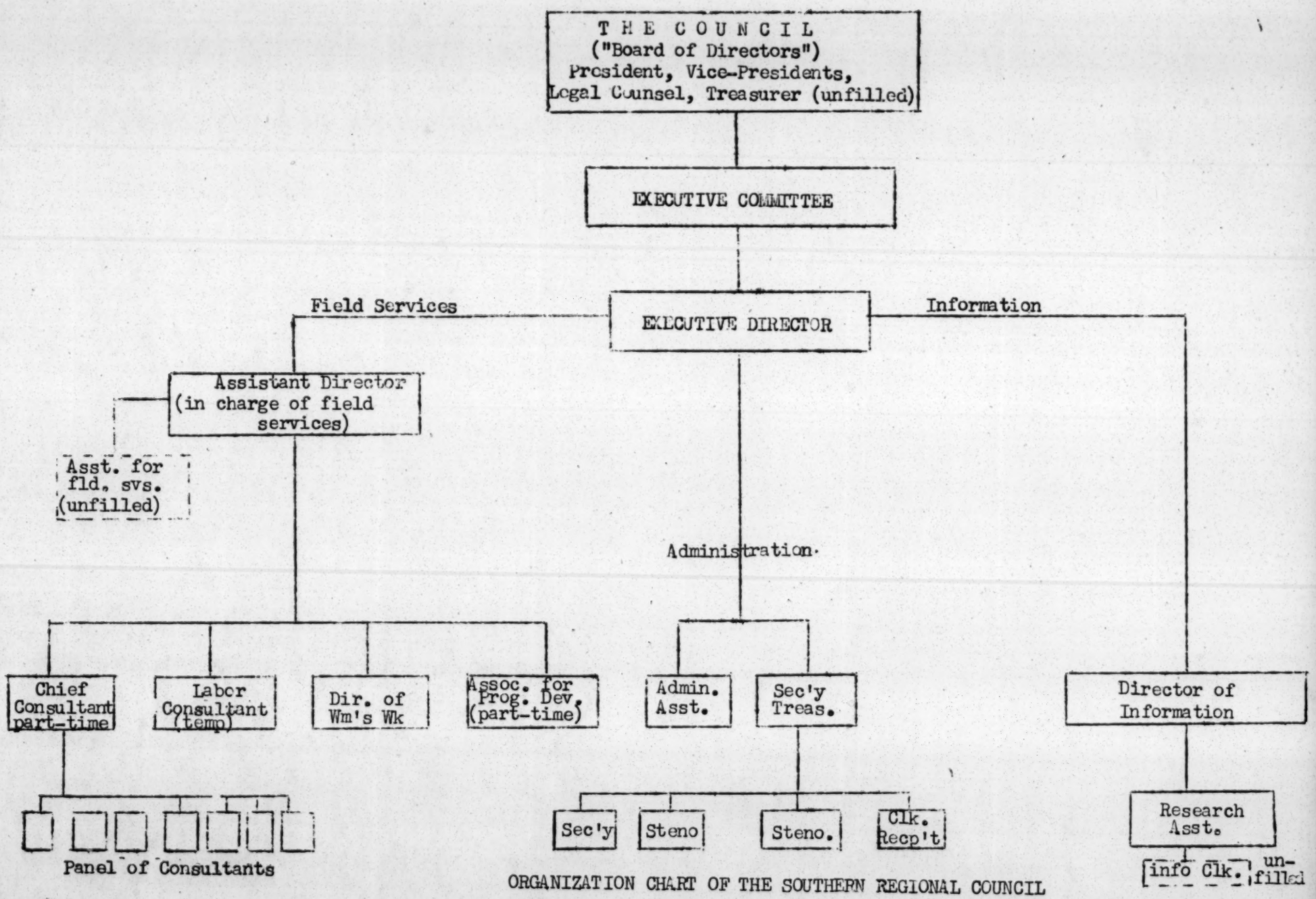
Salaries	$ 86,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$126,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution		$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 50,000.00
	TOTAL	$203,960.00
To be raised from other sources		148,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$ 55,000.00



ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMBERS OF CENTRAL PROFESSIONAL STAFF
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director -
Native Georgian, 34 years old, graduate of Harvard, Phi Beta Kappa, veteran of World War II; joined SRC staff in 1947 as director of information; later assistant director. On central staff of Ashmore Study of Bi-racial Education in the U. S. sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Author of various magazine articles and booklets on race relations. Succeeded Dr. George S. Mitchell as SRC director January 16,1957.

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director - Floridian, 33 years old, A. B. and M.A. at University of Miami, studies toward Ph.D. completed at N. Y. U., Center for Human Relations Studies. Veteran of World War II. Taught human relations at University of Miami, and summer instructor at University of Michigan, N.Y. U., University of Sorbonne, and University of Heidelberg. Contributor to various professional journals. Officer of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Joined SRC staff as Assistant Director for State Organizations in 1954.

C. H. Parrish, Associate for Program Development - Native Kentuckian, fiftyish, Ph.D. University of Chicago, formerly Professor of Sociology at Louisville Municipal College, then first Negro on facutly of University of Louisville, upon integration of that institution in early 1950's. Has contributed to many professional journals and has participated as consultant and field worker in various race relations projects. Joined SRC staff as part-time senior staff member in 1954.

John Hope II, Chief Consultant - Native Georgian, mid-forties, son of the distinguished first Negro president of Atlanta University. A. B. from Morehouse College, M. A. from University of Chicago. Field staff member, Southeastern Regional Office of war-time FEPC. Director, Industrial Division, Race Relations Department, Fisk University. Conducted studies in employment opportunities for the Committee of the South, National Planning Association and for labor unions. Author of several books on employment practices. Joined SRC staff in 1955 to direct consultant programs.

John Constable, Director of Information - Native North Carolinian, 31 years old, A. B. University of North Carolina, M. A. School of Journalism, University of Georgia. Instructor in journalism at University of Georgia, edited Georgia country weekly. Served on news staff of the Atlanta Constitution for three years. Joined SRC staff in 1955 as managing editor of New South.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work - Native Georgian, granddaughter of a leading Georgia planter, graduate of Wesleyan College (Macon, Ga.), advanced studies at University of North Carolina and Scarritt College. Numerous positions with the Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Georgia Methodist Conference. Secretary for Christian Social Relations of S. E. Jurisdiction, WSCS. Secretary of Economics Committee of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church. Member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947. Joined SRC staff in 1940.

Miss Florence Irving, Research Assistant - Native North Carolinian, A.B. Spelman College (Atlanta, Ga.), M. B. A. University of Chicago. Formerly Instructor of Business Administration at Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C. Assistant to manager of Irving-Swain Press, Inc., Raleigh, N. C. Business economist, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C. Joined SRC staff in 1955.

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant - Native Virginian, 32 years old, A. B. Emory University (Ga.), M. A. University of Chicago, requirements for Ph.D. partially completed at University of Chicago. Field Program Leader, Georgia Workers Education Service; Executive Secretary, Atlanta Labor Education Association; Field Program Leader, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University (Chicago). Joined SRC staff in 1956.

Administrative Staff

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer - Native Georgian, graduate of Morris Brown College School of Business, 1939. Secretary -bookkeeper, Alexander & Company and Wilson Realty Company, 1939-43. Secretary to Chairman of Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1944-46. Secretary to the Director and Bookkeeper, Georgia Workers Education Service, 1946-50. Bookkeeper, Atlanta University, 1951-54. Joined SRC staff in 1954.

Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant - Native Virginian, 28 years old, graduate of University of Miami. Senior High School teacher, Lynchburg, Va. With the Wall Street Journal field service staff prior to joining SRC in 1956. Conducted fact-finding project on the White Citizens' Councils for SRC during 1956.

Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley, Secretary - Native Ohioan. Attended West Virginia State College and University of Cincinnati.

Mrs. Beverly Calhoun, Clerk-Receptionist - Native Floridian, attended Florida State University, wife of Methodist minister.

Mrs. Carmenceita P. Jones, Stenographer - Georgian, attended Savannah State College, Savannah, Ga.

Miss Marge Manderson, Stenographer - Native Georgian, attended University of Georgia. Currently enrolled in evening division of Ga. State College.

Miss Frances Carnes, Stenographer - Native Georgian, graduate of Mercer University, currently enrolled in Candler School of Theology, Emory University.

T H E S O U T H O F P R O M I S E

A Report On The Work Of
The Southern Regional Council

"In the Deep South one organization stands out as likely to wield the most influence in shaping the region's attitude toward integration....the Southern Regional Council...."
The Associated Press in the Charlotte (N.C.) News

"The Council has been working with marked success. Its activities today need national status and attention to make them visible and audible above the dust and noise."
Christian Science Monitor

"(The Council) has come to be the most dependable and reliable interracial body operating in the South."
Atlanta Daily World

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity, and freedom."
Asheville (N.C.) Times

"The South's foremost interracial organization."
New York Times

"The Council (has) earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual materials."
Atlanta Constitution

It is the strident voices from the South, heralding defiance of the law of the land, that have captured the headlines throughout the country. The evasive maneuverings of some Southern legislatures have aroused echoes of "interposition" from pre-Civil War days. Economic and social reprisals, practiced by pro-segregation groups, have temporarily frightened some into confusion and inaction.

But there are other voices and other forces in the South -- voices of hope and forces of progress toward integration.

Many of these voices and much of this constructive force find expression in the Southern Regional Council and its affiliated state Councils on Human Relations. Through this movement, white and Negro Southerners, with the aid of experienced professional staff, work for a more democratic society.

This summary report is prepared for the friends and supporters of the Southern Regional Council so that they may know how their investments of interest, energy, and funds have been used. In this crucial period of change in the South, the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Council will depend on the continued allegiance and support of all those who accept responsibility for building a more democratic society.

MUSTERING THE STATES

A roll call of the Southern states -- from Virginia to Texas, from Florida to Kentucky -- would find an SRC-affiliated Council on Human Relations in each state. Here is a living demonstration of the South of the future, for integrated Boards of Directors make policy, plan program and supervise the work of the professional staff. The Council aids the state organizations with counsel, materials, and the advisory services of a professional field staff.

In Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas, the affiliates have had a direct part in bringing about desegregation. There, and also in Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, it has been possible to work directly with either state or local school authorities.

Efforts in the hard-core states of the Deep South are of a more elemental nature. Affiliates in these states are working to further communication and joint planning by whites and Negroes and to help secure the basic rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and association in the face of pro-segregation intolerance.

This region-wide movement provides, almost uniquely, opportunity for Southerners of both races to shape together the communities in which they live.

STRENGTHENING FORCES OF PROGRESS

SRC has assembled a panel of specialists from various fields to serve as consultants to private and public leadership in Southern communities. The skills and insights of these consultants have been available to SRC's state affiliates and have greatly assisted them in planning sound organizational and program activities. Requests for aid are now coming in from other agencies and from community leadership. Assistance is tailor-made to fit need. If a community needs the advice of a superintendent who has experienced school integration, a specialist in law enforcement problems, or the like, SRC seeks to supply a qualified consultant.

FINDING THE FACTS

The research department of the Council provides substantial underpinning for all Council activities. A professional staff member is charged with the responsibility of maintaining reference files based on newspaper clippings, first-hand reports, and other materials that document current developments in Southern race relations. In the course of a year, the Council services some hundreds of mail requests for information, as well as requests made in person by a variety of visitors to the Council's offices. Among the Council's efforts in this field is a fact-finding program.

One of the recent surveys uncovered more than 1,100 instances of integration that took place in the South during the two-year period immediately following the Supreme Court decision. These findings, published in Integration North and South, have been widely distributed throughout the nation and in many foreign countries.

Other projects under the fact-finding program include (1) a survey of Negro suffrage, documenting problems and progress in the exercise of this basic right, (2) a three-month field study of the pro-segregation groups, their history and trends, (3) the trend in Southern industrialization and its relation to the racial picture, and (4) a study of labor and race relations. The findings of some of these special projects have already been treated in newspaper stories, magazine articles, and books. Others will be made available in the near future.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE WORLD

The South is not isolated. An incident in south Georgia becomes front-page news in New Delhi, Munich, and Dakar. A steady flow of foreign visitors -- newsmen, government officials, students, and other opinion-makers -- come to the South for a first-hand view of our racial problems. Many of these observers, especially those travelling under State Department and private fellowships or exchange programs, look to the Southern Regional Council for balanced and accurate information. This is a vital role for the Council since it provides, almost uniquely, the example and insights of white and Negro Southerners working together

in a spirit of equality. We are able to demonstrate convincingly to emissaries from other lands that, however severe our racial problems, there are Southerners working to solve them. During 1956, at the rate of six to ten a month, the Council was host to visitors from 21 countries. 1957, thus far, promises even greater opportunity to interpret the constructive South to the world.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE NATION

Factual and interpretive material from the Southern Regional Council finds its way into national news media in ever-growing quantity. Through personal interviews, news releases, and publications, the Council has become the information center for national news representatives who are interpreting the story of the South to millions of Americans. Recent examples of publications and organizations whose representatives have sought the assistance of the Council are The Saturday Evening Post, the Christian Science Monitor, the Associated Press, Life, U. S. News and World Report, New Statesman and Nation, Time, Look, Newsweek, Collier's, The Reporter, St. Louis Post Dispatch, NBC television news, Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now," and the Canadian Broadcasting Company. Publications of the Council and articles by Council staff members find their way to national organizations. "What's Happening in School Integration," a Public Affairs Pamphlet written by two members of the Council's staff, is receiving national distribution.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE SOUTH.

Through the monthly publication, New South, and special pamphlets, the Council disseminates information to Southern opinion-makers, business, educational, religious, and civic leaders, and the interested public. The Council also services Southern news representatives and from time-to-time prepares special reports for program use. A recent Council release reporting for the first time the peaceful integration of buses in 21 Southern cities received wide and favorable attention in the South and elsewhere. Commented the Washington Star: ". . . The report of the Southern Regional Council . . . is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South."

CLEARINGHOUSE AND COORDINATION

Since the Council has a full-time concern with Southern race relations, extensive information files, and a seasoned professional staff, it has been able to assist and advise many other agencies -- national, regional, and local. The Council is called upon with increasing frequency for information and advice to religious, labor, civic, and professional organizations carrying on programs in the South. Closely related to this function is that of supplying knowledgeable speakers and resource people for conferences, workshops, and meetings of many kinds. On October 24,

the Council sponsored a meeting of representatives from religious and human relations agencies with staffed programs in the field of race relations. Agreement was reached on several strategic communities where local efforts of the various agencies might be concentrated. In January, a follow-up meeting was held with 24 organizations represented. The group asked the Council to serve as convener of further conferences and as a clearinghouse for joint field activities.

In addition, the Council has a close working relationship with such groups as the YMCA and YWCA, the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian social action agencies, the Catholic Committee of the South, the American Friends Service Committee, the various Jewish agencies, and others.

WOMEN'S WORK

Under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Council's staff, this effort has brought together Southern church women of the several faiths and denominations for the sharing of ideas and convictions and joint planning in the field of race relations. Such meetings have been held on both region-wide and state-wide bases and have confirmed our belief that the women of the South -- most particularly the church women -- continue to play a unique part in giving vitality to the conscience of the region. On October 30-31 more than 100 leaders in church women's work over the region convened in Atlanta. The object was to arm this key leadership with resolution and specific ideas that they may translate into action in their states and communities. Follow-up state-wide meetings are scheduled to carry these plans to the local level.

WORK WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Throughout its history the Council has worked closely with organized labor. Union officials have served on its Executive Committee and on the boards of state affiliates. Pamphlets and special reference materials have been used by local unions, staff representatives, regional offices, and in special education programs. Many union-sponsored conferences have drawn on the Southern Regional Council staff for speakers and instructors.

Recently the Council has broadened its services to the labor movement through the addition of a labor consultant. The new position has been filled by a native Southerner with many years' experience as a workers' education specialist. The Council works with unions to provide speakers, resource persons, and materials on race relations problems as they affect the trade union movement. The Council has an active interest in the positive measures taken by unions in the interest of better race relations, more democratic organizations, and increased job opportunities for all the people of the South.

BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

The Southern region is rapidly industrializing; King Cotton has abdicated. New industries and the growth of cities make new demands on Southern practices in race relations. To meet these demands, full use of the manpower pool, with equal inclusion of Negro workers, is required. SRC has surveyed the rate and type of industrial development, county by county, in the Southern states in the post-war decade. Businessmen and industrialists serve on the Board of the Council and its state affiliates. Through this participation and through its information program, the Council seeks to mobilize the positive influence of Southern economic leaders.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the months to come, the Council hopes not only to increase the efforts briefly described here, but to extend its activities into new areas of need and opportunity. The real enemies are discouragement and inaction. However severe the difficulties, the ultimate solution is secure so long as decent people pool their concern and resources in common effort.

Qrly Rept. 2

Research Asst (Reference) (Irving)

1. Statistical Analysis
2. Mrs. Tilly's workbook
3. Clips + In-person requests, staff + others
4. Mail Requests (See rept)

New South (Constable)

1. Tallahassee by Wm Gordon 2. O'Dowd's "Rt. of Dissent"
3. Churches Speak (heavy demand) 4. Racial superiority myth 5. Dec - CSV article
Distrib of films + lit.

FACT - FINDING

Desegr Survey - Integr North + South published, 2d widest play of all FFR releases; Harper request; NYT Huston roundup
Hughes article in FORTUNE; Sou. Presbys requests to keep up

Voting - First since 1947; Nov 4 release; Dept of Justice; Newspaper features on state repts in La, Ky. + Va + in prospect in NC + Ga.
Full analysis by MP in process.

Resistance - (Anthony) - NY Post, NYT, Bob Brown; speeches - churchwomen, AVC, NAACP, FBR to NAIRO - article in Phylon; mimeo'd rept - 800 cc, incl add'l 325 to WSCS; chronology.

Economic + Labor Studies

NOT CLASSIFIED
FFR Staff mtg
Pub Affairs pamphlet

Qrly Rept, Oct-Dec '56

PRESS RELATIONS (others under Fact-Finding)

1. AP (Bem Price) - Soc. Sci. Story
2. Orr - Chr Sci Monitor
3. LIFE - Causey affair (also other TIME-LIFE advice)
4. Answering McCourk - 18 Soc Sci's Statement + Lyford
5. Clinton - JC there
6. Montgomery background
7. John Bartlow Martin (Sat Eve Post)
8. New Statesman + Nation editor, Swedish newspaperman,
9. FFR Newsfilm Project (Voting)

INTER-AGENCY

1. Fred Fuges - roundup + visit to ofc
2. student YMCA + YWCA on projects + materials
3. AFSC N.C Project (John Alexander)
4. ADL
5. SPSSI
6. (NPA) Orgn of bus. + indust. ldrs on "law + order"
7. Tuskegee Conf. + follow-up
8. CCD

Brownlee, James F., bus. exec; b. Oakland, Calif., July 29,1891; s. Malcolm Bruce & Myra Belle (Forbis) B.; B.A., Harvard U., 1913; m. Emeline Morley, March 10, 1917. Began as salesman American Sugar Refining Co., 1913, sales mgr., 1925-28; v.p. Gen. Foods Corp, 1932-35; pres. Jefferson Island Salt Co., 1936-38. Pres Frankfort Distilleries, Inc., 1935-43. Member Bus. Advisory Council, Wash. DC, 1937-39; War Production Board, 1942; dir. transportation War Food Adminsn., 1943; dep. adminsr, OPA, 1943-45; dep. dir. Off. Econ. Stab., 1946; partner, J.H. Whitney & Co.; dir. Pillsbury Mills, Inc., R.H. Macy & Co., Am. Express Co. Trustee Middlesex Sch. & member policy comm. CED, U. of N.Y. Served as 2nd Lt. U.S. Army, World War I. Clubs: Augusta National, Harvard (N.Y), River Valley (Louisville), Blind Brook Golf & Country, Fairfield Country. Home: Greenvield Hill, Fairfield, Conn.

Joyce, William Henry, Jr., shoe mfg. exec; b. Los Angeles, March 11, 1900; s. Sm. H. & Josephine (Haskins) J.; student U. of Calif., 1918-20; m. Faie Jarmel, 1938; children--Anthony, Peter, Jill. Pres., chm. bd. of dirs., Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, Calif., since 1932; dir. Joyce Overseas, Ltd., London, Eng., since 1946; asst adminsr. operations, ECA, Washington, since 1950. Trustees com. for econ. development, Occidental Coll, Town Hall (N.Y. City), U.S. Inter-Amer. Co. Clubs: Annandale Golf (Pasadena); Country; Newport Harbor Yacht; San Gabriel Country. Home: 1440 Circle Dr., San Marino, Calif. Off.: 330 S. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena 1, Calif.

Bryan, Malcolm Honore, v. chm., Trust Co. of Ga.; b. Watseka, Ill., Feb. 15, 1902; s. Wm. A. & Marguerite (Ludy) B.; A.B., U. of Ill., 1924, A.M., 1925; m. Nan Coghlan, July 10, 1925; children--Patricia, Wm. A. Prof. economics, U. of Ga., 1925-36; sec. Spl. Tax Commn. of Ga., 1929; v.p. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 1938-41; 1st v.p. 1941-46; v. chm. 1st Trust Co. of Ga. since 1946. Economist, Board of Govs., Federal Reserve System, 1936-38; mem. Spl. Commn. on Banking & Taxation, U.S. Treasury, 1934; mem. Am. Technical Staff, Breton Woods Monetary & Financial Conf., 1944; mem. Senate Finance Com.'s Adv. Com. on Soc. Security, 1947-48. Editor Southern Econ. Journ., Oct. 1933- April, 1937. Home: 10 16th St., NE. Off: Trust Co. of Ga. Bldg,, Atlanta, Ga.

(4) Cole, Charles Woolsey, coll. pres.; b. Montclair, N. J., Feb. 8, 1906; s. Chas. Buckingham & Bertha Woolsey (Dwight) C.; A.B., Amherst Coll., 1927; L.H.D., 1942; A.M., Columbia U., 1928; ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ PhD., 1931; LL.D. Wagner Coll., 1946; Wesleyan U., 1946; ~~xxxx~~ Williams Coll, 1946; Litt. D., Hamilton Coll., 1948; Sc.D. Clarkson Coll., 1948; m. Katherine Bush Salmon, Aug. 29, 1938; children--Elizabeth Dwight, Katherine ~~xxx~~ Woolsey. Instr. hist., Columbia U., 1929-35; traveling fellow, Social Research Coun. (Paris), 1932-33; asso. prof. econ., Amherst Coll., 1935-37; Geo. D. Olds prof econ., 1937-40; visiting lecturer econs., Yale U., 1938-39; prof. hist., Columbia U., 1940-46; pres. Amherst Coll. since 1946. Chief Service Trades Branch, Retail Trades & Services Div., Off. of Prace Admn., 1942; Regional price exec., N. Y. Region, Off. of Price Admn., 1942-43; mem. teaching staff, Navy Sch. of Military Govt. & Admin., Columbia U., 1943-44; lecturer Army Sch. of Military Govt., Charlottesville, Va., 1943-44; mem. faculty Manhattan Sch. of Music, 1944-45. Mem. Natl. Security Organ. Com. of Commn. on Organization of Exec. Branch of Govt., 1948; mem. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Selective Serv. Scientific Com. since 1948; mem. Amer. Econ. Assn., Econ. Hist. Assn., Am. Acad. of Arts & Scis., Am. ~~xxxx~~ Numismatic Soc., Council on Foriegn Relations, Am. Assn. Univ. Profs., Amer. Hist. Assn. (council, 1948-50), Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Delta Sigma Rho. Congregationalist. ~~xxxxxx~~ Club: Century. Author: French Mercantilist Doctrines before Colbert, 1931; Colbert & a Century of French Mercantilism, 2. v., 1939; Econ. Hist. of Europe (w. S.B. Clough), 1941; French Mercantilism, 1683-1700, 1943; Hist. of Europe (w. C. J. H. Hayes & M. Baldwin), 1949. Home: 175 S. Pleasant St., Amherst, Mass.

(6) Finnegan, Richard James, newspaper man; b. Chicago, Ill, Sep. 5, 1884; s. Richard J. & Ella (Biggs) F.; LL.B., Chicago Law Sch., 1907; m. Lucile Adams, July 6, 1907; children--Lucile (Mrs. Willard J. Loarie), Ruth Joan (Mrs. Chas. R. Corcoran), Richard Adams. Reporter, Chicago Chronicle, 1901; Chicago Inter Ocean, 1903-04; became connected w. Chicago Daily Journal 1904; city editor, 1914-15; mng, ed., 1916-25; co-editor, 1925-28; ed. Chicago Times, 1929-44; ed. & pubr. ~~xxxx~~ 1944-47; ed. & v.p. Chicago Sun-Times 1947-50; cons. ed. since 1950; pres. City News Bur., 1939-51; dir. Welfare Council Metrop. Chicago, Chicago Heart Assn., Chicago Council on Community Nursing; pres. La Rabida Jackson Park Sanitarium (for care of children after rheumatic fever). Home: 7462 Sheridan Rd. Off.: 211 Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill.

(10) Linton, Morris Albert, life ins. exec.; b. Germantown, Phila., Pa., Apr. 4, 1887; s. Morris & Ruth A. (Leeds) L.; B.S. Haverford (Pa.) Coll., 1908 (Phi Beta Kappa), A.M. 1910; grad. study, Federal Polytechnic, Zurich, Switzerland, 1908-09; U. of Mich 1910; LL.D. Miami U., 1934; m. Margaret Stokes Roberts, Dec. 8, 1914; children--Morris Albert, Elizabeth. Began w. Provident Life & Trust Co. (now Provident Mutual Life Ins. Co. of Phila.) 1909; v. p. 1916-31; pres. since 1931; dir. Provident Trust Co., Western Savings Fund Soc. Mem. bd. Haverford Coll., Am. Acad. Polit. & Soc. Sci.; Life Ins. Assn. of Am. (chm.), American Friends Service Committee, Moorestown Friends School, Moorestown Family Service, Amherst Coll. Life ~~Underwriters~~ Underwriters; mem. advisory coun. Soc. Security Bd.; mem. bd. Community Fund (Phila.); ex-chm. Inst. of Life Ins.; ex-pres., Actuarial Soc. Am.; fellow, Am. Inst. Actuaries, Inst. of Actuaries (London); mem. Franklin Inst. Quaker Clubs: Midday, Haverford (PHila.); Lake Placid (N.Y.); Pine Valley (N.J.) Golf; Am. & Swiss Alpine, Contbr. on soc. sec. & life ins. Home: 315 E. Oak St., Moorestown, N. J. Off.: 46th & Market St., Phila.

(13) Shuster, George Nauman, author, educator; b. Lancester, Wis., Aug. 27, 1894; s. Anthony & Elizabeth (Nauman) S.; A. B., U. of Notre Dame, 1915, A. M., 1920; Certificat d'Aptitude, U. of Poitiers, France, 1919; grad. study, Columbia U., 1925-26; Ph.D. from same univ. 1940; m. Doris Parks Cunningham, June 25, 1924; 1 son, Robert George. Head of dept. of Eng., U. of Notre Dame, 1920-24; instr. in Eng. Brooklyn (N.Y.) Poly. Inst., 1924-25; prof. Eng., St. Joseph's Coll. for Women, Brooklyn, 1924-35; asso. ed. The Commonweal, 1925-29, mng. ed., 1929-37, now contbg. ed; fellow, Social Sci. Research Coun., Columbia, 1937-39; dean & acting pres., Hunter Coll, N. Y., 1939-40, pres. since 1940. Oberlaender Trust fellow in Germany 1932. Mem. gen. adv. com., Div. Cultural Relations, Dept. of State, 1944-45; mem. Enemy Alien Bd., No. 2, N. Y., 1942-45; chm. Hist. Commn. to Germany, War Dept., 1945; advisr. Am. delegation, London conf. on International Educ., 1945; del. UNESCO Conf., Paris, 1946. Mem. U. of Chicago Commn. on the Freedom of the Press ~~xxxx~~ 1944-47. Chm, Com. on Discrim. in the Nation's Capital since 1947; chm. Bd. of Trustees, Inst. Internat. Educ. since 1948; appointed Land Commissioner for Bavaria. Served as sgt. Intelligence Section, U.S. Army, World War I. Member Calvert Associates. Clubs: Century, Players. Author, co-author, translator, or ed. of numerous books since 1922. Catholic. Home: Stamford, Conn. Off: 695 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

(7) Griswold, Erwin Nathaniel, lawyer, law sch. dean; b. East Cleveland, Ohio; July 14, 1904; s. Jas. Harlen & Hope (Erwin) G.; A. B., Oberlin Coll, 1925; A.M., 1925; LL.B. Harvard U. Law Sch., 1928, S.J.D., 1929; L.H.D. Tufts Coll, 1949; Case Inst. Tech., 1950; LL.D., U. of Brit. Columbia, 1949; Brown U., 1950; m. Harriet Allena Ford, Dec., 30, 1931; children--Hope Eleanor, Wm. Erwin. Admitted to Ohio bar, 1929; Mass., 1935; practiced w. Griswold, Green, Palmer & Hadden, Cleveland, 1929; atty. in off. of solicitor gen. & spl. asst. to the atty. gen., Washington, DC, 1929-34; asst. prof. law, Harvard U. Law Sch., 1934-35; prof. 1935-46; dean & Chas. S. Ebbins Fairchild prof. of law, 1946-50; dean & Langdell prof. of law since 1950. Mem. Alien Enemy Hearing Bd. for Mass, 1941-45; consulting expert, U.S. Treasury Dept., 1942. Trustee Oberlin Coll, Bradford Jr. Coll, 1942-49, Teachers Ins. & Annuity Assn. 1942-46. Harvard Law Rev. Assn. Mem. Amer. Bar Assn., Mass. Bar Assn., Am. Law Inst., Am. Geographic Soc. Phi Beta Kappa; fellow Am. Acad. Arts & Sciss. (v.p. 1946-48). Clubs: Harvard (Boston & N. Y.), Cosmos (Washington). Author: Spendthrift Trusts, 1936; Cases on Federal Taxation, 1940; Cases on Conflict of Laws (w. others), 1941 Contrbr. to legal periodicals & Geographical Rev.; gen. ed., Prentice-Hall Law School Series. Home: 36 Kenmore Rd., Belmont 78, Mass. Off; Langdell Hall, Cambridge 38, Mass.

(9) Kestnbaum, Meyer, pres. Hart Schaffner & Marx; b. N. Y. City, Oct. 31, 1896; s. Benjamin & Julia (Weintraub) K.; B.S., Harvard, 1918, M.B.A., 1921; LL.D., Ripon Coll., 1949; m. Gertrude Dana, June 2, 1925; children--Ruth Louise (Mrs. Howard J. Lichterman), Robert Dana. Labor & adminstv. depts., Hart Schaffner & Marx, clothing mfrs., Chicago, 1933-40, exec. v. p., 1940, pres. since 1941. Served as lt., 11th Inf. A.E.F., 1918-19. Awarded purple heart. Dir. Chicago & N. Western Ry. Co. Chm. research & policy com., Comm. for Econ. Devel.; dir., past pres. Welfare Council Metrop. Chicago; Dir. Community Fund of Chicago; mem. Exec. Com., past pres., Chicago Coun. Foreign Rels.; Mem., past pres. bd. of govs., Internat. House, Chicago; trustee La Rabida Sanitarium. Advisor to Quartermaster Gen. Mem. Chicago Symphony Orchestral Assn. Republican. Jewish. Clubs: Tavern, Mid-day, Cliff Dwellers, Literary, Caxton, Harvard (past pres.) (all of Chicago); Grolier (N.Y.), Ravisloe Country (Homewood, Ill.). Home, 1218 Madison Park. Off: 36 S. Franklin St., Chicago, Ill.

(11) Parten, Jubel Richard, bus. exec; b. Madisonville, Tex., 1896; s. W.L. & Ella (Brooks) P.; student Univ. of Tex., 1913-17; m. Patsy Edwards Puterbaugh; 1 son, John Randolph. Started in oil bus., Shreveport, La., 1919; later in oil well drilling bus. & supt. drilling & production 1919-24; one of the organizers & treasurer of Woodley Petroleum Co. of Del., Houston, Tex., 1922, pres. & gen. mgr. since 1928. Dir. Fed. Reserve Bank of Dallas, 1944-51; chm. bd. since 1946; pres. Pan Am. Sulphur Co., Dallas. Mem. Nat. Petroleum Coun. since 1946. Dir. trans., Petroleum Admn. for War., Washington, 1942-43; indus. reptv on Tanker Control Bd., OPC, 1941. Mem. Petroleum Ind. War Coun., 1941; spl. consultant, Sec. Interior of U.S. for organ. petroleum ind. for defense, 1950-51. Mem., Am. del. Reparations Comm., Potsdam, Moscow, 1945. Mem. U. of Tex. development bd. since 1941; mem. bd. of regents, U. of Tex., 1935-41; chm. bd., 1939-41. Served as cptn. & major, F.A., U.S. Army, 1917-19. Clubs: Houston, Houston Country, River Oaks Country, Ramada (Houston), Petroleum (Dallas). Home: 1913 Sharp Pl. Off: P. O. Box 1403, Houston, Texas.

(12) Roper, Elmo Burns, Jr., marketing consultant; b. Hebron, Neb., July 31, 1900; s. Elmo Burns & Coco (Malowney) R.; student U. of Minn., 1919-20, U. of Edinburgh; 1920-21; A.M. (hon.) Williams Coll, 1943; LL.D. (hon.), U. of Louisville, 1947; m. Dorothy C. Shaw, June 15, 1922; children—Burns W., Jas. J. (dec.). Marketing consultant since 1933; dir. Spiegl, Inc., Traub Mfg. Col, Internat. Pub. Opin. Research, Inc. One-dollar-a-year mem. adv. com. Purchases Div. OPM, 1941-42; dep. coordinator of info., 1941-42; mem. bd. Off. of Facts & Figs., 1941-42; dep. dir Off. of Strategic Services, 1942-45; cons. to U. S. Navy & U.S. Army Air Forces, 1944-45; research dir. Fortune Survey of Pub. Opin., 1935-50. Formerly columnist for N. Y. Herald Trib. & other newspapers; formerly asst. prof. journalism, Columbia U.; radio commentator on CBS. Mem. State of Conn. Interracial Comm. Mem. Am. Mkting Assn., Mkt. Research Coun. (pres. 1942-43), Am. Econ. Assn., Acad. Polit. Sci., Am. Statistical Soc. Clubs: Century, Coffee House, The Players, Pendennis. Home: West Redding, Conn. Off: 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

(14) Zellerbach, James David, paper products; b. San Francisco, Calif., Jan. 17, 1892; s. Isadore & Jennie (Baruh) Z.; B.S., U. of Calif., 1913; m. Hana Fuld, June 29, 1916; children—Jas. David, Richard Calvert; Pres. & dir. Crown Zellerbach Corp., mfrs. paper & paper products; chmn. bd. & dir. Fibreboard Products, Inc.; chief, ECA spl. mission to Italy. Pres & dir. Mt. Zion Hosp. of San Francisco; v.p. Internat. Org. of Employers; U.S. employer del. & v. chm. goving. body, Internat. Labor Org., 1945-48; dir. World Affairs Coun. of Northern Calif, Far East Coun. of Ind., Sugar Bowl Corp, Stanford Research Inst; mem. bd. of govs., Musical Assn. of San Francisco; mem. bd. of dirs., San Francisco Mus. of Art; mem. bd. of trustees, Inst. of Paper Chemistry, Com. for Econ. Devel.; mem. bd. of dirs., Nat. Insl. Conf. Bd.; mem. bd. of gov's., San Francisco Bay Coun. Jewish religion. Clubs: Concordia-Argonaut, San Francisco Commercial; Stock Exchange Lunch Club, St. Francis Yacht, Peninsula Golf & Country, Catalina Is. Yacht, Bankers of Am. (New York). Home: ~~22~~ 2790 Broadway. Off: 343 Sansome St., San. Francisco, Calif.

(3) Cairns, Huntington, lawyer; b. Baltimore, Md., Sep. 1, 1904; s. James Dunseanson & Helen Huntington (Heath) C.; grad. Baltimore City Coll, 1922; LL.B., U. of Md., 1925; m. Florence Faison Butler, May 29, 1930. Admitted to Md. bar 1926; D.C. bar 1943; asso. law firm Piper , Carey & Hall, 1926-37, partner, 1933-37; spl. legal adviser, U.S. Treas. Dept., 1934-37, since 1943; lecturer on taxation, Law Sch., U. of Md., 1935-37; chm. radio program, Invitation to Learning, 1940-41; asst. gen. counsel, U.S. Treas., 1937-43; mem. com. on practice, Treas. Dept., since 1944. Sec. & mem. Am. Commn. for protection & salvage of artistic & historic monuments, war areas, 1943-46; sec.-treas., gen. counsel, Nat. Gallery of Art since 1943; Jas. Schouter lecturer in pol. sci., Johns Hopkins, ~~[illegible]~~ 1945, lecturer in criticism since 1949. Awarded 1st prize, Law Sch., U. of Md., for thesis on Law of Charitable Trusts in Md., 1925; awarded Civic Medallion for most significant contribution to progress of Baltimore during 1935 in field of professions & sci. Mem. Md. Tax Revision Commn., 1938-39; mem. Md. Tax Revision Commn. of 1939 (1939-41). Mem. Am., D.C., & Md., State bar assns., Am. Law Inst., Am. Philos. Assn., Am. Soc. for Aesthetics. Clubs: Hamilton Street,

(over)

A T L A N T A F R I E N D S G R O U P

Meeting for Worship each Sunday 11:00 AM

Luckie Street YMCA

Cosmos, Wranglers. Author: Law & the Soc. Scis., 1935; The Theory of Legal Sci., 1941; Invitation to Learning (with Allen Tate & Mark Van Doren), 1941; Masterpieces of Painting from the Nat. Gallery of Art (w. John Walker), 1944; The Limitations of Art, 1948; Legal Phil. from Plato to Hegel, 1949. Ed.: Malinowski, A Scientifin Theory of Culture, 1944; The Limit of Art, 1945; Tax Laws of Md. (pub. biennially). Contrb. to mags. & to various symposia, also to Dict. of Am. Biol. Home: 2219 Calif. St., NW. Off: Nat. Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

(5)

~~Dearmont~~ Dearmont, Russell Lee, lawyer; b. Mound City, Mo., Feb. 22, 1891; s. Washington Strother & Julia Lee (McKee) D.; ~~XXXX~~ A.B., S.E. Mo. St. ~~X~~ Teachers Coll., Cape Girardeau, 1911; LL.B., U. of Mo., 1914; m. Marie Marguerite ~~Oliver~~ Oliver, ~~April~~ Apr. 12, 1916 (died 1924); children--Julia Marie, Marguerite Oliver, Sarah Lee. Admitted to Mo. bar 1914, and began practice at Cape Girardeau; mem. firm Dearmont & Russell, 1929-32, Dearmont, Spradling & Dalton, 1933-36; gen. counsel for trustee of Mo. Pacif. RR Co., St. Louis, since Apr~~l~~, 1936; chm. of bd., Fed. Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Chm. exec. com., Mo. St~~a~~te Democratic Com., 1924-28; mem. Mo. St~~a~~te Senate, 1929-32. Mem. bd. of trustees Westminster Coll. (pres bd. 1939-41) Lindenwood Coll. Mem. Am., ~~Mo. St.~~ Mo. St~~a~~te, & St. Louis bar assns., Phi Delta Phi, Phi Delta Theta. Mason (K.T.). Clubs: St. Louis Country, Racquet, Noonday (St. Louis). Home: 4954 Lindell Blvd. Off: 705 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

Stevenson, William Edwards (husband of Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson), coll. pres.; b. Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1900; s. J. Ross & Florence (Day) S.; A.B., Princeton, 1922; B.A. (Rhodes Scholar), Oxford U., 1925, M.A., 1928; LL.D., Wooster Coll., 1948, Colo. Coll., 1950; D.H.L., Case Inst. of Tech., 1948; m. Eleanor Bumstead, Jan. 9, 1926; children--Helen Day, Priscilla. Admitted as barrister-in-law, Inner Temple (Eng.), 1925; admitted to N.Y. Bar 1927; asst. U.S. atty., S.Dist. of N.Y., 1925-27; Ass. w. Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner & Reed, 1927 & 1929-31; partner Debevoise, Stevenson, Plimpton & Page, N.Y. City, 1931-46; Pres. Oberlin Coll. since 1946. Dir. Cooper-Bessemer Corp. Spl asst. counsel to Gubernatorial Commnrs. in investig. of Borough of Queens, 1928. Served as pvt., U.S. Marine Corps, 1918. Del. Am. Red Cross to Great Britain, 1942, N. Africa & Italy, 1942-44. Awarded Bronze Star Medal (U.S. Army) "for meritorius achievement in support of military operations." Mem. legtv. inquiry com. as to consolidation of township & city of Stamford, Conn., 1941-45; mem. Pres. Com. on Equality of Treatment & Oppor. in the Armed Services; mem. nat. bd. of dirs. Eng.-Speaking Union, N.Y. Dir of Commonwealth Fund (of N.Y. City). Trustee Phillips Acad. (Andover, Mass.); alumni trustee, Princeton U., 1934-38. Mem. Am. Bar Assn., Bar Assn. City of N.Y., Phi Beta Kappa. Mem. Madison Ave. Presby. Church. Clubs: Century (N.Y.); Union (Cleveland), Nassau (Princeton). Mem. Olympic Championship 1600 metre relay team, Paris, 1924; Office: Oberlin Coll, Oberlin, Ohio.

Phil Ogilvie served as secretary and supplied detailed minutes, summarized herewith.

At the outset the following were called on for brief verbal reports on the use of prejudice in the recent political campaigns in their States:

Georgia—George Mitchell. The dominant political organization in the State made elaborate, bitter and prolonged use of race prejudice material in an effort to put over a State constitutional amendment, in effect destroying the people's reserve power to upset in a general election nominations made in primaries conducted on the county unit basis. An ad hoc organization called Citizens Against the County Unit Amendment worked hard at getting lay and religious groups to express their resentment of the race prejudice material. In the upshot, the amendment was defeated by some 30,000 votes.

Mississippi—John Long. The campaign was less prejudiced than usual. The proposed amendment for a literacy clause prerequisite for voting not carried. People are still largely disfranchised—probably less than 60,000 people voted in the general election.

Tennessee—Herman Long. No pronounced appeals to bigotry in Tennessee election campaigns. Negro vote ~~[illegible]~~ often split. Communism loomed larger than racial problems as a campaign issue. Two Negroes sit on the Nashville City Council, but are in opposite camps. Negro vote large except in the west part of the State.

Tennessee—~~Mr.~~ T. C. D. Hayes. Negro registration in Memphis approximately 20,000. A Negro ran for the school board and received approximately one-fifth of his votes from white people. The campaign against the Negro candidate for the school board employed a picture of him showing him darker than in reality, and placed between two white women. School board elections are city-wide.

EXHIBIT I

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Total proposed budget for State Organizations (6 states for 3 years, 6 states for 4 years)	$ 620,227.00	
Proportion of this budget to be raised by State Organizations	148,500.00	
Proportion of this budget requested from Fund for the Republic	471,727.00	
Less 10% for lapses	47,172.70	
Net amount requested for State Organizations		$ 424,554.30
Total proposed budget for Central Organization (Four years)	309,655.00	
Proportion of this budget to be raised by Central Office	194,000.00	
Proportion of this budget requested from Fund for the Republic	115,655.00	
Less 5% for lapses	5,782.75	
Net amount requested for Central Organization		109,872.25
Total amount of request from Fund for the Republic		$ 534,426.55

EXHIBIT II

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Total budget for 12 states

Alabama	(4 year program)	$ 66,920.00
Georgia	(" " ")	66,920.00
South Carolina	(" " ")	66,920.00
Mississippi	(" " ")	61,119.00
Louisiana	(" " ")	61,119.00
Tennessee	(" " ")	50,080.00
Kentucky	(3 year program)	37,710.00
Virginia	(" " ")	37,710.00
Texas	(" " ")	37,710.00
Florida	(" " ")	37.710.00
North Carolina	(" " ")	50,304.00
Arkansas	(" " ")	46,005.00

Total proposed budget for State Organizations $ 620,227.00

Proposed distribution of finance

1st year		
12 state organizations to raise $1,000. each	$ 12,000.00	
2nd year		
12 state organizations to raise $2,700. each	32,400.00	
3rd year		
12 state organizations to raise $5,200. each	62,400.00	
4th year		
6 state organizations to raise $6,950.00 each	41,700.00	
Total amount to be raised by state organizations		148,500.00
Amount requested from Fund for the Republic for State Organizations		471,727.00
Less 10% for lapses		47,172.70
Net amount requested from Fund for the Republic for State Organizations		$ 424,554.30

EXHIBIT III

Breakdown of proposed individual state budgets

First year

State Secretary		$ 6,000.00	
Clerical assistance		2,500.00	
Social Security		170.00	
Travel		1,800.00	
Office			
Rent	$ 1,000.		
Furniture & equpt,	500.		
Supplies	400.		
Communications	600.	2,500.00	
Total budget first year			$ 12,970.00

Subsequent years each

State Secretary		$ 6,000.00	
Clerical assistance		2,500.00	
Social Security		180.00	
Travel		1,800.00	
Office			
Rent	$ 1,000.		
Communications	600.		
Supplies	300.	1,900.00	
Budget for each of subsequent years			$ 12,370.00

Proposed budget for Associate Secretaries to be shared by State Organizations
(3 secretaries to be shared by 7 states)

Budget for each year

Associate secretary	$ 6,000.00
Social Security	120.00
Travel	2,000.00
Communications	300.00
Total budget per year for Associate Secretaries	$8,420.00

EXHIBIT IV

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR EACH OF 6 STATES HAVING 4 YEAR PROGRAMS

ALABAMA

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty.	4,210.00	
		17,180.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
4th year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty.	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
Total budget for Alabama - 4 years		$ 66,920.00

GEORGIA

Same budget as Alabama for four year period $ 66,920.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

Same budget as Alabama for four year period $ 66,920.00

MISSISSIPPI

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,777.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third Cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
4th year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
Total budget for Mississippi for 4 years		$ 61,119.00

LOUISIANA

Same budget as Mississippi for four years $ 61,119.00

TENNESSEE

1st year - State Organization	$ 12,970.00
2nd year - State Organization	12,370.00
3rd year - State Organization	12,370.00
4th year - State Organization	12,370.00
Total budget for Tennessee for 4 years	$ 50,080.00

EXHIBIT VI

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR CENTRAL OFFICE

Budget for 1st year		
Executive Director and Associate	$ 18,000.00	
Assistant Director	7,000.00	
Program Director	7,000.00	
In Charge Women's Work	6,000.00	
Secretary-Treasurer	5,000.00	
Research Assistant	4,500.00	
Clerical Assistance	10,000.00	
Social Security	1,200.00	
Rent	2,000.00	
Communications	2,500.00	
Supplies	1,000.00	
Travel	6,000.00	
Publications and printing	8,000.00	
Audit	400.00	
Books, subscriptions and information aids	250.00	
Miscellaneous	200.00	
Total budget 1st year		$ 79,050.00
Budget for 2nd year		
Same as first year		79,050.00
Budget for 3rd year		
Same as first year		79,050.00
Budget for 4th year		
Same as first year but less Program Director at $7,000.00		72,050.00
Total Budget for Central Organization		$ 309,655.00
Proposed distribution of finance		
Central Office to raise in first year	$ 27,000.00	
Central Office to raise in second year	45,000.00	
Central Office to raise in third year	55,000.00	
Central Office to raise in fourth year	67,000.00	
Total to be raised by Central Office		$ 194,000.00
Amount requested from Fund for the Republic for Central Organization		$ 115,655.00
Less 5% for Lapses		5,782.75
Net amount requested from Fund for the Republic for Central Organization		$ 109,872.25

EXHIBIT V

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR EACH OF 6 STATES HAVING 3 YEAR PROGRAMS

KENTUCKY			
1st year			
State Organization		$ 12,970.00	
2nd year			
State Organization		12,370.00	
3rd year			
State Organization		12,370.00	
Total budget for Kentucky for 3 years			$ 37,710.00
VIRGINIA			
Same budget as Kentucky for three year period			$ 37,710.00
TEXAS			
Same budget as Kentucky for three year period			$ 37,710.00
FLORIDA			
Same budget as Kentucky for three year period			$ 37,710.00
NORTH CAROLINA			
1st year			
State Organization	12,970.00		
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00		
			$ 17,180.00
2nd year			
State Organization	12,370.00		
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00		
			16,580.00
3rd year			
State Organization	12,370.00		
Half cost Assoc. Secty	4,210.00		
			16,580.00
Total budget for North Carolina for 3 years			$ 50,304.00
ARKANSAS			
1st year			
State Organization		$ 12,970.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.		2,807.00	
			$ 15,777.00
2nd year			
State Organization		12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.		2,807.00	
			15,114.00
3rd year			
State Organization		12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.		2,807.00	
			15,114.00
Total budget for Arkansas for 3 years			$ 46,005.00

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Main Draft

It had been the earnest hope of this organization and the Fund for the Republic that the grant of April 2, 1954 would enable the Council to make such substantial progress in three and a half years that it could then stand alone. The grant expires on October 1, 1957. It is quite evident that on that date our task will be far from complete and that we shall not then be able to function effectively upon resources obtainable in the South. We must, of necessity, begin to plan for the period after October 1, 1957.

We are sure that neither we nor the Fund had correctly gauged the extent or nature of the forces which we would encounter in persuading the South to follow an honorable course in complying with law. As Southerners, we are humiliated to indicate, however inadequately, some of the factors which make up this opposition.

(Here, in a paragraph or two, summarize Harold's excellent article in Annals, which I do not have before me.)

The existence of this truly formidable hostility to everything for which the Southern Regional Council stands postpones the date when it may relax its efforts. More, it has tightened Southern purse strings. The awesome pressure of public opinion makes many Southerners indisposed or afraid to contribute to any liberal cause. Hence, we must look beyond the region for help. Hence, since you know us and enjoy a partnership with us in a common enterprise, we turn again to you.

gsm think poor idea.

The State Organizations

We are sure you agree with us that the general plan of a well staffed central office and functioning state units is the correct one.

The state units idea permits each state to develop its own leadership; to make plans and programs adapted to local situations and needs; to acquire a feeling of responsibility for improving conditions and to discover technical skill in the area of human relations.

We look forward to the time when each of the state governments will maintain its own department of human relations. That day will be advanced as non-official organizations demonstrate their value. When that day arrives the State departments will function more efficiently because of the accumulated non-official experience and because of availability of trained personnel.

As you are aware we have heretofore, with minor exceptions, dealt with all states upon exactly the same basis. That was necessary in this initial period. For the future, however, we believe it would be advisable to follow a more flexible course, letting our grants to the states be determined by special circumstances, such as need, prior performance, adequacy of program and personnel.

It is our condidered view that $_____ per year to be granted by S.R.C. to the states is required.

THE CENTRAL OFFICE

We have carefully considered the staff to be maintained and services to be rendered by the central office in order to achieve maximum results. Our conclusion is that the following items would make a proper annual budget for the central office:

(Here insert figures finally agreed upon)

Of that total, we feel that we may prudently expect revenue from contributions, memberships, sale of literature, etc. in amount of $_____ per year, leaving a balance of $_____ per year which we ask the Fund to supply.

It should be stated that, of course, our grants to the states will be conditioned upon their raising funds in amounts to be determined by us.

PERIOD OF THE GRANT

It seems quite evident that a time of three years beginning October 1, 1957, is the minimum period for which we should plan. Adequate staffs can hardly be secured for a shorter period. And certainly there will be crucial need for services of this organization for that term.

So our request is for a grant as follows:

For state organizations:

$_____ a year for 3 years ... $_____

For central office:

$_____ a year for 3 years ... $_____

Total ... $_____

We are exceedingly grateful for the rich and rewarding contribution which the Fund for the Republic has made to the support of equal protection of the laws in the South. It is our great regret that three and a half years were not enough to do the job. Neither you nor we will wish to leave the job half done.

Sincerely,

A THREE-YEAR REVIEW:

FOREWORD

In its application of February 1953 to the Ford Foundation for its operating grant, the Fund for the Republic outlined its purposes and intended program. Since it was on this statement that the grant was made, it constitutes in a sense a charter for the Fund's subsequent activities.

The statement proposed two projects to be undertaken immediately:

> "a clear statement in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty,' and
>
> "research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions."

The statement further outlined five "areas on which, at least for the immediate future, the attention of the Fund should be concentrated" and five other "possible subjects for consideration." At least some exploration or work has been done in each of these ten areas, which are:

1. restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom;
2. due process and equal protection of the laws;
3. the protection of the rights of minorities;
4. censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups;
5. principle and application of guilt by association;
6. the scope and procedure of Congressional investigations;
7. investigation of the loyalty of government employees;
8. barriers to immigration and emigration;
9. freedom of access to information;
10. national loyalty of international civil servants.

Experience has shown, however, that this listing does not offer a clear or convenient means of classification. The areas are frequently overlapping. For example, one proposed area was stated as "the principle and application of guilt by association," which seems clearly a part of another, stated as "due process and equal protection of the laws," and central to several more, including "blacklisting activities by private groups," "investigations of the loyalty of government employees" and "barriers to immigration and emigration."

The Officers suggest that a better picture of the Fund's aims and performance can be obtained by grouping its activities into five categories. These will account for everything the Fund has done or may wish to do. They are not wholly exclusive; certain grants and projects fall as logically in one category as another. The five categories follow:

I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

These categories are expressive of what the Fund is doing and why it is doing it. It is studying American Communism in order to determine its influence, direct or indirect, on civil liberties. The Fund is interested in the extent to which, if at all, American Communists and Communism may necessitate curtailment of previously accepted freedoms. The Fund's work in race relations involves issues of due process, yet is primarily directed toward establishing equality of opportunity -- the principle that no man should suffer educational, economic, health or housing disabilities because of race or color. Studies of loyalty-security programs, Congressional investigative procedure, and blacklisting in the entertainment industries have been undertaken in order to secure justice for the <u>individual</u> in the face of a hostile community. The Fund's activities in regard to postal censorship, freedom to read, press performance and so on have, on the other hand, been directed toward securing the <u>community's</u> right to have all opinions expressed and debated so that

public policy will be soundly informed and truth will have a chance to prevail.

It should be noted that the final category includes "American Legacy" projects, e.g., those devoted to distributing material about the Bill of Rights, or to education in the fundamental principles of liberty. Despite much effort and study, it has thus far proved impossible to reduce the "American Legacy" project to a great many concrete suggestions. The Officers continue to believe that something of what was meant in the original "American Legacy" idea may be achieved by the various general educational and awards programs. It is for this reason that the "Legacy" programs are grouped in Category V.

The way grants and projects have been re-arranged into Categories I-V is shown in the Table of Contents. The cut-off date for this review is March 31, 1956.

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I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions.

Survey of Attitudes Toward Communism and Civil Liberties

Board Action:	$185,500 appropriated at the June 16, 1953 Board meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$185,500
Total Amount Spent:	$164,865. Balance of $20,635 reverted to general funds at the March 22, 1956 Board meeting.

From the outset the Board regarded it as self-evident that domestic Communism and fear of U. S. Communists were major factors affecting civil liberties. Special committees of the Board were appointed to consider what the Fund might best do about this situation. Early in their deliberations these committees discovered that there was little data about many aspects of domestic Communism on which they could rely.

In no area was this lack of information so clear as in the area of public opinion. While it appeared that most Americans feared and distrusted all things Communist and Communist-tinted, no one had any answer as to the precise extent and depth of this feeling. It also appeared that many civil liberties were meanwhile being violated in the name of anti-communism. The Board decided it needed to know what Americans knew about Communism and civil liberties, and how they felt about these topics. The Board commissioned the most thorough-going "single-subject" survey undertaken up to that point and put it in the hands of Prof. Samuel A. Stouffer, of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard.

A sample of almost 5,000 people was taken by the Gallup organization and the National Opinion Research Center, working together under Prof. Stouffer's guidance. This polling group administered a questionnaire that had been formulated by Prof. Stouffer, aided by an advisory committee headed by Frank Stanton, President of CBS. Other members were Porter R. Chandler, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl, New York, N. Y.; Roscoe Drummond, Washington Bureau, New York Herald Tribune; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; Alexander F. Leighton, Cornell University; and Logan Wilson, University of Texas.

Survey of Attitudes Toward Communism and Civil Liberties

Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties was published by Doubleday & Company in April, 1955. It was widely reviewed both in the public and technical press. The main findings were summarized in a series that appeared in LOOK Magazine under Prof. Stouffer's byline. This series appeared simultaneously with book publication, and the Fund and the publisher split the fee paid by LOOK for first magazine rights.

Current events served to enhance popular interest in Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties. In order to take advantage of all possibilities a publicity agent was temporarily employed to assist the promotion department of Doubleday in bringing the volume before the public. Prof. Stouffer was most cooperative throughout, and responded graciously to the requests for speeches and radio and TV appearances. He took part in many seminars inspired by the book.

Citations from the book continue to be found both here and abroad in documents ranging from judicial decisions to essays on the Welfare State. Journals devoted to sociological and related research have commented extensively both on the validity of the Stouffer data and on the methods used for obtaining it.

In his introduction to the book Prof. Stouffer invited students interested in U. S. opinion in early 1955 to make use of the thousand of IBM cards on which his data are recorded. The cards are stored near Prof. Stouffer's office in Cambridge, where a number of students have already availed themselves of his invitation.

I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions

Study of the Communist Record

Board Action:	$12, 500 authorized at the June 16, 1953 Board Meeting, for planning.
	$37, 000 authorized at the November 18, 1953 Board Meeting, for preparation of the Bibliography, Digest and microfilm collection.
	$5, 000 additional appropriation authorized at the June 30, 1954 Board Meeting.
	$7, 500 additional appropriation authorized at the September 14, 1954 Board Meeting.
	$2, 500 authorized at the February 17, 1955 Board Meeting.
	$2, 382 authorized at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$66, 882

The Board's Committee on the Study of the Internal Communist Menace recommended as the second phase of that study the compilation of the public record of Communism in this country. Professor Arthur Sutherland of Harvard Law School agreed to take major responsibility for a bibliography of American Communism, and a digest of the leading cases, important statutes and committee reports, together with a microfilm collection of the complete record of important Communist trials. Professor Sutherland was assisted by a committee including Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell, Father Joseph N. Snee, of Georgetown Law School, and Professor Charles Fairman, of Washington University. Charles E. Corker, of Stanford Law School, was selected as the staff director.

The Digest and Bibliography volumes were completed in February 1955. Fifteen hundred copies of each volume have since been distributed

Study of the Communist Record (continued)

to libraries, research centers and interested organizations and individuals. Nine sets of the microfilmed records of important trials were placed in large research libraries across the country.

Since the original printing of the Digest and Bibliography volumes was exhausted, the Fund has received an average of ten requests a week from libraries and other organizations not included in the first distribution. At the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting the Board authorized an appropriation of $25,000 to Professor Rossiter's Studies of Communist Influence for the preparation of a revised version of the Bibliography. Professor Joel Seidman, of the University of Chicago, has been retained for this job. No plans have yet been made for reprinting or supplementing the Digest volume.

I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions.

Study of Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society

Board Action:	$250,000 authorized at the November 18, 1953 Board Meeting;
	$50,000 at the May 19, 1955 Meeting, "to carry the project up to the point of publication";
	$25,000 at the March 22, 1956 Meeting, for revision of the Bibliography of the Communist Problem in the U. S.
Total Amount Allocated:	$325,000
Unexpended Balance:	$189,946

In February, 1953 the Directors stated that one of the Fund's purposes would be to support "research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions."

In November, 1953 the Directors authorized a study of "Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society," with an appropriation of $250,000. Later, in June, 1954, it was suggested that the project might be an analysis of "Communist espionage, infiltration and indoctrination methods" together with a study of the methods used to resist them. Emphasis was to be placed on such activities in labor, education, the churches, etc.

In August, 1954, Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell, was appointed director of the project after a number of conferences with the Officers on the precise aim and scope of the project. Professor Rossiter assembled a group of scholars to prepare 12 (or perhaps two or three more) books on Communist influence, past and present, in the United States. Arrangements were made with Harcourt, Brace and Company to publish most of these books; contracts were signed with the Viking Press and the Beacon Press to publish two of them.

Study of Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society - (cont'd)

The scholars and specialists chosen for specific fields of enquiry have been provided with whatever assistance they need.

William M. Goldsmith, Mr. Rossiter's assistant, set up a project office in New York, where central files and library facilities are maintained. Professor Rossiter, who retains his office in Ithaca, supervises periodic conferences in New York. These meetings give project members an opportunity to exchange information, opinions, advice, knowledge of sources, etc.

Three of the original authors have resigned from the project for personal reasons: Donald D. Egbert of Princeton, who was to write on "Communism and Art"; Paul Carter, who was to co-author "Communism and Religion"; and Donald Fleming, whose field was "Communism and Science". After their resignations, it was decided to drop the study on "Communism and Art" temporarily. Ralph L. Roy is continuing the study of "Communism and Religion"; and several members of the project agreed to deal with part of the study on "Communism and Science" in their own undertakings.

All the authors have now started to work on their projects. The manuscript of the first of three volumes on the History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-45) has been completed, and the book will be published next February. Mr. Rossiter points out that the "complexity and scope of the study, however, should not be lost sight of in anticipation of early deadlines. The authors are dealing with a thirty-five year period of history where very little, if any primary research has been done. It should also be kept in mind that this movement touched so many areas and aspects of American life that to assemble the record and carefully evaluate its significance is an overwhelming task."

Following is the list of projected books and their authors:

History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945): Theodore Draper

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956): David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University

Study of Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society - (cont'd)

Communism in the Labor Movement: Daniel Bell, Fortune

Communism and Religion: Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary

Communism in Government: Earl Latham, Amherst College

Communism and Education: Robert Iversen, Drake University

Communism and Literature: Daniel Aaron, Smith College

Communism and the Mass Media: Moshe Decter

Communism and the Social Structure: Nathan Glazer

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups: John Roche, Haverford College

In preparing their books, the project members have been encouraged to pursue every possible source of information. This has brought them into contact with a wide variety of persons -- Communists, ex-Communists, crypto-Communists, anti-Communists and anyone else who had information to give.

Professor Rossiter sums up the project this way:

> "We are not seeking espionage 'secrets' nor are we in any sense competing with any legally constituted authority. We are scholars plying our trade, just as journalists or Senate investigators ply their trades, in the only way we know how to ply it: by following every source as far back as we can trace it."

In March, 1956, Mr. Rossiter assumed responsibility for a revision of the Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States (See separate memorandum).

I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions.

Stanford University - Analysis of Testimony of Key Witnesses

Board Action: $25,000 appropriated at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $25,000

Following the Board's action, the Officers concluded arrangements with Stanford University Law School for a grant to undertake an analysis of the testimony of key witnesses in proceedings relating to Communist activities in the United States. The study was initiated in the fall of 1955 by Prof. Herbert L. Packer, of the Stanford Law School faculty.

Mr. Packer reports that the first phase of his study has not yet been completed. He is collecting materials containing the testimony of the witnesses to be studied, including the records of legislative hearings, administrative proceedings and judicial trials in which the witnesses have testified. He reports that the second phase of the study, close textual analysis of the materials so assembled,has also been started under his direction, and should be in full swing this summer.

I. To Study the Internal Communist Menace and Its Effect on Our Institutions.

Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church - Study of Christianity and Communism

Board Action:	$25,000 granted at the December 2, 1955 Board Meeting, to be divided equally between this study and the study of Social Action described under Section IV.
Total Amount Allocated:	$12,500

In December, 1955 the Fund approved a grant of $25,000 to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church to assist in the financing of two studies: (1) The Challenge of Communism to Christianity; and (2) Social Thought and Action in the Methodist Church. The second study to which the balance of the grant has been applied is described more fully under Section IV.

Negotiations have been underway for the past few months to place the study of the Challenge of Communism to Christiantiy at the University of Chicago or Northwestern University. It now appears that the project will be centered at Northwestern University.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee

Board Action:	$55,000 granted at June 16, 1953 Board Meeting.
	$86,500 granted at June 30, 1954 Board Meeting (for two-year period).
	$35,000 granted at March 22, 1956 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$176,500

The Fund has provided financial assistance to the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee for the past two years. The Board recently approved a renewal to carry some of the projects through September, 1957. Projects financed by the Fund have included educational work on school desegregation in the District of Columbia (now completed), job opportunities work in Greensboro, N. C., and Dallas, and partial support of the Southwestern Indian program, including educational work on reservations and Indian centers in metropolitan areas.

A recent survey of the AFSC Community Relations Program, prepared by a sociologist under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, emphasizes that the success of particular projects has depended largely on the personalities of the AFSC staff engaged in them. The Washington, D. C. project has been outstanding. Irene Osborne, who worked on that project for two years, is now putting her experience to use in lecturing and consulting in the border states. She has recently completed a leave of absence with the Southern Regional Council. Miss Osborne also wrote a pamphlet on desegregation in the District of Columbia, of which the AFSC has distributed 15,000 copies.

In the job opportunities program in Greensboro, progress has been made in opening up employment for Negroes in several places, including a nearby plant of Western Electric and a local department store. This program includes work with a citizens' committee in Greensville, Tennessee, of which the head of the local Chamber of Commerce is a member. The citizens' committee visits industries where no Negroes are employed, and presents the case for employment on merit. The Greensboro office also conducts a vocational guidance program to acquaint qualified Negroes with job openings.

Community Relations Program (continued)

The job opportunities program in Dallas got off to a slow start in 1953, but since the appointment of a Negro woman director in 1954, the program has made good progress. Placements have been made in local plants and stores. Conferences have been held with businessmen, and clinics have been conducted to help Negroes obtain clerical positions.

The Dallas program has obtained enthusiastic backing in the community. Plans are now being made by local businessmen, church leaders and others to take over the financing of the program when the Fund's contributions are discontinued this fall. More than two-thirds of the support for the program has been obtained already from local sources.

The AFSC work with American Indians received special commendation in the Russell Sage Foundation survey. Robert Johnson, the author, stated "AFSC's emphasis on consulting with and learning from Indians will be a benefit that the latter group will always solicit and appreciate."

Fund support has amounted to a small portion of the annual cost of AFSC work with Indians. Nevertheless, it has made possible a "coordinator" for the program. Money from the Fund has provided experts to help reservation Indians in developing their own industries. In the main, however, Fund grants have gone to help Indians adjust to the white society into which they are moving more and more rapidly as a result of federal "termination" policies. — omit?

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Southern Regional Council

Board Action:	$5,000 granted January 28, 1954; $240,000 April 1, 1954; $150,000 September 15, 1955; $50,000 February 15, 1956.
Total Amount Allocated:	$445,000
Commitment:	Up to $110,000 for year beginning October, 1956.

The Southern Regional Council received an initial grant of $5,000 for the preparation and distribution of a popular condensation of the Ashmore Report, The Negro and the Schools.

The Council received grants of $240,000 and $150,000 for support of programs in race relations throughout the South. The grant of $240,000 beginning April 1, 1954, was made with the understanding that the Fund would consider future grants, on the basis of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources. The commitments were not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956, and not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. The grant carried with it the stipulation that there would be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Southern Regional Council after September 30, 1957. The Council has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs in twelve states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Headquarters and state groups have centered their efforts on the school integration problem. The basic method is bringing white and Negro leaders together to study school problems in their own communities in the light of the Supreme Court decision, and helping community groups to get the facts.

The Atlanta Office has provided counsel and guidance to the state boards and staff through a field staff, literature (notably the magazine New South);conferences for state boards and staff, and recently by offering the services of a panel of experienced Negro and white social science consultants.

Southern Regional Council (continued)

The Council has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each state group will be able to stand on its own feet financially when Fund support is terminated. The Council believes that in time Southern states will establish official commissions on human relations supported by tax funds and that its state organizations may provide the base for such commissions. (The Southern Assembly, held in April in Mississippi under the auspices of the American Assembly, recommended that southern states establish state commissions on human relations.)

George Mitchell's April report gives many illustrations of how headquarters activities have aided the building of strong state organizations.

By the end of the first 18-month grant period all twelve states had organized, hired staff, and raised the quotas of matching funds set by the Southern Regional Council. Ten states have white and Negro co-directors; Kentucky and Tennessee are using panels of consultants to local communities. George Mitchell's various reports have described such state activities as the Virginia organization's widely discussed alternate plan to the Gray Commission's recommendations; Arkansas' handling of the difficulties in Hoxie; South Carolina's careful reporting of economic reprisals; Alabama's activities in seeking to conciliate the Montgomery bus protest and in rallying the moderates in Tuscaloosa.

Mr. Loescher's over-all impressions after a trip through the South, as given in the February Progress Report to the Board, provide a summary of the results of two years of Fund support:

1. The Southern Regional Council program is now well under way.

2. The staff, on the whole, is young, vigorous and learning fast.

3. The state affiliates are speaking out in most states, with church support.

4. Attention is being given to the difficult problem of fund raising.

5. The Council and affiliates are becoming rallying points for white people of good-will while retaining the confidence of Negro leadership.

Southern Regional Council (continued)

In February, 1956, the Council received a Fund grant of $50,000 for a nine-month fact-finding program to obtain authentic information and analyses of developments in southern race relations. The grant provides funds for part-time investigators and for coordinating, processing, and distributing their findings. Proposed activities include:

1. A survey of registration, voting and disenfranchisement techniques;

2. Documented analyses of the leadership and aims of southern "resistance" movements;

3. Methods of economic pressure and reprisals.

Part of the grant is being used for an inventory of instances of successful desegregation, for use in a possible joint publication with the inventory of desegregation in the 31 Northern and Western states being undertaken by David Loth, under a fellowship from the Fund.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Board Action: $10,000 granted by the Board on June 30, 1954, and $8,000 on May 18, 1955.

Total Amount Allocated: $18,000

The Catholic Interracial Council has received two grants from the Fund for educational programs to reduce racial tension and discord in Chicago, particularly in Trumbull Park, scene of tension and violence since August, 1953, when the first Negro family moved into an all-white housing project.

With the support and encouragement of the Fund, the Council has greatly expanded its program and influence. Its budget has grown from about $7,000 in 1953 to $22,000 in 1954 (including $10,000 from the Fund), to $27,000 in 1955 (including $8,000 from the Fund). The Council is aiming for a budget of $40,000 in 1956.

The Council has been deeply concerned about the situation in Trumbull Park. Board and staff have visited regularly the Negro families in the project, worked closely with the Catholic pastor and his assistants, distributed thousands of pieces of literature, conferred four times with Cardinal Stritch about Trumbull Park, held workshops for students and teachers in the surrounding area, established a Legal Committee to assist Negroes who were victims of attacks and spent weeks in court with a Negro tenant, exposed the hate groups active in this area, gave Catholic leaders of Chicago the facts, and persuaded the Catholic War Veterans to issue a statement repudiating the efforts of the South Deering Association and the South Deering Bulletin. Last year 1,000 hours of staff time were devoted solely to Trumbull Park.

Ninety-three policemen are still stationed in the Trumbull Park area. Homer Jack, former director of the Chicago Council Against Discrimination and now minister of the Evanston Unitarian Church, says that only the Catholic Interracial Council and the American Friends Service Committee have tried to do what one expects of religious bodies in such a situation.

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago (continued)

This April the Council's faculty committee made a tour of Trumbull Park Homes. Three buses were chartered to take priests, brothers and sisters out to the area. Members of the committee called upon Negro families in the project and later attended special services with them in St. Kevin's Church.

The Council's city-wide program is reaching into all sections of Chicago and many suburban areas. Seven four-week workshops, under Dr. Paul Mundy of Loyola University and Mr. Hans Adler of the Anti-Defamation League, have been held in educational institutes in potential tension areas.

A conference on "Exploring the role of the Laity in promoting better human relations in a Democracy" was held this April. The following organizations participated: Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies, Cana Conference, Catholic Guild of the Blind, Catholic Labor Alliance, Catholic University Club, Catholic War Veterans of Illinois, Christian Family Movement, Friendship House, Sodality of Our Lady, Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Students. The Council plans to establish an advisory committee of these organizations.

The West Suburban Unit, embracing some ten communities, has held three meetings and will sponsor its first official program under its own leadership in June.

The Council in April also announced the establishment of the Evanston unit of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America

Board Action:	$10,000 appropriated at the November 18, 1954 Board Meeting;
	$750 at the January 6, 1956 Meeting; and
	$30,000 at the March 22, 1956 Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$40,750

The first grant from the Fund was designed to help communities in Maryland, Delaware and West Virginia with the problems of school integration. The grants are administered by the Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches and by the West Virginia Council of Churches.

These projects were initiated to deal with situations like those that developed in Milford, Delaware, and elsewhere, and to provide a service in states not covered by the Southern Regional Council. The program was delayed by the National Council's difficulties in convincing the state councils of the desirability of setting up programs; the need to raise matching funds; and problems of recruiting personnel.

The Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches has authorized its executive director to proceed with six regional conferences on desegregation of the public schools. The director has been ill since February 1, 1956, but is expected to return to work by April 30.

The West Virginia Council of Churches employed a part-time director for its project on December 1, 1955. Twenty white and Negro leaders have agreed to serve as consultants in helping communities throughout the state bring about integration in schools, churches and other fields in a "peaceful Christian way". The project was recently written up in the Christian Science Monitor as the first of its kind sponsored by church groups.

An orientation conference was held in February at which the State Superintendent of Schools of West Virginia was one of the speakers.

The Department received a small grant from the Fund in January of 1956 to underwrite the cost of a conference on problems of relief, placement and relocation arising out of the resistance movement to school integration in the South. Fifty-six persons from religious, welfare and intergroup relations organizations

National Council of the Churches of Christ (continued)

met in Washington on February 17, 1956, at the Statler Hotel. Reports were given by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council and Alfred Kramer of the National Council of Churches. The Conference authorized Dr. J. Oscar Lee of the National Council to appoint a Strategy Committee and a Relief Committee, and to call another conference this spring.

The March, 1956 grant was for enlarged educational work in the South and administrative assistance in the national office. The Department plans to place a field director to work with southern denominations, maintain liaison between the southern churches and those located in other regions of the country, counsel with pastors and church boards in emergency situations, determine the facts about ministers, individuals and families in need because of social and economic pressure, and distribute pertinent literature regularly to ministers and local church leaders.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Public Education Association

Board Action: $10,000 appropriated at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $10,000

At the request of the President of the New York City Board of Education, the Public Education Association approached the Fund for a grant to meet the cost of a study of the status of Puerto Rican and Negro children in the city's public schools. The grant was made in May, 1955 and the study was conducted under the supervision of a PEA Trustees Committee which contracted for the technical services of the New York University Research Center on Human Relations.

The study was completed and a report published in August, 1955. In general, it concluded that segregated housing patterns in the city were almost entirely responsible for the existence of all-Negro or predominantly non-white schools. With one or two possible exceptions, there was no indication that school district lines were being drawn to prevent integration.

The study was given nationwide attention and distribution. Five thousand copies were distributed to schools, libraries, civic associations, churches, pamphlet services and individuals. Release of the report received extensive press attention, and the content of the report was carried in U. S. News and World Report.

The New York City Board of Education accepted the report and appointed a Committee on Integration to give it detailed examination. Subsequently, the Committee set up six subcommittees to implement the recommendations of the report in the following areas: school zoning, educational standards and curriculum, guidance and placement, personnel, community relations and physical plant. The Superintendent of Schools has conducted extensive studies of school zoning problems as a result of the PEA report, and several school districts have been redrawn.

The PEA study has stimulated a number of other northern cities to consider undertaking similar investigation of the problems of integration in their public schools.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Alianza de Hispano-Americana

Board Action:	$50,000 was appropriated at the September 15, 1955 Board Meeting
Total Allocated:	$50,000

Since the 1880's the Alianza de Hispano-Americana has been a fraternal organization of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. Until 1953 it had made no attempt to deal with civil rights problems of its members. Then, under a new president, Ralph Estrada, it established a Civil Rights Department. This Department seeks through its 225 Lodges to educate Alianza members in their rights as Americans; to bring influence to bear on civic institutions guilty of unfair treatment of Americans of Mexican descent; and to carry representative cases involving Mexican-Americans through the courts.

The Fund's grant to the Alianza was to be matched by the Alianza, which derives most of its income from an insurance program for its members. The laws under which Alianza is tax-exempt were not suitable for activities of the kind undertaken by the Civil Rights Department. The Alianza set up a new subsidiary corporation, with a charter similar to that of the NAACP, and since January, 1956, its application for tax-exemption has been pending. The Fund's grant to the Alianza can be made only after this tax-exemption has been awarded.

Meanwhile, with little money for the purpose, the Alianza has participated in several legal cases with some success, and has carried on a campaign for the education of its members.

The principal personnel of the Alianza are: Ralph Estrada, President, Antonio Ibarra Sanchez, Vice-President, Lupe C. Perez, Secretary-Treasurer, and Alfred Marquez, General Counsellor. The Directors are Ramon Polin, J. M. Romero, Antonio R. Fuentes, Antonio A. Sotelo, Francisco L. Trevino, Fructuoso L. Meza, and Alberto R. Mayer. Ralph Guzman is Director of the Civil Rights Department.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church

Board Action:	$25,000 was granted by the Board on September 15, 1955
Total Amount Allocated:	$25,000

The Board received a grant from the Fund for six interracial conferences designed to provide an interracial fellowship to discuss relevant data, and to adopt plans for changing population and social patterns.

One conference was held in Milwaukee in January under the sponsorship of Bishops Matthew W. Clair, Jr., and H. Clifford Northcott. Population trends, housing, education, recreation, welfare facilities and church integration were discussed. Officials of state, municipal and private intergroup relations agencies were among the participants.

Other conferences are scheduled for Kansas City, Louisville, Atlanta, Detroit, New York, Texas, New Orleans, and Indianapolis. An interracial camp in San Antonio, and another in Atlanta, will be held this summer for college students.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention

Board Action: $15,000 was appropriated by the Board on September 15, 1955

Total Amount Allocated: $15,000

The Commission has not yet received its grant. There was a lengthy delay while documentation on tax exemption was obtained. The necessary ruling was obtained in April. However, Dr. A. C. Miller, executive director of the Commission reports that his Executive Committee prefers to wait until after the annual Southern Baptist Convention in May before forwarding the documentation and requesting payment of the grant. Dr. Miller states, in part, "it is our feeling that we can get greater values from the use of the Fund's money after this delay than we could have by trying to get something done before this time."

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Commission on Race and Housing

Board Action:	$100,000 was appropriated by the Board on February 17, 1955, and an additional appropriation of $135,000 was made on September 15, 1955.
Total Amount Allocated:	$235,000
Unexpended Balance:	$138,498

The Commission was established to conduct a nationwide study of the housing of minority groups. The housing situation of racial minorities, especially of Negroes, was recognized as a focus of inter-racial tension, manifested in pressures and counter-pressures, and leading at times to open conflict.

The Commission, composed of seventeen industrialists, educators and professional leaders, with President Earl B. Schwulst of the Bowery Savings Bank as its chairman and Professor Davis McEntire of the University of California School of Social Welfare as research director, held its first meeting on June 28, 1955. The Commission approved a plan of study that places special emphasis on the housing difficulties of Negroes, of Mexicans in Texas and the Southwest, of Orientals in California, and of Puerto Ricans in New York City. The Commission expects to report at the end of 1956.

At its second meeting on February 17, 1956, the Commission considered an Interim Research Report and list of research projects submitted by the Research Director, a financial report and budget, the appointment of a research advisory committee and the desirability of press releases on research results prior to completion of the final report.

The Commission authorized the Chairman to appoint a research advisory committee of three Commission members and three professionals in the field of race and housing. The following have agreed to serve on this committee from the Commission: Gordon W. Allport, Charles S. Johnson, and R. Stewart Rauch, Jr. The professional members are: Stuart W. Cook, Robert Merton, and Robert C. Weaver. (Mr. Schwulst is an ex-officio member of the committee.)

Commission on Race and Housing (continued)

The Commission decided to postpone until its next meeting on June 28, 1956, a decision on the desirability of making public results of any of the research prior to the completion of the Final report.

A report on "Status of Research and Budget, March 15, 1956," gives the current status of activities at the Research Director's office in Berkeley, California, and research projects supported by grants, including budget figures. Copies of this report, which describes commitments at $221,000 of the appropriation of $235,000, will be available at the May 16th Board meeting.

The members of the Commission are: Gordon W. Allport, Elliott V. Bell, Laird Bell, Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, Henry Dreyfuss, Peter Grimm, Charles S. Johnson, Charles Keller, Jr., Clark Kerr, Philip M. Klutznick, Henry R. Luce, Stanley Marcus, Ward Melville, Francis T. P. Plimpton, R. Steward Rauch, Jr., Earl B. Schwulst, Robert R. Taylor.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Commission on Rights and Liberties of American Indians

Board Action:	$100,000 was authorized at the September 15, 1955 Board meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$100,000

The Commission on Rights and Liberties of American Indians has not yet been established. A number of persons thought by the Officers and members of the Board to be qualified to act as chairman for the Commission have been approached, but have declined to serve because of other commitments.

As was reported at the February 1956 meeting of the Board, the Brookings Institution has considered accepting a grant from the Fund, which it would use with money from other sources to make a thorough study of the situation of Indians today. The Institution has now concluded that it may sometime, perhaps in three or four years, undertake such a study, but that it cannot accept the obligation to begin a study now, because of the press of other activities. The Institution is, however, preparing a "problem paper" as a guide for its future interests in Indian affairs.

The Officers have concluded that they must proceed with establishing an independent Commission, whose reports in any case could be included in the Brookings Institution report. Suitable candidates for Chairman are being interviewed.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Board Action:	$50,000 was appropriated for an award at the Board meeting of September 15, 1955; converted to a grant by action of the Executive Committee October 6, 1955.
Total Amount Allocated:	$50,000

The Legal Defense and Educational Fund received a general purpose grant to support its educational work in defense of the legal rights of the Negro minority. The Legal Defense Fund has concentrated its efforts on educating the Negro community about its rights and legal action in defense of equal rights for Negroes throughout the United States.

A committee of social scientists has been organized to aid the Legal Defense Fund in its educational work: Alfred McClung Lee (Chairman) Brooklyn; Gordon Allport, Harvard; Steward Cook, N.Y.U.; Bingham Dai, Duke; Winston W. Ehrmann, Florida; Noel Gist, Missouri; Kenneth Moreland, Randolph-Macon College; Charles Johnson, Fisk; Theodore Newcomb, Michigan; Arnold Rose, Minnesota, and some 30 other prominent social scientists.

The purpose of the Committee is to aid the development of techniques and ideas which would facilitate implementation of the Supreme Court's school decisions. Interpretations of useful social science materials have been made available to community leaders.

The Committee arranged a Symposium on Desegregation in conjunction with the Fourth Annual Joint Meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The Committee is also getting in touch with a number of southern university social scientists, in the hope of arranging a meeting before the end of the present school year.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Vanderbilt University Law School Race Relations Law Reporter

Board Action: $200,000 granted at the September 15, 1955 Board Meeting of which $100,000 has been paid out.

Total Amount Allocated: $200,000

Discussions with southern lawyers and educators in the summer of 1955 indicated the need for a reporting service dealing with legal problems arising out of the Supreme Court decision in the school desegregation cases. After exploring a number of possibilities, the Fund received an application from Vanderbilt University to establish a bi-monthly publication designed primarily for lawyers (but intended also for interested laymen) which would contain current material on court decisions, statutes, local ordinances and administrative actions in the field of school desegregation. The proposal was later expanded to cover developments in the law in all aspects of race relations throughout the country.

The first issue of the Race Relations Law Reporter, published by the Law School of Vanderbilt University under the editorship of Prof. Paul Sanders, appeared early in 1956, and summarized developments from the date of the school desegregation decisions up to the end of 1955. The issue contained a general article on the concept of "separate but equal", and subsequent issues are expected to contain other articles on such topics as interposition, and on relevant technical questions such as the doctrine of primary jurisdiction.

The initial proposal for the Reporter contemplated a first-year subscription list of approximately 1,000, at the nominal subscription rate of $2 per year. As of April 13, the editor reported that "our paid subscription list is now 3,807". A number of complimentary letters to the editor have been received from lawyers, government officials, and teachers. The editor reports that "no adverse comment has been received subsequent to persons seeing a copy of the first issue. We did receive a half dozen or so adverse comments from persons who have merely seen an announcement of the publication."

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Catholic Committee of the South

Board Action:	$15,000 was appropriated by the Board on December 2, 1955
Total Amount Allocated:	$15,000

The Committee did not receive its grant until February 23, 1956, because of technical difficulties in determining tax-exempt status. The Committee plans to establish from four to seven interracial human relations institutes to study the area of tensions in the South and to publish and distribute their findings.

The Committee has given $2,000 to Spring Hill College in Spring Hill, Alabama, for the first of these institutes, using experts from the South and other parts of the country. Additional institutes are planned in Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky. Literature, in pamphlet form, is to be distributed to persons in states where institutes cannot be held.

Father Shean, director of the Committee, was the subject of a recent column by Murray Kempton in the N. Y. Post, copies of which were distributed to the Directors.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the USA (Northern)

Board Action: $15,000 granted by the Board, December 2, 1955.

Total Amount Allocated: $15,000

The Department received a grant to expand its educational work with its 400,000 members in the South through a program of one and two-day institutes for ministers and laymen, asistance for travel costs of many participants, literature, and a film strip of George Mitchell's famous lecture on southern regions and their social and economic problems.

Facilities, program and leadership have been arranged for the first institute, to be held in Charleston, S. C., on May 9-10.

A second conference is being planned at the University of Oklahoma for October, and a third in November, 1956, or January, 1957, in Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Officers have approved a request from the Department of Social Education to reallocate some funds from the grant to the production of a 26-minute color sound picture, instead of a film strip, of George Mitchell's lecture. The Presbyterian Audio-Visual Education Director will produce this color sound picture at cost, $6,000. The Presbyterians and the Southern Regional Council believe that such a motion picture will be much more effective than a film strip, and will be widely used by other denominations and agencies in the race relations field.

I. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Division of Christian Relations, Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern)

Board Action:	$15,000 was granted by the Board on December 2, 1955
Total Amount Allocated:	$15,000

The Division did not receive its grant until March 2, 1956 because of delays in determining tax-exempt status. The grant is for one-day institutes on "Christianity and Race" for ministers and laymen; for the distribution of materials; for scholarships for ministers and laymen to attend institutes on race relations; and for a film strip that will present the factors that go to make up a Christian community.

Five workshops will be held in May to find a way of improving race relations in the South. They will be held in Jacksonville, Memphis, Dallas, Charlottesville, and Charleston.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

Loyola University, New Orleans

Board Action: $10,000 appropriated at the January 6, 1956 Board Meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $10,000

Loyola University received a grant to finance an educational project in connection with the integration of the parochial schools under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

Father Joseph S. Fichter, S. J., professor of sociology at Loyola University and head of the Commission on Human Rights, a subcommittee of the New Orleans Archdiocesan Committee of the Catholic Committee of the South, is directing the project, which is designed to provide educational materials for Catholic parents, teachers and priests.

In an essay contest which ended on March 1, parents of children attending Catholic schools were asked to answer: "Why is an integrated school better than a segregated school?" The contest was promoted with large ads in the diocesan paper and smaller ads in the daily papers. The ads cost about $200. Prizes totaling $550 were given. The contest is reported to have been the "talk of the town."

A series of forums addressed by speakers competent on various aspects of integration has cost about $1,400 up to March 15. In January, Father James Hoflich, superintendent of Catholic elementary schools in St. Louis, gave two talks to the clergy, reaching all of the priests in the area. He was the featured guest on a radio broadcast, and also appeared on TV.

In February, Dr. S. Ross Taggart, medical expert from Washington, D. C., talked about his studies in social diseases and their connection with integration, and later that month Hulan Jack, Borough President of Manhattan, gave a well-publicized talk on the Negro in public life. In March, Dr. Benjamin Passamanick, Ohio State University psychiatrist, repudiated the notion that differences in mental capacities are racial.

At each public meeting a panel of five or six "local experts" questioned the speaker.

Loyola University, New Orleans (continued)

Plans are under way to edit tape recordings of the forums for half-hour radio programs.

$3,000 has been spent on printing and mailing information to a list of 4,000 persons. The material is clearly written, brief and factual.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

National Urban League

Board Action: $50,000 granted by the Board on February 15, 1956

Total Amount Allocated: $50,000

The National Urban League received a grant for the development of a two-year "Job Opportunities Program" for Negroes in the South. Concentrating on nine southern states and on such industries as tobacco, textiles, steel, electrical equipment, chemicals, petroleum, auto and farm machinery, the League will (1) hold conferences, institutes and interviews with union leaders, (2) make plant-by-plant visits, and (3) confer with personnel heads of northern corporations which maintain or are considering branch plants in the South.

A survey of employment in 259 southern plants, employing 258,807 workers of whom 25,980 are Negroes, is now completed. On April 19 the findings of the survey were reviewed by the League's Commerce and Industry Council with industrial relations officials of the following corporations: Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), American Cyanamid Company, Western Electric Company, General Electric Company, Radio Corporation of America, du Pont Company, American Can Company, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., Babcock & Wilcox, General Cable Corporation, and St. Regis Paper Company.

On June 4 and 5, at Fisk University, Nashville, the League will hold a conference of southern and border-state branches to plan for their participation in the project.

C. Carlton Yeldell, former National CIO Labor Representative with C-A-R-E and United Community Defense Services, has been added to the staff and will be in charge of activities with organized labor. Conferences are being held with Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, and Robert Goodwin, Director of the U. S. Employment Service, to consider ways in which the Service can be helpful in southern states.

Julius A. Thomas, Director of Industrial Relations for the League, will visit southern plants of major corporations during May, following the meeting of the Commerce and Industry Council. Special attention is to be given to new plants that are either under construction or about to begin recruiting workers. A study is being made on the availability of Negro workers in 15 southern states, including the number of Negro high school and college graduates.

II. Equal Protection of the Laws and Equality of Opportunity

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Board Action:	$25,000 granted at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$25,000

United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ

Board Action:	$15,000 granted at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$15,000

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

Board Action:	$30,000 authorized at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$30,000

These three grants have been paid to the grantees. The interracial programs for which our support was furnished are in general similar to those made to other religious organizations.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie its Legal Formulation

American Bar Foundation

Board Action:	$50,000 granted at the December 10, 1952 Board Meeting to finance studies by the Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security of the American Bar Association.
Total Amount Allocated:	$50,000

The Fund's first grant was made to the American Bar Foundation for the work of the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security, under the chairmanship of Whitney North Seymour. The Committee suggested a list of topics that it wished to explore, the first being a study of the procedures used by congressional investigating committees.

The Committee employed the services of two research assistants, Robert A. Collier (now associate counsel to the Commission on Security created by the Humphrey Resolution) and John E. Cribbet, Professor of Law at the University of Illinois. The interviews and historical research conducted by staff and committee members resulted in a 45-page report and an extensive appendix, submitted to the House of Delegates of the ABA at its meeting in August, 1954. The House of Delegates adopted the Committee report, with two changes in the proposed Code of Investigative Procedure. The Report as amended was later distributed by the ABA to members of Congress and others. The Code as finally adopted was also reprinted in the first annual report of the Fund, of which approximately 40,000 copies have been distributed.

This project consumed about $25,000 of the $50,000 original grant. Since the completion of the report, the Committee has explored the possibility of studies on several other topics in the Fund's field of interest, but has not undertaken any further research. Approximately $25,000 of the grant remains unexpended.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Voluntary Defenders Committee Inc.

Board Action:	$35,000 was authorized at the September 10, 1953 Board Meeting, with an additional appropriation of $10,000 available for promotion expenses. $5,000 of this $10,000 granted March 28, 1955.
Total Amount Allocated:	$40,000

The Voluntary Defenders originally asked the Fund for a three-year grant of $200,000 to expand their work with indigent criminal defendants. On the recommendation of the Board's committee on grants-in-aid, the Board approved a one-year grant, with a view to determining the practicality of expanding this service beyond the Boston area to the entire State. The Board approved $35,000 for the first year, and authorized an additional $10,000 for promotion and educational work.

The operation now encompasses several of the counties near Boston, as well as a branch office in Springfield. However, the Fund's grant has been spent sparingly; of the $35,000 over $10,000 remains unspent after more than two years, and only $5,000 of the $10,000 authorized for promotion expenses has been requested.

It now seems that the branch office in Springfield has a reasonable chance of becoming self-sustaining (through inclusion in the Springfield Community Chest). However, the office for Greater Boston is hard-pressed to maintain its operations at the level made possible by our grant. There has been considerable agitation for a state-wide public defender system, which would, if enacted by the legislature, remove the necessity for the Voluntary Defender operation. Reception of the Voluntary Defender operation by lawyers outside Boston has been lukewarm.

On the other hand, the Voluntary Defenders have been able under the leadership of Wilbur Hollingsworth, to provide legal assistance to a much larger number of defendants than would otherwise have been possible. They have also accumulated a mass of statistical information on defense of criminal cases which should be of value to the study now under way, under the Fund's sponsorship, of the National Legal Aid Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. This group may also find some useful material in the experience of the Voluntary Defenders in setting up their operation outside of Boston.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Common Council for American Unity

Board Action:	$15,000 granted at June 30, 1954 Board Meeting to expand protection of legal rights of aliens; $32,500 granted at May 19, 1955 Board Meeting to continue legal work and for an analysis and report on cases handled by the Council.
Total Amount Allocated:	$47,500

The Common Council has been able to expand its legal representation of aliens considerably since the date of the Fund's first grant to the Council. It has handled more than 2000 cases since January of 1953, many of which have arisen under the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act. The great majority of these "cases" do not involve any conflict between the alien and the Immigration Service, but simply the processing of an application for administrative action (e.g., change of status).

With the funds made available by the second grant in May of last year, the Council has been able to proceed with the analysis of these cases. Miss Edith Lowenstein is in charge of the analysis, assisted by two researchers. Part of the Fund's grant has been used to employ the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia to tabulate the significant information in the cases.

The report from Columbia is expected by mid-June; the Council hopes to complete its analysis by next fall. Read Lewis, Executive Director of the Council, summarizes the study as follows:

"Our cases fall into six broad categories: immigration, deportation, nonimmigrant arrivals, status, naturalization and nationality. It is too early, of course, to report findings but our cases will show, quite objectively and without regard to the conflicting claims and criticisms frequently advanced, how some of the provisions of existing law actually work."

This material may be considered roughly analogous to that produced in the Yarmolinsky and Watts Reports.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. - Loyalty-Security Program Study

Board Action:	$25,000 was authorized at the June 30, 1954 Board Meeting for a Commission on Security. $100,000 was authorized at the November 18, 1954 Board Meeting. $50,000 was authorized at the February 17, 1955 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated to the Association of the Bar Study:	$100,000 (The balance of these authorizations went to finance the Loyalty-Security Case Studies and the handbook on security regulations described elsewhere in this review).

After attempts during the summer of 1954 to establish an independent citizens' commission on the Federal Loyalty-Security Program, the Officers made a grant of $100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. in the fall of 1954 for a study by a Special Committee under the chairmanship of Dudley B. Bonsal of the New York bar. The other members of the Committee, which includes members of the Association from other cities, are:

Henry J. Friendly, Harold M. Kennedy (former U. S. District Judge), George Roberts and Whitney North Seymour, all of New York City; Richard Bentley of Chicago; Frederick M. Bradley of Washington, D.C.; Monte M. Lemann of New Orleans; and John O'Melveny of Los Angeles.

The Committee engaged a staff consisting of Professor Elliott L. Cheatham of the Columbia Law School, Director, Professor Jerre S. Williams of the University of Texas Law School, Associate Director, and John R. Miller and John Carey, as consultants. The Committee and the staff have been at work since the summer of 1955. The Committee itself has been extremely active. It has held a series of meetings and has interviewed government officials, private lawyers and students of the security system.

The Committee's Report is expected to be released, in book form, early this summer.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Loyalty-Security Handbook

Board Action: See Association of the Bar of the City of New York - Loyalty-Security Program Study.

Total Amount Allocated: $8,157

In anticipation of the establishment of a Commission on the Study of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program, the Fund requested Professor Ralph S. Brown, Jr. of Yale Law School to prepare a handbook summarizing the existing laws and regulations under the Federal Personnel Security System. Professor Brown prepared this handbook, with the assistance of Miss Sandra Weinstein, a recent graduate of the Yale Law School. 500 copies of the handbook were distributed. In view of the availability of the Bureau of National Affairs Looseleaf Service, described elsewhere, it has not been reprinted.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Case Studies of Loyalty-Security Programs

Board Action:	$25,000 was authorized at the June 30, 1954 Board meeting, for work in Loyalty-Security.
	$35,000 was authorized at the February 17, 1955 Board meeting, to expand the scope of the project.
	$25,000 was authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board meeting, for publication and distribution of the case studies.
Total Amount Allocated:	$85,000

In order to provide factual materials to assist the proposed Commission on the Loyalty-Security Program, the Officers requested Mr. Yarmolinsky, who was then practicing law in Washington, to undertake to collect accounts of a number of cases arising under the various federal personnel security programs. Collection of these cases was begun in December, 1954, by lawyers recruited on a part-time basis from leading law firms in major cities throughout the country. The lawyer-researchers approached the lawyers who had advised or represented employees in proceedings under the various programs, and obtained access to their files, which consisted primarily of the statement of charges, the employee's written response and the transcript of the hearing. These were either summarized or reproduced verbatim in the case reports. No attempt was made to select cases, but all that could be located during the period of the study were collected. In February, 1955, when it had become apparent that more materials were available than had first been supposed, the scope of the study was expanded from 100 to 350 cases, by an additional appropriation.

In July, 1955 a collection of 50 cases, taken from the first group of those to be collected which were available for general circulation (by agreement with the employees) was published by the Bureau of National Affairs. At the time of publication it was pointed out that these accounts necessarily excluded any consideration of the classified material in government files on the cases which was not made available to the employees or their counsel.

Case Studies of Loyalty-Security Programs (continued)

The first printing of the Case Studies amounted to 5,000 copies. Additional printings were made of 3,000 and 2,000 copies respectively. The collection of 350 cases was completed in the fall of 1955 and turned over to the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York together with statistical tabulations.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Blacklisting in Private Industry Project

Board Action: $100,000 authorized at the September 14, 1954 Board Meeting.

$20,000 authorized at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting to cover deficit and provide funds for publication.

Total Amount Allocated: $120,000

At the meeting of the Board on June 30, 1954, the President was requested to submit recommendations for a project dealing with blacklisting in private industry. At the September meeting, the Officers suggested that the place to begin was the motion picture and radio-television industries. "The report resulting from this investigation should be a statement of facts," the Officers recommended. "The object should be to inform and not to inflame." At that meeting the Directors authorized an appropriation of $100,000 for a report on "blacklisting in motion pictures, radio and television."

On September 15, 1954, John Cogley, then Executive Editor of The Commonweal, was appointed director of the project. Mr. Cogley agreed to begin work on a full-time basis as of November 15. Mr. Cogley, after a preliminary investigation, began organization of the project by appointing researcher-reporter teams in Hollywood and New York.

During the next eight months, this staff of ten researchers and reporters gathered facts and interviewed some two hundred persons on both Coasts who had personal knowledge of the situation. Mr. Cogley personally interviewed representatives of all the major interests concerned.

By July 1, 1955 the researcher-reporter teams had completed their work. Through the summer and autumn months Mr. Cogley worked on bringing this and related material into a compact, factual report on blacklisting.

Three special studies were also commissioned during the early days of the project. They were: (1) a study of the legal aspects of the

Blacklisting in Private Industry Project (continued)

problem, by Harold W. Horowitz of the University of Southern California Law School; (2) "Anti-Communism and Employment Policies in Radio and Television: a Study of Morale," by Marie Jahoda of the Research Center for Human Relations, New York University; and (3) "Communism and the Movies: a Study of Film Content," by Dorothy B. Jones, who had done similar research for the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Office of War Information, and a number of motion picture companies. The conclusions reached in these studies were included in the final Report which Mr. Cogley submitted to the President on November 15, 1955.

Earlier, Mr. Cogley and the Fund had signed a contract with Simon & Schuster, Inc., to publish the findings of the investigation as a book. According to the agreement, the manuscript was to be submitted to the publisher by November, 1955. When it was decided not to release the report at that time,the manuscript was not submitted. Later, by mutual agreement, the contract was cancelled.

Copies of the entire Report were read by Counsel and the special Board committee on public information early in 1956. They recommended certain minor changes and suggested that the Report should be cut down in size and should be published and released by the Fund.

At the March 22, 1956 meeting of the Directors, the Board authorized the printing of the Blacklisting Report in two volumes. Galley proofs were sent to the Directors when they were available, in mid-April. The Directors had agreed that after reading the Report they would express themselves as to whether the Report, in galley form, should be sent to key figures in the industries concerned. It was understood that these industry leaders would be asked to prepare a statement for inclusion in any publication of the Report.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

BNA Loyalty-Security Service for Lawyers

Board Action	$10,000 authorized November 18, 1954;
	$11,000 authorized February 17, 1955;
	$5,400 authorized September 15, 1955.
Total Amount Allocated:	$26,400

In February, 1955 the Officers entered into an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs to purchase at cost a minimum of 100 copies of a proposed looseleaf service for lawyers on government security and loyalty programs, and to underwrite the cost of an additional 600 copies of this service.

The service was prepared by the staff of the Bureau of National Affairs. Nathan H. David and John Green, Washington lawyers, served as consultants to the Bureau for this purpose. The service was put on the market in August of 1955, and periodic supplements have been issued since that date. It covers the government personnel security program, the industrial security program , the international organizations employees loyalty program, the port security program and the regulations governing issuance of passports. It includes statutes, administrative regulations, decisions of courts and administrative tribunals, sample forms and explanatory text.

Sales of the service at $36 a year, have amounted to some 350 subscriptions through the end of March. The Officers expect to discuss with BNA soon the question of its continuance after the Fund's agreement expires.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Grants to Local Bar Associations for Referral Services in Security Cases and Civil Liberties, Matters Generally, and for other Educational Activities

Board Action:

$5,000 was appropriated to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. to assist defendants in civil liberties cases at the Board Meeting, February 17, 1955.

$65,000 was appropriated to support legal referral services on security cases at the Board Meeting, May 19, 1955.

$17,500 was authorized to be expended through grants to bar groups for the defense of civil liberties cases at the Board Meeting, May 19, 1955.

$25,000 was authorized to be expended through grants to bar groups at the Board Meeting, December 2, 1955.

At the February 15, 1956 Board Meeting, it was resolved that the purposes of the previous appropriations for grants to bar groups be expanded to include use of these funds for local educational activities in the area of civil liberties.

Total Amount Allocated: $112,500

Grants to Date:

$5,000 to The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., February 1955.

$15,000 to The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., September 1955.

$10,000 to The Toledo Bar Association, October 1955.

Unexpended Balance: $82,500

Grants to Local Bar Associations for Referral Services in Security Cases and Civil Liberties, Matters Generally, and for other Educational Activities (cont'd)

In February 1955, the Board appropriated $5,000 for a grant to The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., to undertake an experimental program of legal representation for defendants in civil liberties cases, through the Association's Committee on Legal Aid. These funds were used to provide counsel for defendants who could not afford to secure competent representation.

In order to meet what then appeared to be a pressing need for legal representation in security cases throughout the country, the Officers recommended in May, 1955 an authorization for grants to local bar associations to support legal referral services for this purpose. Despite professions of interest on the part of a number of local bar associations, the Officers encountered many delays in negotiations, and only two grants were made from this appropriation, one of $15,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., and the other to the Toledo Bar Association, in the amount of $5,000. By the time that other bar associations were prepared to submit requests, the peak load of cases had passed and representation for security defendants in administrative proceedings was no longer a substantial problem in most areas. The special referral panel established and trained by the Legal Referral Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (jointly with the New York County Lawyers Association), has not had occasion to call on most of the members of the panel.

In the course of discussions of the security case situation, the Officers discovered interest among lawyers in several cities in undertaking representation in civil liberties cases generally, and they concluded that grants to local bar associations along the lines contemplated for security cases might stimulate activity in a broader field. So far only one such grant has materialized, $5,000 to the Toledo Bar Association as a companion grant to that made for the defense of security cases.

As a further experiment in attempting to interest local bar associations in civil liberties activities, the Board in February, 1956 agreed to broaden the purposes for which grants could be made to local bar groups, to include use of funds for educational activities. The Toledo group has undertaken such activities as a mock security trial presented before local civic groups, forums on civil liberties topics addressed by out-of-town speakers. Response from other associations has not been encouraging thus far.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Columbia University Study of Tenure Law and Practice

Board Action: At the February 17, 1955 Board Meeting, this project was referred to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee at its meeting on April 7, 1955 authorized the expenditure of up to $10,000 on a pilot research project dealing with academic tenure, and on May 26, 1955 the Officers forwarded a grant of $10,000 to Columbia University for that purpose.

Total Amount Allocated: $10,000

The original proposal for a study of tenure law and practice grew out of the Columbia Academic Freedom Project. The first proposal, calling for a grant of $48,400 for two years, was later revised and compressed to call for a pilot study costing $10,000. This study, under the general direction of the American Academic Freedom Project, is being conducted by Prof. Clark Byse of the University of Pennsylvania and Louis Joughin, Assistant Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The study will deal with the laws and practices governing tenure in colleges and universities in California, Illinois and Pennsylvania. It is expected that the finished monograph will be ready for publication this summer.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Stanford University - Law Review Study

Board Action: $5,000 was granted at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $5,000

Columbia University - Law Review Study

Board Action: $1,670 was granted at the November 17, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $1,670

These two grants were made to permit the respective law reviews of Columbia and Stanford Universities to undertake field work in connection with the publication of student research projects on civil liberties topics. The Stanford Law Review study explored the actual operations of the industrial security program at selected industrial plants in California. The end product was judged to be of such interest that the Fund has approved distribution of 5,000 reprints of the resulting article, entitled "Employer Practices Implementing the Federal Industrial Security Program", and the Bureau of National Affairs plans to reprint it as a part of its loose-leaf service.

The Columbia Law Review study, on the legal situation of U.S. soldiers accused of giving aid and comfort to the enemy while prisoners of war, will be published in the May issue of the Law Review. A foreword by Major George S. Prugh, Jr. and an article by Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, will accompany the student study.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Immigration Handbook

Board Action: $20,000 authorized at the September 15, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $20,000

In September, 1955 the Board authorized the Officers to enter into an arrangement with a publisher to guarantee the purchase of copies of a proposed treatise on immigration law, which would then be supplied free of charge to social agencies in the immigration field. The publisher would then market the treatise at a price that would put it within reach of most members of the immigration bar, many of whom are not in a position to purchase expensive legal materials.

It was contemplated that the treatise would be prepared by Henry Rosenfield, former member of the Displaced Persons Commission and former Executive Director of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, and Charles Gordon, an attorney in the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. Because of delays in making arrangements for Mr. Gordon to undertake the work, and in completing arrangements between the publisher and the authors, the publisher is not yet in a position to enter into a firm agreement with the Fund. The Officers hope to be able to conclude such an agreement soon.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Bar Association of the District of Columbia - Passport Study

Board Action:	$25,000 was authorized at the November 17, 1955 Board Meeting, subject to the establishment of an appropriate tax-exempt recipient for the grant.
Total Amount Authorized:	$25,000

The Officers of the new District of Columbia Bar Foundation, which was created partly in anticipation of a grant from the Fund, have just taken office by appointment. They may decide to defer action on a grant request for a study of the passport situation until their successors are chosen at the Association's annual election in June.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. - Study of Methods of representation of criminal defendants

Board Action: $20,000 granted at the November 17, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $20,000

The Fund's grant was made in response to a joint request from the National Legal Aid Association and The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for assistance in undertaking a study of the defense of indigent criminals. The Special Committee to Study Defender Systems was organized immediately on receipt of the grant, under the chairmanship of Robert B. von Mehren, of the New York law firm of Debevoise, Plimpton and McLean.

Members of Mr. von Mehren's Committee are Allen T. Klots (President of the Association of the Bar, ex officio), Orison S. Marden (President of the National Legal Aid Society, ex officio), Robert D. Abrahams (Attorney-in-Chief, Legal Aid Society of Philadelphia), Boudinot P. Atterbury (former assistant U. S. Attorney), Emery A. Brownell (Executive Director of the National Legal Aid Association), William C. Chanler (former corporation counsel of the City of New York), Raynor M. Gardiner (director, Boston Legal Aid Society and Voluntary Defenders, Inc.), George Nye (Public Defender, Alameda County, California), Robert G. Page (President, Phelps Dodge Corporation), Hon. John J. Parker (Chief Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit), Timothy N. Pfeiffer (past president of the Legal Aid Society of New York City), Herman I. Pollock (Director of the Philadelphia Voluntary Defender Association), Thomas R. Robinson (Public Defender, New Haven, Connecticut), Woodson D. Scott (Chairman of the Committee on Legal Aid, Association of the Bar of the City of New York), Hon. Sylvia Jaffin Singer (Justice New York City Domestic Relations Court), and Professor Herbert Wechsler of Columbia University Law School.

The Committee has employed Kenneth R. Frankl, a former New York Assistant District Attorney, as Director and Arnold S. Trebach as Consultant. Mr. Trebach has just completed a study of the operation of the New Jersey assigned counsel system for the Administrative office of the Courts of New Jersey.

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund (continued)

The Committee held an initial two-day meeting last month and has planned a series of field studies of examples of three defender systems, of the assigned counsel system, the voluntary defender system and the public defender system. Mr. Frankl has made a 10-day field study of the operation of the Philadelphia Voluntary Defender Association, and a similar study of the Chicago Public Defender System.

The Committee expects to complete its work by the end of 1956.

III. To Maintain Due Process and the Principles of Justice Which Underlie Its Legal Formulation

University of Virginia Law School - Summer Research Program

Board Action: $3,500 authorized at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $3,500

A grant was made to the University of Virginia for summer research by third-year law students on civil liberties topics. The results of the research are intended primarily for use by the Committee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Columbia University Bicentennial Celebration

Board Action: $4,500 granted at August 4, 1953 Board Meeting, to finance a two-day conference on "Community Security versus Man's Right to Knowledge."

$40,000 granted at the September 10, 1953 Board Meeting for preparation and distribution of material dealing with theme "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

Total Amount Allocated: $44,500

The Fund's first grant here was to finance the visit to this country of a number of distinguished persons who took part in a two-day conference at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on the topic, "Community Security versus Man's Right to Knowledge." The papers delivered at this conference received wide attention in the metropolitan press and were later printed in a special issue of the Columbia Law Review. Participants in the conference included the following:

Harold J. Berman	Hu Shih
Jacques Bourquin	Isaak Kisch
Francis J. Connell	Andre Mathiot
Jesus de Galindez	Ivan C. Rand
Robert Gordis	Angelo Piero Sereni
Saba Habachy	Sir Hartley Shawcross
Robert T. Handy	William C. Warren

The Directors then approved a grant of $40,000 to be used in the production of a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," a series of radio programs, drafts of a pamphlet series, and for wide distribution of the pamphlets prepared in connection with the exhibit of panels based on the bicentennial theme.

"Freedom to Read," filmed in a small town public library, is the story of a librarian who stood her ground against the efforts of a self-appointed censor to have certain "dangerous" books removed from the library shelves. Since its release in July of 1954 it has been shown on a rental basis to 321 different organizations throughout the country. In addition 128 prints of the film have been purchased by schools, libraries

Columbia University Bicentennial Celebration (continued)

and community organizations. The Anti-Defamation League alone purchased twenty-five copies of the film.

The four radio dramas, "Socrates," "Galileo," "Lovejoy," and "Ghandi," were produced over NBC in July, 1954, and were later widely used by independent radio stations. They were also recorded on long-playing records as an album for public sale.

Fifty thousand copies of the Bicentennial exhibit pamphlet, written by Mark Van Doren, were produced and distributed, chiefly in connection with showings of the Bicentennial panel exhibit.

Distribution of the Freedom to Read film and the album of radio shows was handled through the Center for Mass Communications at Columbia. The distribution was aided by the network of alumni groups active during the Bicentennial celebration. "Freedom to Read" is now also in regular use by Freedom Agenda groups and similar activities throughout the country.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

New York Public Library

Board Action:	$1,000 appropriated at the January 28, 1954 Board Meeting
	$1,000 appropriated at the February 2, 1955 Board Meeting
	$1,000 appropriated at the February 15, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$3,000

These grants have been made annually to the Library to support its Central Reference Service, which is used by members of the Fund's staff.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Study of Extremist Groups

Board Action:	$3,000 granted to Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, at April 1, 1954 Board Meeting.
	$25,000 authorized at June 30, 1954 Board Meeting, of which $15,300 was granted to Bureau of Applied Social Research in August, 1954.
	$100,000 authorized November 18, 1954 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$128,000
Unexpended Balance:	$93,387

The activities of the radical Right in the United States is a matter declared from the first to be of interest to the Fund. It has also proved to be one of the most elusive subjects the Fund has tackled. The Officers have continued to try to find appropriate and prudent means of dealing with this matter. A number of outside organizations, notably the American Jewish Committee, continue to press the Fund for action.

The $3,000 granted to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia in April, 1954, was for a "trial study" of a community under pressure from groups and individuals in the radical Right. Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, was the village examined under this grant. A highly competent report resulted. Unfortunately, it provided no clues as to how the Fund might go about getting an idea of the dimensions of such activities on a national scale.

The Bureau received a second grant in August, 1954, for a study design. This action was taken by the Officers on the ground that the Board needed the best guidance it could obtain in tackling a question so full of prickly social and political questions. The Bureau's competence in working out research and fact-finding plans for complicated subjects is well known.

The study design was received from Columbia in October, 1954. It suggested an extensive program mainly of scholarly research of a social science nature. Possible costs ranged upwards of $625,000.

Study of Extremist Groups (continued)

After a study the Officers regretfully informed the Bureau that they could not recommend such an enterprise to the Board. Various alternative versions were considered and abandoned.

The $100,000 appropriated in November, 1954, for studies of the extremist groups of the Right, was designated for studies, projects and programs that might be approved as a result of the work at Columbia and good suggestions from other sources. A number of different approaches to the question were then tried by the Officers and Staff.

Mr. Leo Rosten was asked to organize a study-reporting group and did so. After a number of meetings, which resulted in some dozen recommendations, Mr. Rosten declared that, for personal reasons, he would not be able to go on. The projected program relied heavily on Mr. Rosten's direction, and it was therefore abandoned. Mr. Herbert Tingsten, editor of Dagens Nyheter of Stockholm, was asked to prepare a general statement for the Fund about extremist groups and their influence in this country. His report, while competent, did not meet the requirements of the Fund. The Officers reached a tentative agreement with Profs. Richard Hofstadter and William Leuchtenberg of Columbia to head a Rossiter-type survey of the groups clustered around the Right end of the political spectrum. Four weeks after this agreement had been reached Mr. Hofstadter told the Officers that he would not be able to carry through because Mr. Leuchtenberg had informed him his collaboration would not after all be available.

At the suggestion of Mr. Shuster a group of social scientists, representing the five municipal colleges, proffered their services to the Fund, and also presented an outline. This proposal is still under consideration. A number of talks with Prof. Eric Goldman, of the political science department at Princeton, failed to materialize in any agreement for a special effort by him in this area, although it is a subject of peculiar interest to Mr. Goldman. Mr. Maurice Rosenblatt has proposed to arrange a cooperative attack on this question by faculties of several universities; and the American Jewish Committee has made a number of suggestions along the same line.

The papers prepared at Columbia on which the "study design" was based have been published in technical journals, have appeared in "The New American Right," edited by Dan Bell, and have otherwise been given considerable circulation. In addition the Fund has made these studies available to a large number of people and institutions interested in this subject.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Study of Fear In Education

Board Action:	$50,000 appropriated by Board, 9/14/54; $25,000 by Executive Committee, 1/21/55; and $75,000 by Board, 2/17/55.
Total Amount Allocated:	$150,000
Balance 3/31/56:	$6,639 (additional appropriation of $15,000 to be asked at May Board meeting).

Academic freedom was one of the first five subjects named by the Board in February, 1953 as being of special interest to it. The first definite step taken in this area came in September, 1954, when the Board voted to underwrite a study of whether teachers have been intimidated.

This project was put under the direction of Prof. Paul Lazarsfeld, of the Bureau of Social Research, Columbia University, and became known as the Teachers' Anxiety Study. With the approval of the Board, Prof. Lazarsfeld obtained the services of Louis Harris, of the Elmo Roper organization, as co-director.

The study is based on interviews with 2,500 professors in 165 colleges. The sampling is representative of all social science teachers in accredited colleges, excluding schools of business administration, but including teachers' colleges.

The interviews lasted between one and four hours, averaging nearly two hours. They covered the professor's report on the academic freedom situation in his college, his own academic status, education, and philosophy, his concern over and attitude toward civil liberties matters, his judgment on the work conditions and power structure of his college, the degree to which it protects academic freedom, etc. The core of the study is a battery of questions designed to gauge the degree of his professional anxiety. Other questions develop information on how the respondent sizes up concern with academic freedom among his colleagues, and the degree of interest in social issues among the students.

The final questionnaire was the result of several months of pre-testing, and appears to cover successfully the areas under investigation. The interviews were conducted by a selected group of interviewers in two organizations: The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, and Elmo Roper and Associates. The field work was done under the supervision of Mr. Harris. The statistical analysis was carried out by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research under the direction of Prof. Lazarsfeld.

Study of Fear In Education (continued)

In order to get a clear picture of what went on in the course of the interviews, Prof. David Riesman of the University of Chicago traveled to about 40 colleges, and talked with professors as well as interviewers on their reactions to the field work. His report will be part of the final manuscript.

Interviews were conducted only in the universities where the president agreed to the study. About a dozen colleges refused. Check-backs were made at a number of these institutions to get a general picture of the situation and to find out the reason for the refusal.

The analysis is being carried out on two levels. On the one hand, the study is looked upon as a representative sample of 2,500 professors. On the other hand, it is treated as a representative sample of 165 colleges. It is thus possible to interrelate the characteristics and reactions of the teachers with the general atmosphere of the colleges.

In addition to answering the questionnaire, the respondents made a large number of free comments, qualifying their answers, and volunteering additional information. This qualitative material is being submitted to special study.

The analysis will be completed by June, and the findings will be available in a series of about 30 staff memoranda, totaling about 1,000 pages.

During the summer the two directors will convert this material into a book. The final manuscript will be available in September, 1956.

It was planned originally to do a study of high school teachers also. A preliminary investigation showed that a statistical survey would not be appropriate. But enough information was collected about a few specific high school situations so that a series of essays on the problem of academic freedom in high schools did ensue. Messrs. Lazarsfeld and Harris propose that these essays be published as a special monograph. The essays will be available shortly. They have advised the Officers, however, to publish the monograph at the same time the volume on the colleges comes out, and not before publication of the latter.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

American Library Association Newsletter

Board Action:	$6,000 granted at the November 18, 1954 Board Meeting
	$6,000 granted at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$12,000

In 1954 the Newsletter distributed by the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Association had been sharply curtailed by lack of funds. The Letter had proved a valuable source of information about censorship and attacks on intellectual and academic freedom. The Fund appropriated $6,000 in November, 1954 to enlarge its circulation, to help pay for important reprints distributed by the Intellectual Freedom Committee and to cover part-time salary and travel expenses.

The grant made possible a marked improvement in the readability and coverage of the Newsletter. The Bulletin was transferred from a paid to free circulation basis, and by 1956 its circulation had gone from 500 to 5,000. In March of 1956 the Fund made a terminal grant of $6,000 for the continuance of the Newsletter and related Committee operations, with expectation that the activity could come to be self-supporting by the time the terminal grant was expended.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

National Book Committee

Preliminary study of the theory of the right to publish and to read

Board Action:	$9,000 granted at February 17, 1955 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$9,000

A special subcommittee of the National Book Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Shuster, requested Fund financial support for an exploratory study of the limits of free expression. This exploratory study was undertaken by Profs. Richard McKeon, Robert K. Merton and Walter Gellhorn, with the assistance of Charles G. Bolte, the Executive Director of the National Book Committee.

The study has been completed and submitted to Dr. Shuster's subcommittee for consideration. In addition to an extensive analysis of the theories of censorship and freedom to read, the report contains specific proposals for further study and action. Although Dr. Shuster's subcommittee has not yet been able to meet and discuss the report, copies have been mailed out to all Directors of the Fund, on a confidential basis.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Commission on Mass Media

Board Action: $25,000 appropriated at May 19, 1955 Board Meeting. (Unexpended balance of $20,559 reverted to general fund by Board action, March 22, 1956.)

$5,000 grant authorized at September 15, 1955 Board meeting, for a study by the Association for Education in Journalism.

$25,000 grant to AEJ authorized at Board Meeting of March 22, 1956, for study of press treatment of civil liberties.

Total Amount Allocated: $34,441

At the November, 1954 Board meeting, the President proposed the creation of an exploratory or "pilot" group to determine the feasibility of establishing a permanent, independent agency to appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press and other mass media.

This proposal was re-stated at the meeting of May 19, 1955, and adopted, $25,000 being appropriated to establish a working party to explore the subject. During the summer a number of publishers, editors and newspaper columnists in the eastern, central and southern sections of the country were consulted by letter and personal interviews. At the same time a report was commissioned from Mr. Marcus Cunliffe of the University of Manchester on the British Press Council, and a similar report from Dr. Kurt Samuelsson of the Dagens Nyheter of Stockholm on the experience with Swedish Press Fair Practices Board.

In the meantime, Mr. Norman E. Isaacs of the Louisville Courier Journal, chairman of the Committee on Ethics and News Objectivity of Sigma De ta Chi, requested a grant to finance a preliminary study of a

Commission on Mass Media (continued)

plan to survey the performance of the press during the 1956 electoral campaign. At its meeting on June 13 the Executive Committee rejected this request, in view of the Fund's plans for a broader approach to the problems of press responsibility. The response to the Fund's preliminary soundings among publishers and editors was, however, proving lukewarm, and in September Mr. Hoffman suggested that Mr. Isaacs' request be reconsidered.

On September 12 an informal meeting of a half dozen editors, publishers and writers was held at the Fund's offices to consider the feasibility of establishing the proposed working party or "pilot" group to study the question of establishing a permanent agency of appraisal. The concensus of this meeting was that the Fund should support the Sigma Delta Chi study and await the outcome of its work before taking further action in this field. At the meeting of September 15 the Directors approved a grant of $5,000 to the Association for Education in Journalism for this purpose. The Fund distributed the Samuelsson and Cunliffe reports, when they became available, to those who had indicated that they might be interested in them, but took no further action.

The AEJ study, conducted under the direction of Raymond B. Nixon, reported to Sigma Delta Chi that it believed an objective study of press performance during the 1956 election was practicable, and outlined a detailed and elaborate program for conducting one. When Mr. Isaacs submitted this plan to the leading editors and publishers of the country, however, he found that it elicited too little support to make it possible to proceed, and the project was abandoned. Subsequently Mr. Nixon submitted various proposals to the Fund for studies of press performance on a smaller scale. At the meeting on March 22, 1956, the Directors authorized a grant of $25,000 to the Association for Education in Journalism to finance a study of the press treatment of civil liberties issues, to be conducted without reference to the 1956 Presidential election.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Pennsylvania Law School Study of Postal Censorship

Board Action: $35,000 authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $35,000

The establishment of a Commission on Post Office Practices was authorized by the Board last May. In lieu of a commission, however, a grant of $32,400 was made to the Institute of Legal Research of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, to study the methods by which the U. S. Government intercepts and impounds "obscene" publications, "foreign political propaganda" and other non-mailable matter. The Institute established an advisory committee for this study, consisting of:

Mrs. Edward Macy - immediate past president of the National Board of the YWCA

Erwin D. Canham - editor of the Christian Science Monitor

Charles Horsky - Washington lawyer and author of "The Washington Lawyer"

Henry Brandis, Jr. - Dean of the University of North Carolina Law School

Professor Stephen K. Bailey - of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs at Princeton University

Professor James C. N. Paul, Director of the Institute and Murray L. Schwartz, former Deputy City Solicitor of Philadelphia, are in charge of the study. The professional experience of both men includes service as law clerks to the late Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson.

Field studies in the administration of the obscenity statutes have covered the operations of the Post Office Department and the Bureau of Customs in Washington, D. C. and in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Professor Paul plans to complete field investigations in two or three additional cities within the next month. The staff has also studied seizures of alleged obscene materials which have been transmitted to the Library of Congress by the Bureau of Customs.

Pennsylvania Law School Study of Postal Censorship (continued)

A considerable amount of time has been devoted to a study of the legislative history and origins of the postal and tariff obscenity statutes, including examination of unpublished file material in the Archives.

Individuals who have had experience with the administration of obscenity restraints -- publishers, book sellers, librarians, movie distributors and lawyers -- have been circularized. Professor Paul and his associates intend to interview U. S. Attorneys in a number of large cities in connection with litigation involving postal and customs obscenity.

The project members have also canvassed librarians, scholars, and importers by letter and personally to collect data on their experience with the administration of the "foreign political propaganda" restraints. Conferences have been held in Washington with Treasury and Customs officials responsible for the overall administration of foreign political propaganda. Professor Paul expects to conduct a field study of these operations at the Port of New York during the coming month. Professor Paul states, however, that security considerations curtail the access to information in this phase of the study.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Commission on Censorship of the Printed Word

Board Action: $5,000 authorized May 19, 1955 to meet planning costs of a Commission to be concerned with all aspects of censorship of the printed word.

Total Amount Allocated: $4,621 (Balance of $379 reverted to general funds)

Following up the suggestion of J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor of the Washington Post Times-Herald, that a "broadly based" attack on the problem of censorship of the printed word ought to be considered, this appropriation was made for conferences, travel, and working papers, necessary to determine the need for and the proper structure of a Commission that would be wholly devoted to this question.

In June 1955, Mr. Wiggins formed a temporary steering committee of men representing book publishers, newspapers, libraries, the law and science. This first meeting reached the conclusion that a broad-scale treatment of censorship of the printed word ought to be carefully examined. Discussions among the group and with Fund Officers proceeded during the summer. On October 1, the Committee retained Professor John R. Thompson of the Yale Law School, as Executive Director to set up a second working meeting in December. The meeting was preceded by an exchange of views and the preparation of working papers covering various aspects of censorship. At a meeting on December 9, 1955, which was attended by half of those who were at the first meeting, plus other representatives from newspapers, magazines and law schools, the following conclusions were reached: (1) The need for a broad-scale, national effort to combat censorship of the printed word is apparent; (2) A national library devoted to censorship problems should be established at an existing law school library; (3) Continuing research, coordinated with the library, could perform a great public service; (4) A campaign of public information should be undertaken, but should proceed on a gradual basis for at least the first year of the Commission's life; (5) The Commission would require an annual budget of approximately $100,000.

Despite these concrete conclusions, the final judgment of the Committee was that "the moment is not propitious and the circumstances not opportune for setting up a national Commission under the auspices of and with the support of the Fund for the Republic." The

Commission on Censorship of the Printed Word (continued)

major reason for this conclusion was that such a Commission should include among its primary purposes a "pursuit of state and federal legislative remedies for present obstacles to the right to know.... and open and frank agitation support and propaganda for the right to know." This objective, the Committee felt, could not be pursued under the auspices of a tax-exempt, educational Foundation.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

American Friends Service Committee - Freedom of Conscience Program

Board Action:	$150,000 granted at May 19, 1955 Board Meeting for a two-year program
Total Amount Allocated:	$150,000

The Freedom of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee has now been under way for nine months. During that time it has spent or committed approximately $35,000 of the original $150,000 grant. Expenditures as of May 1 are divided as follows:

Payments for legal fees and court costs	$9,500
Funds earmarked for legal fees and court costs	9,500
Direct financial assistance	5,350
Administration, including investigation of cases	11,000

The Rights of Conscience Committee has considered some 60 applications for assistance, and has provided assistance in more than 20 cases. The Committee, consisting of six lawyers and eight laymen, is staffed by Mr. Fred Fuges, a member of the Philadelphia Bar.

Cases have included witnesses before congressional committees who have relied on the First Amendment to avoid giving information about the political beliefs and associations of others; conscientious objectors who refused to take shelter during a New York air raid drill; and teachers and others in California and Illinois who challenged the statutory requirements for loyalty oaths. Direct financial assistance has been supplied to: a minister forced to leave his southern parish because of pressure from a White Citizens Council; a citizen involved in legal difficulties because of the sale of his home to a Negro; and a school administrator who resigned his position in protest over the dismissal of a school principal because of the principal's membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union.

IV. To Maintain Freedom of Speech and Belief

Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church - Study of Social Action in the Methodist Church

Board Action: $25,000 granted at the December 2, 1955 Board meeting, to be divided equally between this study and the study of Christianity and Communism(described under Section I)

Total Amount Allocated: $12,500

As described in Section I, the Fund made a grant of $25,000 in December, 1955 to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church to aid the financing of two studies, half of this sum being devoted to the study, "The Social Movements in the Methodist Church". This study will be centered at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Negotiations are now being conducted with members of the departments of theology and social science, and the final plans for the study will be made at the June 4 meeting of the Research Council of the University.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Summer Planning Committee on the Legacy of American Liberty

Board Action: $30,500 appropriated at the May, 1953 Board Meeting. Unexpended balance of $19,727 reverted to general funds by Board action on February 17, 1955.

Total Amount Allocated: $10,773

The Summer Planning Committee was created by Board action on the recommendation of a committee of the Board under the chairmanship of Mr. Cairns, in the Spring of 1953. The Planning Committee was organized during the Summer of 1953 under the chairmanship of Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago. Other members were McGeorge Bundy of Harvard, Ralph Gabriel of Yale, Arthur Murphy of the University of Washington and Clinton Rossiter of Cornell. Members of the committee employed assistants to prepare memoranda on specific topics during the summer.

The Committee presented a statement of the strengths of the American way of life, and then made recommendations for projects, to be financed by the Fund, related to these strengths. The Committee stated frankly, however, that the emphasis of the projects presented was "less upon the Legacy of American Liberty than upon its present condition and problems."

The Board at its November, 1953 meeting considered the various projects suggested by the Pargellis Committee and adopted in principle several of the proposals. Following are some of the more important topics listed for Fund attention in the Pargellis Committee Report:

An Analysis of Public Opinion

A Study of "Right Fringe" Extremists

An Analysis of the Meaning of Citizenship (a book by Mark Roelofs on this topic, financed by a Fund grant to Cornell, is scheduled to be published in the near future)

A Philosophic Analysis of the Meaning of Freedom Today

Summer Planning Committee on the Legacy of American Liberty (cont'd)

A Survey of the Liberty of Teachers in the Public Schools

Immigration and Immigrant Groups

The Rights and Responsibilities of Government Employees

The Pargellis Committee also recommended the sponsorship of a prize contest for a book "that shall analyze the principles and practices of American liberty."

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Roelofs' Citizenship Study

Board Action:	$6,500 appropriated at November 18, 1953 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$6,500

Mr. Mark Roelofs, of Cornell, finished his book, "An Essay on Citizenship," in January, 1956 and is now looking for a commercial publisher. In his preface Mr. Roelofs expresses the theme of his study in the following sentence: ". . . an examination of the concepts and values clustered around the term 'Citizenship', and of their condition in American social beliefs, reveals a critical inability on the part of traditional social philosophies to express and defend our heritage of privacy and freedom for individual citizens in modern conditions."

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

National Council of the YMCA

Board Action: $1,000 appropriated at the March 16, 1954 Executive Committee Meeting.

$5,000 authorized by the Officers on December 15, 1954 out of the $20,000 allocated at the Board Meeting, November 18, 1954, for programs complementary to the Freedom Agenda Program.

Total Amount Allocated: $6,000

The first grant of $1,000 enabled the Public Affairs Committee of the YMCA to commission Saville Davis, American News Editor of the Christian Science Monitor, to prepare a paper on freedom of inquiry, especially as it concerns young adults. Mr. Davis' paper, "Toward Freedom and Security", was the subject of a forum at the May, 1954 meeting of the National Council of YMCA's. Subsequently the National Council adopted a resolution reaffirming support of freedom of inquiry and discussion.

The second grant from the Fund has underwritten the costs of printing 10,000 copies of Mr. Davis' article in pamphlet form, and has permitted the Public Affairs Committee to expand activities of joint interest to Freedom Agenda and the Fund. In May, 1955 about 100 YMCA leaders met in Washington for a seminar on YMCA's responsibility in the civil liberties field. YMCA leaders will soon participate in three regional workshops to consider the leadership of free discussion in YMCA's. Other Y staff members were to meet in the Midwest at the end of April to confer about the Freedom of Inquiry and Discussion project and similar matters.

Although it is not known precisely how many Y's are using Freedom Agenda booklets, more than 80 per cent of the 400-500 YMCA associations in the U. S. have dealt with civil liberties through their open platform policy. A questionnaire will soon be sent out to learn how many YMCA's are participating in the Freedom Agenda Program.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund

Board Action:	$45,000 appropriated at the April 1, 1954 Board Meeting;
	$66,610 at the November 18, 1954 Board Meeting (and $20,000 for organizations with programs complementary to the Freedom Agenda Program).
	$50,000 at the February 15, 1956 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$161,610

The Fund has made three grants to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund for a national discussion program of the basic rights of Americans, entitled the Freedom Agenda Program.

More than 600 communities have taken part. The Freedom Agenda Committee of the CCCMF has acted as a coordinating agency in bringing together individuals and groups that have manifested an interest in discussing civil liberties. It has enlisted the support of national organizations such as the American Association of University Women, National Education Association, Campfire Girls, Junior League, and the American Jewish Congress. The League of Women Voters has been the most active organization in the program because it had adopted "individual liberty" as one of its two program commitments for 1954-56. Local chapters of other national organizations are also active in the Program.

Most of the discussion groups have built their programs around seven pamphlets, prepared under the direction of the Freedom Agenda Committee:

The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties - T. V. Smith
Where Constitutional Liberty Came From - Alfred H. Kelly
Freedom of Speech and Press - Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity - Jack Peltason
The Constitution and Congressional Investigation Committees - Robert K. Carr

Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund (continued)

The Constitution and Loyalty Programs - Alan Westin
The Fourteenth Amendment and Civil Liberty - Richard Edwards

The original printing (50,000) of the first six booklets was exhausted last fall, and a second printing of 50,000 is now being distributed. Many libraries have requested Freedom Agenda pamphlets, and some colleges are using them in courses dealing with civil liberties. These booklets have been sold for 25¢ each.

A small five-cent pamphlet, Men Came to America to be Free But..., has been sent out to about 60,000 individuals. Another five-cent pamphlet, Discussion Cases, by Alan Westin illustrates issues presented in the booklets. It has been widely used by discussion groups and has illuminated ~~for~~ many of the principles set forth in the booklets.

The Freedom Agenda Committee mails out a monthly Newsletter to more than 3,000 people - chairmen of Freedom Agenda projects; presidents of local chapters of the League of Women Voters; heads of interested organizations; and approximately 1,000 individuals who have requested the Newsletter. It contains suggestions for obtaining wider community support; announces speeches and films; lists available publications that are being distributed by the Fund; summarizes news stories and editorial comments; and describes successful projects. In addition to the booklets, which the discussion groups buy, the Committee sends out a variety of free material to established community groups.

Some Freedom Agenda groups have also put on television or radio programs, while others have sponsored debates, forums and panels. A number of college and university communities have enlisted professors to give lectures, followed by discussion periods.

Where Freedom Agenda projects have been carried on, local newspapers have carried stories. When a newspaper was one of the sponsors, the project has received a great deal of publicity. Local radio and television stations have publicized the program in many cases. National organizations have mentioned Freedom Agenda in their publications. Another source of publicity has been the reviews and notices of the Freedom Agenda booklets appearing in publishers' magazines, library bulletins, educational journals and house organs of organizations. A radio and television consultant was engaged on April 1 to publicize further the Freedom Agenda program.

Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund (continued)

The project has occasionally been attacked, but few have abandoned their programs because of this criticism. In fact, where the attacks have been successfully met, the project has become better known and more effective than it would have been without the attacks. Freedom Agenda leaders feel that when the attacks are met promptly it has been possible to quash them at the outset. Last fall the Freedom Agenda officials sent out to local leaders "A Few Tips on Meeting Attacks." Practically all the editorials written because of these censures of the program have strongly supported the local Freedom Agenda project.

The members of the Freedom Agenda Committee who have directed the Freedom Agenda program are Miss Anna Lord Strauss, Chairman; Mrs. Helen Berthelot; Mr. John S. Coleman; Mrs. Orville Foreman; Mr. Paul H. Nitze; Mr. John B. Oakes; and Miss Rosemary Park.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools

Board Action: $35,000 appropriated by the Executive Committee, March 10, 1954

Total Amount Allocated: $35,000

This grant to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools financed the production of a series of 13 weekly radio programs on issues facing American Public Schools. Approximately one-third of the programs dealt with civil liberties issues; several were concerned with the history and philosophy of public education; and the rest of the programs were devoted to specific school problems.

This project was based upon an offer of free radio network time from the American Broadcasting Company to the Commission as a public service. The resulting program series, "Doorway to the Future" was produced by Sherman H. Dryer, winner of two Peabody awards. It was heard on Monday evenings from 9:30 to 10:00 p.m., E.S.T. and was carried on some 175 stations. ABC calculated the weekly audience at 1,232,000.

Through telegrams, press releases, postcards and letters, Henry Toy, Director of the Commission, urged public school officials and members of the 2,500 local citizens' committees to listen to the programs. Mr. Toy said these people also promoted the programs in their communities.

Mr. Toy reported that requests for the booklets offered on the programs ran from a low of about 100 to a high of more than 1,500. The program that elicited the greatest response was the one dealing with segregation in the schools, based on the Ashmore Report, "The Negro and The Schools." After the completion of the series, 25,000 copies of a promotional pamphlet, "How Can We Dramatize School Problems?" were mailed out to hundreds of organizations. This pamphlet told of the availability of tapes and scripts of "Doorway to the Future", and suggested that the series be used in public meetings, committee meetings, classrooms and on local television and radio programs. One hundred tapes of the series were distributed by the Commission to boards of education and citizens' committees throughout the country. Additional copies of the tape of "The Negro and the Public Schools" had to be made to meet the demand for this particular program.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Editorial Award Competition

Board Action:	$100,000 authorized at the September 14, 1954 Board Meeting.
Unexpended Balance:	$96, 296

After considerable exploration by the staff, the views expressed by some thirty newspaper editors and editorial writers convinced the Officers of the Fund that the competition should not be carried out as it was conceived and authorized by the Directors in September, 1954. The Officers are continuing to look into the possibilities in this area, with Mr. Louis Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, and others.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program

Board Action:	$115,000 authorized at the November 18, 1954 Board Meeting.
	$115,000 authorized at the November 17, 1955 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$230,000
Unexpended Balance:	$59,900

At the November, 1954 meeting of the Board, a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid was established. It was agreed that the Fund should not seek publicity for this program, but that the Officers should "find and assist people of mature judgment who were doing or who are qualified to do constructive work in areas of the Fund's interest."

The fellowship program was to serve two purposes - first to encourage work by able people in the Fund's field of interest, and second to obtain useful studies on a variety of civil liberties topics.

Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell accepted appointment as the Fund's consultant on the program, and has since been instrumental in bringing to the Officers' attention many of those to whom fellowships have been granted. Professor Cushman has also passed on all fellowship applications received by or originating with the Fund's Officers.

As the program has developed, it is seen to serve still another purpose, that of providing an inexpensive means of exploring areas into which the Fund is not prepared to move on a large scale. On several occasions the Officers have been able to reduce an interesting but overly expensive request for a project or grant to the limits of a fellowship.

The listing attached indicates that the program has in fact encouraged work on a variety of topics of interest to the Fund.

Rowland Watts' study of the problems involved in security screening of drafted servicemen has been the most widely publicized product of the program. The Officers made an additional small grant to Mr. Watts for a follow-up survey of developments resulting from recent changes in army security regulations.

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

The Officers and members of the staff who have read the report by Ernesto Galarza on the problems of Mexican contract workers believe that this report, when published (with Fund financing) under the auspices of the U. S. Section of the Joint U.S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, will contribute to a better understanding of civil liberties problems in this area.

The results of two fellowships financed by the Fund have recently been embodied in books published without Fund support (copies have been mailed to the Directors). The Free Press has published Edward Shils' book "The Torment of Secrecy," and the University of Chicago Press has published a book by Morton Grodzins entitled "The Loyal and the Disloyal," which includes some of the results of Mr. Grodzins" work under a Fund fellowship.

Prof. Walter Gellhorn delivered a series of lectures at Louisiana State University in February, research for which was financed by a grant-in-aid. The lectures will be printed by Louisiana State University Press soon.

Several of the Officers have read the first draft of two articles by James Peck on recent efforts in Mississippi and believe that Mr. Peck's fellowship will produce several outstanding magazine articles.

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

Recipients	Amount
Benjamin Aaron, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles, for a study of the impact of loyalty-security programs on unions	$4,000
Eleanor Bontecou, Arlington, Va., to assist in the preparation of a book on the opinions of Judge Henry Edgerton	1,500
Eleanor Bontecou, Arlington, Va., to permit her to finish a book for general sale entitled The Price They Pay, dealing with the loyalty-security program	1,000
William G. Bradbury, University of Chicago, for research on racial discrimination and desegregation in Federal government employment	6,490
John W. Caughey, UCLA, to complete a study of intellectual freedom in American colleges and universities since the close of World War II	4,500
David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, to write a non-technical book on the whole field of American civil liberties	7,500
Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University, to assist him in research and writing of his Ph.D. thesis, "The Eisenhower Security Program: A Study in Public Policy"	3,400
Ernesto Galarza, San Jose, Calif., for a report on the civil and legal rights problems of Mexican contract workers in the Southwest	5,500
Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University, for research costs incurred in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures to be given at Louisiana State University on administrative restraints on freedom of expression	750

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

Recipients	Amount
J. A. C. Grant, University of California, to complete a study on the "impact of federalism," dealing with "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of crime	$2,500
Morton Grodzins, University of Chicago, for a study of the potential leadership of the extreme right and of the opposition to it	1,000
Ralph Guzman, Alianza de Hispano-Americana, to investigate and report on cases handled by immigration authorities involving the rights of Mexican-Americans	2,000
David Helfeld, University of Puerto Rico, for a study of the use of political beliefs as a test in determining the status of aliens	3,200
John Herling, John Herling's Labor Letter, for a study of civil liberties in the South, with emphasis upon the possible restrictions on the freedom of speech and assembly of trade unions	5,000
Ellis J. Horvitz, attorney, Los Angeles, Calif., for a comparative study of the personnel security procedures in some of the Western democracies	6,500
Harold Hyman, Earlham College, for his book, Loyalty in America, the story of oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty	7,000
Marie Jahoda, Research Center for Human Relations, NYU, for a book on the psychological influences which contribute to conformity or non-conformity on civil liberty matters	5,940
Charles F. Kellogg, Dickinson College, to assist in the completion of a study of the NAACP	6,425
Milton R. Konvitz, Cornell University, to permit him to complete a book entitled First Amendment Freedoms, which will be published by Macmillan	5,750

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

Recipients	Amount
Robert A. Leflar, NYU School of Law, to complete the first volume of a treatise on legal liability in the exercise of free speech	$ 5,000
Herbert M. Levy, attorney, New York City, to prepare a study on post-conviction remedies, entitled "Justice - After Trial - to Persons Convicted of Crime"	5,000
David Loth, Piermont, N. Y., for a report on the positive achievements in desegregation in the North, to be combined with a similar report on the South by the Southern Regional Council	5,000
Arthur S. Miller, Lamar School of Law, Emory University, for a study of the legal effects of desegregating church schools in states where integration is resisted	3,750
Clark F. Norton, DePauw University, for a study of loyalty-security measures employed by municipal governments in the north-central states	4,250
James Peck, Beverly Hills, Calif., for a book dealing with the character of the Southerner as disclosed in recent events in Mississippi	6,000
Arnold A. Rogow, State University of Iowa, for a study on the state of civil liberties in Iowa, with special reference to the problem of loyalty oaths	4,500
Victor G. Rosenblum, University of California, to prepare a paper or a series of articles on "the Constitutional Concept of State Action"	2,500
Dean Eugene V. Rostow, Yale Law School, to provide research assistance for an article, "Cases in Personnel Security," dealing with the government security program	500

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

Recipients	Amount
Francis E. Rourke, Johns Hopkins University, for research costs involved in the preparation of an article or articles on "The Publicity Sanction and Civil Liberties"	$2,500
Edwin Sanders, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, to make a study of interference with religious freedom in California	3,150
Philip Selznick, University of California, and Paul Jacobs, for a study of due process in industrial organizations, especially trade unions	5,800
Edward Shils, University of Chicago, to permit him to complete a popular book for general sale on the loyalty-security problem, with emphasis on its application to scientists	1,200
Charles A. Siepmann, Department of Communications, NYU, to finance a study of the organizational structure of the American Civil Liberties Union	4,000
James M. Smith, Ohio State University, to enable him to complete his book, Freedom's Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions	2,500
Malcolm Smith, University of California, and Cornelius Cotter, Stanford University, for a research project on the extent and significance of emergency powers now vested in the President of the United States and other administrators	10,000
David Spitz, Ohio State University, for a study on "Democracy and the Tyranny of Majority Rule"	2,250

Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program (continued)

Recipients	Amount
Rowland Watts, attorney and National Secretary of the Workers' Defense League, for a report on the practice of giving "undesirable" discharges to drafted servicemen on the basis of allegations regarding pre-induction activities or associations	$4,000
Rowland Watts, for a short-term survey of the developments resulting from a recent change in the army security regulations involving the appearance of "adverse" witnesses	1,500

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Conspectus of Civil Liberties

Board Action: $10,000 appropriated at the September 14, 1954 Board meeting; free distribution of paperback edition authorized at November 16, 1955 Board meeting - cost estimated at $6,000.

Total Amount Allocated: $16,000

The Directors Appropriated $10,000 to support the completion of Robert E. Cushman's book, "National Security and the American Tradition", and his preparation of an account of the state of civil liberties today. ($7,000 of this amount was disbursed as a grant to Cornell University; the balance was paid directly to Professor Cushman.)

The conspectus on civil liberties was recently mailed to the Directors. It is entitled "Civil Liberties in the United States: A Guide to Current Problems and Experience". It describes the state of civil liberties at the close of World War II, summarizes the principal developments in the last decade and sets forth the status of civil liberties today.

Five thousand copies of a paperback edition will be printed by Cornell University Press for distribution by the Fund to the press, labor, educators, libraries, civic organizations, church groups and discussion groups. This edition will be financed from the general appropriation for distribution at a cost of $6,000. Several thousand copies of a cloth bound edition will be offered for sale commercially by the press.

Approximately one-third of the Conspectus is a condensation of chapters from Professor Cushman's book, "National Security and the American Tradition", which he plans to finish this summer.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

General Work in Television and Radio

Board Action:	$200,000 authorized at the September 14, 1954 Board meeting.
	$50,000 authorized at the September 15, 1955 Board meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$250,000

This appropriation was: (1) to explore the potentialities of TV as a medium for matters of interest to the Fund by commissioning "treatments", pilot films, etc. with a view to eventual production on commercial TV; (2) to help networks or stations to offer programs that might otherwise not be shown; (3) to encourage existing programs with funds for improved production or writing facilities or for extension of their usefulness by circulating kinescopes, scripts, etc.

1. The Fund has spent the major part of this appropriation on exploring and developing proposals in line with the first purpose described above. These have included:

Challenge. This project was designed by Worthington Miner to be a network series of half-hour programs on current problems in civil liberties, presented in dramatic, fictional form. With an experienced director, Sidney Lumet, two of the best-known television writers, Rod Serling and Reginald Rose, and a professional cast, Mr. Miner made one pilot film on the loyalty oath. He then tried to sell the series to a commercial sponsor by showing the pilot to a great many people in industry, advertising and television. The attempt was unsuccessful. The Fund now has the right to exhibit prints of the pilot film on a non-commercial basis and will do so among various organizations as soon as the negative of the film is edited.

Integration in St. Louis. A film designed for television use is now being prepared. It is a documentary version of how St. Louis successfully met the problem of de-segregation of its schools.

Council for Civic Unity. This San Francisco organization prepared two pilot films, with Edward Howden as moderator, on

General Work in Television and Radio (continued)

civil liberties subjects related to the life of the city. On the basis of the pilots the Fund authorized a separate appropriation to assist the production of a regular TV series (described elsewhere).

Herblock. A series of fifteen-minute programs featuring this cartoonist's commentary on current affairs was planned for use on commercial television. Mr. Block made two pilot films, the costs of which were met from this appropriation. The project proceeded under an appropriation of its own and is described elsewhere in this Review.

A Date with Liberty. The television producing firm of Cassyd-Booth in Hollywood is now preparing five pilot films for the Fund on subjects taken from Justice Douglas' book, An Almanac of Liberty. These are five-minute films which will usually feature one significant episode in one man's career - Alfred E. Smith's stand against loyalty oaths for teachers, one Senator's critical vote in Andrew Johnson's impeachment proceedings, etc. If the pilot films prove acceptable to the Fund, commerical television use will be sought.

Al Capp. Al Capp was to be featured in a series of fifteen-minute programs of current humorous commentary and drawing. Mr. Capp made two pilot films. They appeared to the Fund to lack the proper approach and tone, and this project was cancelled.

Freeborn John. Playhouse Pictures, a Los Angeles firm, has prepared a "storyboard" for a color cartoon on the life of an American citizen in the period of the establishment of the Bill of Rights. This is designed for use as a film for theatrical distribution as well as television. This project will be presented to the Board at the May meeting as a part of Mr. Real's proposals on the American Legacy.

Spot Announcements. The one time the Fund has used TV or radio directly was for a week of spot announcements on the Mutual radio stations over the country that carried the broadcasts of Fulton Lewis, Jr. These spots were put on immediately following Lewis, and announced that copies of the Fund's annual report were available to any listener requesting it. Approximately 4000 requests were received.

General Work in Television and Radio (continued)

Miscellaneous. Portions of this appropriation have been used to commission outlines or treatments of possible TV programs from several leading producers, writers and commentators working in professional TV. All were rejected before the pilot-film stage. Conferences with scores of television people and discussion of a legion of proposals have taken up much of the time of the Officers and staff since the summer of 1954.

2. As to assistance to programs that might not have been seen without Fund participation, the leading activity has been in testing the television news area by providing brief film clips on current civil liberties events to existing news programs. Funds from the general appropriation were used for a lengthy trial of this experiment on the West Coast. It proved successful enough to warrant the establishment of a Filmclip Project with both West and East Coast offices. The Board authorized a separate appropriation for this purpose in September, 1955; a report on activities since that time appears elsewhere in this Review.

3. Help to existing programs has taken a number of forms. The Fund continues to distribute prints of Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer, and also gave limited distribution to five prints of Murrow's program on book censorship in California (these are described more fully elsewhere under "Distribution of Materials"). It provided funds to permit Paul Coates, West Coast television producer of the series, "Confidential File", to dig in more deeply and cover more widely a television study of "Daytime Whites", concerning Negroes who pass as whites during working hours because of job discrimination. Fund assistance allowed Jack Beck of CBS-KNX News in Los Angeles to do a more thorough "Minority Report" on racial discrimination in Los Angeles for radio listeners.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Universalist Service Committee

Board Action: $4,000 authorized by the Officers on January 10, 1955, out of the $20,000 allocated at the Board Meeting, November 18, 1954, for programs complementary to the Freedom Agenda Program.

Total Amount Allocated: $4,000

At the beginning of the Service Committee's program, packets of materials, including 5,000 Freedom Agenda pamphlets, were sent to 1,450 church group leaders to interest them in organizing discussion groups on civil liberties. Twenty conferences were then held around the country on methods of making study programs effective in local churches. Out of these came a "Constitutional Rights Manual" for discussion groups. This manual has been mailed to almost 3,000 Unitarian and Universalist groups, and to other non-church organizations.

Dana Klotzle, Executive Director of the Committee, reports that 200 Universalist and Unitarian Churches and auxiliary organizations have conducted programs. Churches with adult classes and forum programs have incorporated program suggestions on civil liberties into their schedules. The theological school at St. Lawrence University set up a course in the Freedom Agenda Program. In three towns pilot projects were set up to discover how to promote study programs in smaller communities. Ministers and lay leaders have been active in the Freedom Agenda project in their communities. Mr. Klotzle also reports that college students who belong to the Universalist and Unitarian churches have promoted the use of the Service Committee's materials.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Distribution of Materials

Board Action:	$15,000 for distribution of "The Fifth Amendment Today," by Erwin N. Griswold and $2,000 for distribution of Cornell Series in Civil Liberties at November 18, 1954 Board meeting.
	$5,000 for distribution of "Faceless Informers and Our Schools" and similar materials on civil liberties topics at December 9, 1954 Executive Committee meeting.
	$25,000 for general distribution at February 17, 1955 Board meeting.
	$30,000 for general distribution at September 15, 1955 Board meeting.
	$30,000 for general distribution at January 6, 1956 Board meeting.
	$30,000 for general distribution at March 22, 1956 Board meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$137,000

Except for two minor items distributed in small numbers (a pamphlet of Freedom House speeches and a reprint from the Antioch Review) the program of circulating appropriate civil liberties material began in November 1954 with special appropriations for distribution of Dean Griswold's book and further distribution of the books in the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties. In February 1955 the Board made its first general appropriation for distribution, and this procedure has been continued, with the modification, in November 1955, that materials recommended for distribution should be approved by the Board and Counsel as well as by the Officers.

The following list, grouped under subject headings, includes all the materials distributed under the appropriations outlined above. The list

Distribution of Materials (continued)

shows the number of copies circulated and the major audiences receiving them. Except for the See It Now film prints, distributed with funds from the general television appropriation, this list does not include items distributed with other funds, such as Mr. Hutchins' speeches and the Annual Report (40,000 copies sent out to date); materials emanating from Fund undertakings such as the Bibliography and Digest, the Case Studies in Personnel Security and the Study of Army Security discharges.

The distribution program has grown steadily since November 1954. Increasing emphasis is being placed on materials warranting reasonably large-scale distribution. A continuing search is being made for appropriate materials in films, records, etc.

Due Process

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists
Special issue, April 1955. 25,000 copies to lists selected by publisher (clergy, law, press, etc.). The annual report of the Bulletin indicates that the Fund's supplementary distribution of this issue was an important factor in the overall success of the magazine in 1955.

The Oppenheimer Case
Book by Charles P. Curtis, published by Simon and Schuster. 500 copies to educators, business executives, lawyers.

Government by Investigation
Book by Alan Barth, published by Viking Press. 850 copies to lists selected by publisher (press, civic leaders). The American Library Association later named this as one of the "Fifty Best Books of the Year."

Grand Inquest
Book by Telford Taylor, published by Simon and Schuster. 450 copies to the Federal Bench.

Current History
Special issue, October 1955. 5,000 copies to National Council for Social Studies members (1,500), political science professors (1,000), civic leaders, Freedom Agenda.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

Due Process (continued)

National Security and Individual Freedom

Book by John Lord O'Brian, published by Harvard University Press. 1,250 copies chiefly to Harvard Law School Alumni Association members. (This book later received the major Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and a Sidney Hillman Award.)

To Make Our Security System Secure

Article by Vannevar Bush, reprinted from The New York Times Magazine. 10,000 copies, primarily to educators.

The Landy Case

Article by George E. Sokolsky, reprinted from the Saturday Review. 50,000 copies, to Catholic clergy (15,000), business executives (15,000), American Legion posts (8,500), military science professors (2,200), and the 4,000 individuals who had requested the Fund's Annual Report as a result of the announcements after the Fulton Lewis programs.

The Way to Be Safe Is Never to Be Secure

Article by Charles P. Curtis, reprinted from the Saturday Review. 5,000 copies to Fund's general mailing list.

A Report on the Security Problem

Statement by Hubert H. Humphrey, reprinted from the Congressional Record. 4,500 copies to lawyers, business executives, publishers, labor officials.

Employer Practices Implementing the Federal Industrial Security Program

Article reprinted from Stanford Law Review (prepared with financial assistance from the Fund for necessary field research). 5,000 copies ordered; the reprint is not yet off the press.

The Fifth Amendment Today

Book by Erwin N. Griswold, published by Harvard University Press. 36,500 copies to members of New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles bar; American Law Institute, AFSC, law and political science professors, Federal Bar Association of New York, League of Women Voters chapters, Freedom Agenda, labor officials. (This book later received Honorable Mention in the Brotherhood Awards of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.)

Distribution of Materials (continued)

Due Process (continued)

Problems of the Fifth Amendment

Article by C. Dickerman Williams, reprinted from Fordham Law Review. 1,100 copies to lawyers and press.

The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954

Paper by Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter, Justice of the New York State Supreme Court. 10,000 copies to lawyers, libraries, college presidents, chairmen of history and law departments and other educators.

The Law and the Future

Article by Chief Justice Earl Warren, reprinted from Fortune. 35,000 copies to members of Chicago, St. Louis, New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Milwaukee and Washington State bar; (24,000); Freedom Agenda, YMCA, AMVETS, Anti-Defamation League, Federal Bar Association, labor officials, denominational groups. This article later appeared in the book, The Fabulous Future.

If You Are Arrested....

Pamphlet issued jointly by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the New York Civil Liberties Union. 270 copies to six bar associations which requested them. (It was hoped that many of the 68 bar associations of the country would want this for the members of their civil rights committees but the response to the Fund's inquiry was negligible. Distribution of its companion piece, a pamphlet on the same subject by the Toledo Times and the Toledo Bar Association, was therefore abandoned.)

The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791

Book by Robert Allen Rutland, published by University of North Carolina Press. 260 copies, primarily to college libraries.

The Challenge of Law Reform

Book by Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, published by Princeton University Press. About 1,000 copies of a special paper-back edition being printed for distribution to lists selected by the publisher. This order has stimulated the interest of several other organizations in purchasing paper-back copies; the total printing will thus be several thousands above the number financed by the Fund.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

Due Process (continued)

Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority: Some Legal Aspects

Lecture by Joseph O'Meara, Dean of Notre Dame University Law School. 25,000 copies ordered for distribution to Catholic churches and others. The reprint is not yet off the press.

Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution

Speech by Samuel Eliot Morison. Printing of 3,000 copies financed for distribution by the Massachusetts Bar Association to U. S. colleges and universities.

Faceless Informers and Our Schools

Pamphlet reprint of Denver Post articles and editorials. 25,000 copies distributed through state and local school board associations.

The Kept Witnesses

Article by Richard H. Rovere, reprinted from Harper's. 25,000 copies to business executives, labor officials.

On Equality of Opportunity

Open Occupancy Housing

Reprint of article from House and Home. 15,000 copies through National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and to others in race-relations field.

Memo on School Integration

Prepared by National Civil Liberties Clearing House. Printing of 2,000 copies financed for distribution through the Clearing House.

Prejudice and Your Child

Book by Kenneth B. Clark, published by Beacon Press. 290 copies through denominational organization grantees of the Fund.

A Report on Compliance With the Contractual, Legal, and Civil Rights of Mexican Agricultural Contract Labor in the United States

Study by Ernesto Galarza, prepared under a Fund grant. The study is now being edited by James O'Gara, an editor of Commonweal, and will be published under the sponsorship of the U.S. Section of the Joint U.S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee. The Fund will pay editing and printing costs up to $2,500.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

On Equality of Opportunity (continued)

The Strange Career of Jim Crow

Book by C. Vann Woodward, published by Oxford University Press. 200 copies, chiefly through Southern Regional Council.

The Fears Men Live By

Book by Selma Hirsh, published by Harper's. 280 copies to denominational organization grantees of the Fund.

Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation

Book by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg, published by Beacon Press. 160 copies to denominational organization grantees of the Fund.

Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing

Book by Wilner, Walkley and Cook, published by University of Minnesota Press. 125 copies primarily through National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut

Booklet prepared by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights. Printing of 1,000 copies financed for distribution by the Commission.

Annals

Special issue on "Racial Desegregation and Integration," March 1956, of the quarterly journal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 2,500 copies ordered; 2,100 distributed to selected groups on Fund mailing list, and race-relations organizations; balance being held to fill requests.

The Segregation Decisions

Pamphlet reprint of speeches by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims before the Southern Historical Association. Printing of 10,000 copies financed, 5,000 for distribution by the Association and the Southern Regional Council, 5,000 for distribution by the Fund. The pamphlet is not yet off the press.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

On Freedom of Speech and Belief

Banned Books

Book by Anne Lyon Haight, published by R. R. Bowker and Co. 60 cloth-bound and 750 paper-back copies distributed to libraries and library trustees in areas where censorship problems have arisen. Distribution will continue until remaining supply of 40 cloth-bound and 1,250 paper-back copies is exhausted.

An Exhibition of Books Which Have Survived Fire, the Sword and the Censors

Catalogue of an exhibition by the University of Kansas Library. 20,000 copies to lists selected by the Library, including 10,000 members of the American Association of School Administrators, libraries, press.

Censorship Bulletin

Quarterly publication of the American Book Publishers Council. Fund financial assistance has permitted increased circulation and improved format. The Bulletin is now in such demand that the ABPC may ask the Fund for further limited financing.

Obscenity and the Arts

Special issue, Autumn 1955, of Law and Contemporary Problems, Journal of Duke University Law School. 930 copies primarily to library trustees.

Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence

Article by Henry Steele Commager, reprinted from the Saturday Review. 10,000 copies ordered; 8,500 distributed to Fund's general mailing list, union officials and, by request, to Roosevelt University, Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico, United Christian Missionary Society, Albany Board of Education, University of Massachusetts, etc.: balance of 1,500 being held to fill requests.

See It Now

Edward R. Murrow television program on book censorship in California. Five film prints circulated among civic organizations in California.

Distribution of Materials (Continued)

On Freedom of Speech and Belief (continued)

The Development of Academic Freedom in the U. S.
Book by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, published by Columbia University Press. 1,000 copies to political science professors, directors and officials of organizations, state school superintendents.

The Freedom Reader
Book, edited by Edwin S. Newman, published by Oceana Publications. 5,000 copies to educators, press, Freedom Agenda, National Students Association.

On Liberty
Book by John Stuart Mill, published by Great Books Foundation. Printing of 5,000 copies financed for possible use in the rooms of the Sheraton Hotel chain, starting experimentally with 500 copies in the Sheraton-Plaza in Boston.

To Insure the End of Our Hysteria
Article by Paul G. Hoffman, reprinted from The New York Times Magazine. 10,000 copies: 5,000 distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, most of the balance by the president of the American Dental Association to its membership.

Famous Words of Freedom
Pamphlet issued by Freedom House. 50,000 copies: 18,000 to secondary school principals (through National Education Association); 13,000 to Church Peace Union members; 3,000 to Freedom Agenda members, 5,000 advertising agency executives, National Students Association, American Unitarian Association, Methodist Mission Conference. Balance of 2,000 to fill requests.

This Thing Called Freedom
Speech by David L. Shillinglaw, past commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, to Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio. 5,000 copies ordered for distribution by the author, by Irving Breakstone (past Illinois Department Commander), to Ohio and Chicago branches of ACLU, Illinois State Bar, Western College and Fund lists.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

General

Cornell University Series in Civil Liberties

Series of publications by the Cornell University Press under the editorship of Robert E. Cushman. Limited distribution of four volumes under a special $2,000 appropriation (some of which still remains).

Profiles in Courage

Book by Senator John F. Kennedy, published by Harper. 550 copies primarily to Freedom Agenda discussion chairmen.

Who Are Communists and Why?

Department of Defense pamphlet. 50,000 copies ordered for distribution primarily through organizations (including Fund grantee groups). First shipment of 10,000 due from Government Printing Office about May 10; balance about June 15.

Civil Liberties in the U.S.: A Guide to Current Problems and Experience

Book by Robert E. Cushman, published by the Cornell University Press. Distribution of 5,000 copies now being arranged in collaboration with author and publisher.

Who "Collaborated" With Russia?

Article by Paul G. Willen, reprinted from the Antioch Review. 600 copies to National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt

Article by Richard Hofstadter, reprinted from the American Scholar. 25,000 copies; to business executives (19,000), educators, clergy, lawyers, Anti-Defamation League and various individual and organizational requests. This article later appeared in the book, The New American Right.

Strong in Their Pride and Free

Speech by Harry P. Cain, reprinted from the Congressional Record (as inserted by Senator Humphrey). Printing of 3,000 copies financed, 1,000 for distribution through National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 2,000 to labor unions.

Distribution of Materials (continued)

General (continued)

Freedom Award

Speeches in booklet form at the annual Freedom House Award dinner (1954) by Lewis W. Douglas, Edward R. Murrow, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and Whitney North Seymour. 600 copies to National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

See It Now

Edward R. Murrow television interview with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, in an expanded, three-quarter-hour version. 105 film prints: approximately 40 have now been given for permanent deposit in college film libraries and others; balance remains in circulation to schools and colleges, voluntary organizations, civic groups, etc. 2,000 copies of the script of the original half-hour television version were distributed in answer to requests.

Social Science and Freedom

Booklet of radio lectures held under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Minnesota. 20,000 copies to be distributed (booklet came off the press May 2) to Freedom Agenda, Civil Liberties Clearing House and others.

Clearing the Main Channels

1955 Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union. 10,000 copies: 4,000 to ACLU for specialized distribution; 4,800 to Fund mailing list, Southern Regional Council, National Catholic Welfare Conference (for U.S. bishops, by request); balance being held to fill requests.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Television Script Competition

Board Action:	$75,000 authorized by the Executive Committee in December, 1954.
Balance returned to General Funds:	$14,000 (a small balance retained in appropriation for use in helping winning authors to place their scripts.)
Total spent:	$61,000

This competition was designed for writers and other creative people to develop dramatic or documentary scripts for televisions dealing with the contemporary or historical role of civil liberties in America. Nineteen prizes were established for two categories of scripts: hour-long dramas, and half-hour documentaries; first prize in each category was $5,000. The jurors were Julien Bryan, Elmer Davis, Jacob Javits, Allan Nevins, Alex Segal (who later resigned), Eric Severeid and Charles P. Taft. A group of about 10 screeners was engaged to eliminate obviously unsuitable material.

When the competition closed on May 31, 1955, about 700 scripts had been received. The major prize-winners were a professional novelist, whose script concerned racial discrimination; a professional radio writer, whose script dealt with Elijah Lovejoy's fight for freedom of the press; and two brothers who work in the documentary news field, and whose documentary script dealt with a young Puerto Rican's integration into New York City life. Awards to the major winners were presented by Mr. Paul Hoffman at a reception at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in August 1955.

One of the purposes of the competition was to have some of the scripts produced on commercial television. This purpose was not fulfilled despite strong efforts by the Fund and authors' agents. Only one script was actually produced, and in such a shortened and bowdlerized version as to be unrecognizable; one other was bought and then returned to the author. All rights in the scripts that did not win prizes reverted to the authors upon announcement of the awards; rights in the prize-winning scripts reverted to the authors in February 1956, six months after the presentation of the prizes.

Television Script Competition (continued)

The competition obtained good newspaper and magazine publicity, particularly after the announcement of the awards. But the lack of interest on the part of sponsors led the Officers to the decision not to recommend a continuation of this competition in 1956.

V To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Special Awards: YWCA, Westwood

Board Action: $5,000 authorized at the February 17, 1955, Board meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $5,000

On March 23, 1955, Mr. Hutchins appeared for the Board to present the special award to the YWCA at the UCLA campus, for its continuous service to the principle of the "open platform". Dean Byron Atkinson represented the Chancellor of the University and commented favorably on the award. Mrs. Pauline Spaulding of the National Board of the YWCA stated the Board's hope that the example of the YWCA at Westwood might help other college and university associations establish a similar policy.

Press coverage was slight, despite employment of a temporary publicity agent to assist in publicizing the award. The Fund's newsfilm project produced a film clip of the award ceremony, which was used on four stations in the Los Angeles area.

The staff and Board of the YWCA at Westwood expressed appreciation for the award both at the time of the ceremony, and by letter. Theodora Ninesteel, director of the YWCA, has reported informally since the award that it has strengthened the determination of her Board to hold to its policy in the face of pressure.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

National Board of the YWCA

Board Action:	$8,000 granted by the Officers on February 17, 1955 out of the $20,000 authorized at the Board Meeting, November 18, 1954, for programs complementary to the Freedom Agenda Program.
Total Amount Allocated:	$8,000

This grant was made to cover the purchase of Freedom Agenda pamphlets, preparation of a YWCA booklet, and expenses of administration, conferences and travel.

The first expenditure was for packets containing eight Freedom Agenda booklets and Your Freedom is in Trouble by Paul Lehman, which were used at three training sessions, and have been distributed upon request during the past year. More than 500 packets have been distributed to date.

A one-day training session was held in May, 1955 for the national professional staff from the central and field offices. In June a training seminar was held for thirty YWCA leaders in Washington prior to the annual Washington Seminar in Public Affairs. Professor Herbert Reid of Howard University Law School, and Alan Barth were among the experts on the program. At the regular Public Affairs Seminar fifteen members of the training session presented a demonstration discussion and suggested various kinds of discussion programs for use by local YWCA's.

A third group of trainees consisted of students at the YWCA Summer School for Professional Workers. Twenty-five students participated in a general Freedom Agenda workshop; twelve students took part in a more intensive course where programs were planned for different age groups; and seven students prepared a sample evening's program, which aroused a great deal of interest in the student body.

In addition to the specially organized training institutes, the Director of Public Affairs has discussed Freedom Agenda with executive directors, program directors and Public Affairs chairmen. Mrs. Esther Cole Franklin, Director of Public Affairs, used the theme, Freedom and Responsibility, as the

National Board of the YWCA (continued)

basis for discussions with thirty new staff members at their induction institute last fall.

Substantially all the leaders of the June institute have held leadership positions in their community Freedom Agenda projects, and some of them have initiated the programs. Others have directed discussion series with the YWCA, or helped to plan special programs in civil liberties for various organizations in the community. In addition to participating in discussion groups at their YWCA's, several of the students who attended the summer school prepared a playlet, based on the Look Magazine article, "Security Risk," which has been widely used to arouse interest in civil liberties issues.

Last fall a special committee was set up to consider the most effective use of the remainder of the grant. It decided to convene a workshop of experienced leaders in the fall of 1956 for discussion of the problems of freedom as they affect the YWCA today. This exchange of experiences and ideas is expected to produce a practical handbook geared to the problems which arise in local Associations. This handbook would replace a proposed pamphlet along the lines of the YMCA publication, "Toward Freedom and Security," because the Committee feels that there is an abundance of general material on civil liberties.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

American Heritage Council

Board Action:	$50,000 authorized at the February 17, 1955 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$50,000

The American Heritage Council received a grant of $50,000 from the Fund to support over a two-year period the Council's program of group discussions devoted to producing a better understanding of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the writings of Jefferson and Lincoln. The major portion of the grant was intended for leadership training and other assistance to the Education for Freedom program of the Illinois American Legion. The remainder was for work in labor unions and public schools, and for assistance to other organizations interested in fostering knowledge of the principles of the American heritage.

The Executive Secretary, Victor Rubin, reports that the Education for Freedom Program was brought to all 1,132 posts of the Illinois Department of the Legion on the Fourth of July and Flag Day. The average attendance on these special occasions was 100. Approximately 110 additional discussion meetings were covered by the Council's Freedom Car teams. Despite the repudiation of the Education for Freedom Program by the Executive Committee of the Illinois Department of the Legion last fall, about 60 large Legion Posts in Illinois are continuing the program.

The Council is also working with other veterans' organizations. Jewish War Veterans have started an American Ideals Forum in the Chicago area, demonstrated it before delegates from mid-western states and scheduled their twelfth local Forum. A leader-training program will be conducted by the Council for AMVETS delegates from central states. Veterans of Foreign Wars is the most recent veterans' organization to adopt an American Heritage program in Illinois. The Council's staff is now screening Chicago Public Library films on American history and related themes and preparing discussion guides for use by VFW and other interested veterans groups. It has set up a program for Illinois National Guard units, in cooperation with the Fifth Army, based on discussion of the Defense Department's documentary movies on American history.

American Heritage Council (continued)

The Illinois State Commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart has asked Mr. Rubin for program suggestions, and the Polish Legion of War wants to start an Education for Freedom program. Copies of a resolution adopted by the Florida Department of the American Legion, calling for a study of basic American documents under the Department's Americanism Commission, have been sent to other state departments.

The Council has established a special Military Advisory Committee to advise on its relations with veterans' organizations. This Committee developed out of Mr. Rubin's connection with the Military Order of World Wars, an organization of commissioned officers, which cuts across most veterans organizations.

Although the Council has concentrated on work with veterans' groups, its activity in public schools and unions has been extensive. The University of Chicago will probably offer next spring a graduate level course that the Council has outlined for American history and civics teachers.

Members of the Illinois State Bar Association, who participated in the American Heritage program set up by the Council last summer, have been active in starting Freedom Agenda groups. The manual that the Council prepared for the Bar Association is being used by a number of local units of the League of Women Voters.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Civic Areas Committee of Waverly (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce

Board Action:	$10,000 special award authorized through a poll of the Board, March 29, 1955
Total Amount Allocated:	$10,000

On March 30, 1955 Mr. Hoffman and Mrs. Stevenson presented an award of $10,000 to the citizens of Waverly for the "hand of neighborly friendship" they extended to Captain Virgil Daniels and his family. The Waverly Chamber of Commerce had taken the lead in finding decent housing for the Negro Air Force Captain after he had encountered difficulty when he tried to move into an apartment project in Waverly. The award received considerable national publicity.

Captain Daniels and his family have fully justified the community's interest. He and his wife are active in their church and PTA. Their children have entered into school activities and are members of Scout troops in Waverly.

The Civic Areas Committee has established an annual scholarship with the yearly interest on the $10,000. The scholarship is to be awarded each year to a Waverly High School senior interested in study which will "further the cause of civil liberties and human rights." Qualifications for the scholarship will be "excellence in scholarship, character, need and sympathy toward the cause of civil liberties and human rights." Administration of the scholarship will be carried out by a committee consisting of the Chairman of the Civic Areas Committee, the Superintendent of Schools and the President of the PTA.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Trade Union Program

Board Action:	$20,000 authorized at April 7, 1955 Board meeting. $35,000 authorized at December 2, 1955 Board meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$55,000

Ben Segal, trade union consultant to the Fund, has helped to keep unions informed about the impact of the Industrial Security Program on union members and on unions. At the same time the trade union program directed by Mr. Segal has aimed at aiding unions to carry on educational activities about civil liberties and civil rights.

Conferences with union officials have led a number of them to inform their field staffs and local officers about the rights of their members involved in the Industrial Security Program. Six major unions have taken action along these lines. The same pattern of individual consultation also proved useful in keeping unions up to date about the activities of the Fund.

Two conferences on "Personnel Security Programs in Industry" were held, one in Washington, and one in Los Angeles. Each of these conferences had the participation of management, government and union groups. Each received wide publicity and served to stimulate interest in the Industrial Security Program. Similar conferences are planned for Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis and Greensboro.

An important union educational activity is the summer institute for local union officers and shop stewards. Last summer Mr. Segal prepared a teaching and discussion outline, "Unions and Civil Liberties", which was used extensively at these institutes. Mr. Segal lectured and led civil liberties discussions at eight institutes. He has similar commitments for this summer. In addition he helped to organize some 25 week-end union conferences on civil liberties and civil rights.

In the last six months Mr. Segal has worked closely with the Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, which also has responsibility for civil liberties activities. Some financial assistance was given to a study of the "Effects of the White Citizens Council on Union Activity in the South", which resulted in a strong statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council condemning

Trade Union Program (continued)

the White Citizens Councils.

This summer Frank Graham, George Mitchell and others will be made available to southern union schools, to teach and speak about the Supreme Court's school decision and its importance to the trade unions. Part of the fees and travel expenses of these speakers will be met from the appropriation for the trade union program.

Exploratory conversations are now under way with Al Hayes, Chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, and other union leaders interested in the state of civil liberties within unions, i.e., fair elections, procedures for removal from membership, fair hearing of grievances against union officials, etc.

Mr. Segal's close contacts with the labor press have produced a considerable number of articles and stories on civil liberties in the larger labor papers. LABOR, the newspaper of the Railroad Brotherhoods, recently received one of the Sidney Hillman Foundation Awards for its articles on "the security risk program and civil liberties."

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Robert E. Sherwood Television Awards

Board Action:	$65,000 authorized May, 1955.
	$15,000 authorized November, 1955 (in connection with designation of awards as Robert E. Sherwood Awards)
Total Amount Allocated:	$80,000 (A supplementary appropriation of $7,500 has been recommended by the Officers to the Executive Committee.)

Unlike the script competition which the Fund undertook in the winter and spring of 1955, this program was designed to cover shows actually produced on television during the 1955-56 season. The aim of the awards program was to encourage the development of productions of highest professional distinction in the Fund's specific fields of interest, and to draw national attention to the best of them.

The competition was planned to run from October 1, 1955 to May 31, 1956. Two prizes of $15,000 each were established for the best network dramatic production and the best network documentary production; an additional prize of $10,000 was established for the best independent-station production in either category. Prizes would be shared by the director, writer and producer of the winning programs; in addition, plaques would be awarded to the network or station producing the winner and perhaps special citations would be given to runners-up.

This general plan was approved by the Directors in May, 1955. After Robert E. Sherwood's death in November, 1955, the competition was named in memory of Mr. Sherwood and the prizes were increased to $20,000 for each of the network categories and $15,000 for the independent-station prize.

The jury for the awards consists of Kermit Bloomgarden, Gardner Cowles (resigned April 30, 1956), Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gilbert Seldes, Robert Taft, Jr., Harrison Tweed and Philip H. Willkie. Six of the members met in New York in March and discussed the 70-odd programs which had been nominated up to that time. Their work had been facilitated by a screening system which was established early in the season to look over the

Robert E. Sherwood Television Awards (continued)

nominated programs (as well as any others that might be appropriate); this system calls on the services of three television organizations in Ohio, Wisconsin and California, two individuals in New York City, and members of the Fund staff.

The competition will close on May 31, 1956. It is expected that the jurors will make their decisions shortly thereafter and that the awards will be presented at a ceremony sometime in June.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

American Friends Service Committee - Radio Tape Program

Board Action: $5,000 appropriated at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $5,000

This $5,000 grant was to assist AFSC in its recorded programs for rural radio stations and school systems. The annual budget for the program is $13,000 and the $5,000 was earmarked for a certain amount of programing devoted to the field of civil liberties themes.

The AFSC programs feature Edwin Randall, who is in charge of the Friends radio division and has been broadcasting to rural and church audiences for many years. Mr. Randall usually interviews American and foreign notables, and comments on such topics as the need for international cooperation, constructive projects for under-developed areas, brotherhood, peace and freedom.

Most of the tapes are five to seven-minute conversations which are used as guest spots on commercial programs -- frequently "Farm and Home" hours. During the past year the Friends recorded 419 different programs with 91 persons, including Quakers who visited Russia, Nehru, Mehta, Irene Osborne, Louis Bromfield and Alberto Gainza Paz. These programs were requested by 283 stations for a total of more than 10,174 broadcasts. Additional tapes were distributed directly by regional offices and some were sent to networks. Mr. Randall estimates that each broadcast (excluding network broadcasts) had an average audience of 25,000.

Thirty-nine universities and school boards have requested programs. Mr. Randall says that much of the material is broadcast directly into the classrooms of both elementary and secondary schools.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Television Series Featuring Herblock

Board Action:	$200,000 authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board meeting to underwrite a 26-week series of TV films, subject to discontinuation after 13 weeks.
Total Amount Allocated:	$200,000
Balance Returned to General Funds:	$153,459

On the basis of two pilot films prepared at the request of the Fund by Herbert L. Block ("Herblock"), cartoonist for the Washington Post Times - Herald and many other newspapers, the Fund voted to underwrite a proposed 26-week series of films for use on local television stations. The program was tentatively called "Herblock's Week" and was to deal with the current matters with which Mr. Block deals in his cartoons, emphasizing but not restricted to civil liberties matters. It was expected that at least half of the underwriting of $200,000 would be made up by outside sponsorship. The series was to be subject to cancellation after 13 weeks if, in the opinion of the Officers, by that time it had not attracted a wide enough audience, had not been taken by enough stations, or had not produced sufficient income from sponsorship.

Mr. Block made the first two films in this series in September, 1955. Distribution of the series to local TV stations was to start in October. A review of the first two films disclosed the impracticability of seeking to limit Mr. Block's field of discussion to the boundaries set by the charter of the Fund. In the words of the news release of October 13, 1955, the films "showed that his effectiveness as a news commentator would depend in large part on his complete freedom to discuss current issues and particular legislation".

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board on October 6, 1955, the Officers were requested to terminate the Fund's commitment on this project. Settlements were made with Mr. Block and with the producer and booking agent.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Audio Books

Board Action:	Up to $11,150 authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board meeting to underwrite the preparation, production and distribution of records on civil liberties by the Audio Book Company.
Total Amount Allocated:	$11,150
Balance 3/31/56:	$8,534

After the Board's approval of this project, the Fund entered into a contract with Audio Books providing for Fund underwriting of albums on topics agreed upon with Audio Books. The Fund's maximum commitment on any album is limited to $11,150, and the contract calls for royalty payments to the Fund on all sales in excess of 5,000 copies of an album.

After examining the documents which might be distributed in recorded form, the Officers decided that the Apology and Crito of Plato would be suitable. The Audio Book Company engaged Mr. Thomas Mitchell to read the dialogues, and issued 5,000 copies of the finished album of three records March 25, 1956. Copies of the album have been received by members of the Board.

The Fund has assisted the Company with routine publicity, such as arranging for the appearance of Thomas Mitchell on a television program and preparing press releases. The sale of the album is progressing satisfactorily, according to a representative of the Company. Some further publicity assistance is planned.

The Audio Book Company has its sales office in St. Joseph, Michigan, and its technical office in Los Angeles. The President of the Company is James L. D. Morrison, and the Vice-President and General Manager is Raymond Tierstein.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches

Board Action: $20,000 authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $20,000

One year ago the Directors approved a grant to the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches to promote the discussion of civil liberties issues among its members. This project, called "Christian Faith and Freedom" is now one of four main programs which the Council for Social Action recommends to the Congregational churches for 1956-58.

Last summer the Council employed Dr. Frank Dorey, Associate Professor of Social Ethics and Sociology of Religion at Howard University, to prepare material for the Council's discussion groups. Two bibliographies on civil liberties were compiled by Dr. Dorey to assist the staff of the Council and the leaders of the discussion groups. Miss Fern Babcock, formerly program coordinator of the National Students YWCA, joined the Council's staff in the fall with special responsibility for the civil liberties project.

Announcements of the program, "Christian Faith and Freedom", were sent to 10,000 pastors and social action committee members. Another 40,000 announcements are to be distributed through local churches.

The Council has recommended that the churches hold four meetings to discuss these civil liberties issues:

"Christian Faith and Freedom"

"Totalitarian Threats to American Freedom"

"National Security and Personal Freedom"

"Freedom for Research and Teaching"

Twenty "Town Criers" have been selected and are now at work in eighteen states, training leaders and building up interest. The

Council for Social Action (continued)

Council's staff has conducted institutes in Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington and plans another 20 institutes for late 1956.

Four films to stimulate discussion are recommended:

"Sound of a Stone"

"What Price Freedom"

"National Security Versus Individual Freedom"

"Freedom to Learn"

These films have been purchased for the film libraries of the denomination.

Last fall, thirty outstanding Congregationalists were invited to serve as members of a Commission on Christian Faith and Freedom. The Commission met in November and January and drafted a resolution on civil liberties which was sent to the churches for study and comment. The resolution will be revised in the light of suggestions from the churches, and submitted to the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches for consideration at its June meeting.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Plymouth Monthly Meeting

Board Action: $5,000 special award authorized at the May 19, 1955 Board Meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $5,000

Plymouth Monthly Meeting received an award of $5,000 from the Fund for its "forthright stand in defense of individual freedom" by resisting local pressures to dismiss Mrs. Mary Knowles, librarian of the William Jeanes Memorial Library.

The Meeting has yet to accept the $5,000, which is being held in escrow, since unanimous action is required to take any decision. Mrs. Charles Chapple, spokesman for the Library Committee, reports that the segment of the Meeting opposed to retention of Mrs. Knowles has agreed to appoint two persons to a four-member committee to review Mrs. Knowles' past. If the committee concludes that she is a loyal citizen, those who had asked that she be dismissed are expected to withdraw their opposition to her continued employment and to acceptance of the award.

Mrs. Knowles has appeared twice before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, since the Fund made its award to Plymouth Monthly Meeting. At both hearings, Mrs. Knowles refused to answer certain questions on the grounds that the Committee did not have jurisdiction to question her about her background, since she was a private individual employed by a private institution functioning under the guidance of a religious organization. On April 15 the Senate Judiciary Committee voted to seek contempt prosecution against Mrs. Knowles for her "illegal refusal" to answer questions. (The Senate has since confirmed this action.)

The 276th Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends gave its support to the stand of Plymouth Monthly Meeting in refusing to dismiss Mrs. Knowles. The Yearly Meeting's action came in the form of unanimous endorsement by 500 representatives of 93 local Meetings of the report of its Civil Liberties Committee. The Yearly Meeting thus upheld the Civil Liberties Committee's decision to make available a fund for such legal defense of Mrs. Knowles' position as might be necessary.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Recordings for Radio Use of Hearings of Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate

Board Action: $7,000 authorized at the September 1, 1955 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board.

Total Amount Allocated: $7,000

The suggestion that the Fund finance the complete tape-recording of the hearings of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, of which Senator Hennings was Chairman, came from Mr. Al Hamilton, an engineer working with Sound Studios, Inc. in Washington and with the radio department of the United Automobile Workers. He recommended that after the entire proceedings were recorded on tape, a series of thirteen 13-1/2 minute summaries be prepared on tape and records for use by radio stations.

Mr. Hamilton's performance has proved disappointing, in that he has not yet completed the editing of the thirteen projected programs. However, some radio use has already been made of the first half dozen tapes, and considerable interest has been expressed by radio stations and organizations in using the entire series when it is available. Twenty stations in Missouri are currently using the series; parts of the series have been used on Minnesota stations; the Intercollegiate Broadcasting Company has distributed records to its member stations for use on college campuses over the country; two or three radio programs sponsored by labor unions have used various segments. For the future, station WMCA in New York has expressed a desire to use the entire series on a weekly basis over the summer months. In addition, the Nationwide Insurance Company has said that it wants to use the recordings on its programs over three stations in Ohio, New Jersey and West Virginia. Among the organizations which have asked for tapes or records for use among discussion groups, in seminars and at conferences are the American Friends Service Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, the Universalist Service Committee and the National Council of Churches of Christ.

Although Mr. Hamilton's delay in getting the materials prepared in final form prevented this project from having the immediacy that the Officers hoped it might have, it appears that the materials will nevertheless get fairly wide use.

Section V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

The American University, Bureau of Social Science Research

Board Action:	$15,000 was granted at the September 1, 1955, Executive Committee Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$15,000

In August, 1955, the Fund received a request from the Bureau of Social Science Research of American University for a grant to permit the Bureau to analyze statistical material obtained from questionnaires circulated by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary (under the chairmanship of Senator Hennings). These questionnaires were to be circulated by the Subcommittee in the course of an investigation of the present state of rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The Bureau has completed analysis of a questionnaire circulated by the Subcommittee on the religion clause of the First Amendment, and it will soon finish analysis of a second questionnaire on freedom of speech and press.

The Officers understand from Dr. Robert Bower, Director of the Bureau, that the Subcommittee has made no plans for further investigations or questionnaires.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Special Award to the YMCA at University of California at Berkeley

Board Action: $5,000 authorized at the Board meeting of September 15, 1955.

Total Amount Allocated: $5,000

On Friday, November 4, 1955, Paul G. Hoffman appeared for the Board of the Fund to present the special award to Stiles Hall, the Berkeley branch of the YMCA. Paul McKaskle, student president of Stiles Hall, accepted the award. Harry Kingman made a brief speech of gratitude and explanation of the Stiles Hall program, for which he, as general secretary for twenty-five years, had been chiefly responsible. Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University, introduced Mr. Hoffman, and read a letter of congratulations to Stiles Hall from Robert G. Sproul, President of the University. General William Dean, just retired in public ceremonies in San Francisco the previous day, was on the platform.

Press reports of the event were extensive. All four daily papers in San Francisco, the daily papers in Oakland and Berkeley, and the campus newspaper carried substantial stories, covering both the award and a press conference with Mr. Hoffman, held in San Francisco earlier that day. The press conference gave the Chairman an opportunity to explain the general program of the Fund, as well as the award. Both radio and television news programs reported the conference and the award. Coverage was favorable, despite the fact that two of the local papers are part of the Hearst chain.

Later informal reports from Harry Kingman indicate that the award has emphasized a policy that has been important to the Stiles Hall for many years, to the assistance of student officers and the advisory board of the YMCA.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

The Newsfilm Project

Board Action:	Up to $200,000 was authorized at the Board Meeting of September 15, 1955 (to put the newsfilm project on a national, full-time basis.)
Total Amount Allocated:	$200,000. Spent through March 31, 1956, $42,634.

In September, 1955, the Officers reported to the Board that results with film clips provided under the experimental radio-TV appropriation justified putting the newsfilm service on a national basis. Under the authorization of the September Directors' meeting, George Martin, a west-coast NBC news producer, was engaged as director of the project. He terminated his employment with NBC, and began work for the Fund November 13; by mid-December he had furnished and staffed an office in Hollywood. A New York office was opened early in March.

Organization

The Project has three full-time employees and two part-time employees. Mr. Martin spends the bulk of his time in New York. Assistant Director of the New York office is Ruth Knopf, who left CBS Television News to join the Fund. Writer-producer Marcia Legere, formerly with CBS and Life, serves as a part-time consultant in general charge of West Coast activities in Mr. Martin's absence. Herbert Bernard, writer of the Paul Coates "Confidential File" program, is Assistant Director of the Hollywood office. The Hollywood office has a part-time secretary.

Both offices are equipped with film editing and shipping facilities and with United Press news service.

Cameramen, sound men, film editors, film processing, reporters and other services are hired as needed.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips produced

Since the start of full-time operation last November, to April 23, 1956, the Newsfilm Project has produced 39 newsclips, of which 30 have been released to individual stations, networks, and newsfilm syndicates in New York, Los Angeles, or both. Some of the remaining nine are being held for release when news developments warrant.

The thirty clips released have reached a total estimated audience of 55,581,000. (See appendix for details of stories and coverage.)

The Project is geared to film and distribute stories anywhere in the United States. CBS and NBC have recommended competent camera crews in all areas.

Arrangements have been made to have film processed and distributed in Chicago, as well as New York, Los Angeles, and San Franciso when desired. An arrangement with United Press-Movietone News is in effect to provide for the filming of news stories at actual cost.

Radio Activities

The Project occasionally distributes to radio stations and networks tape-recorded versions of stories we cover. This has been done with four stories, all of which received substantial use locally in Los Angeles. It is expected that this service will be somewhat expanded.

Distribution

When a story seems to have national interest, it is handed to the networks and newsfilm syndicates (NBC, CBS, INS-Telenews, UP-Movietone) in New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles. In some cases prints are also made available to individual stations. Forty-six stations in the Western states and Texas have expressed a desire to receive our film. A questionnaire has been mailed to 252 stations east of the Rockies to determine which of them wish to receive clips regularly. It appears likely, on the basis of the Western experience, that a total of about 200 individual stations will find use for our film. Some stories of local or regional interest are distributed only to stations in the area concerned. Other stories are prepared with specialized news programs in mind: See It Now, the CBS Sunday News, NBC's Outlook.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

News Sources

In addition to the United Press service, the Project scans twelve daily newspapers and numerous periodicals. The Project maintains close touch with groups interested in civil liberties, such as the NAACP and ACLU. Groups supported by the Fund are helpful in providing "leads" and background information. Local news men and cameramen give leads. The network and local news departments have begun to request coverage when they are unable to cover a story in our field.

Liaison with News Distributors

The Project is in regular contact with radio and television news editors in New York and Los Angeles. Visits are made periodically to editors in other parts of the country. In Los Angeles, a committee of news editors meets every two weeks with the Project staff there, to discuss story possibilities and the handling of stories already released. The membership changes periodically.

Because network operations are more complex in New York, it has been decided that little purpose would be served by calling meetings of editors, whose problems differ widely. Instead, contact is maintained on an individual basis.

Effectiveness of Newsclips

It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of newsclips. Some educational value must follow from exposing newsworthy civil liberties issues to large television audiences on news programs. Occasionally there is concrete evidence of the impact of these short films. An example:

A Downey, California realtor, whose fight against dismissal from the local realty board for taking part in a sale to Mexican-Americans was publicized by a newsclip, reported a large increase in business after the clip appeared on the air. Many customers told him they wanted to do business with a man who stood on principle. As a result of the same newsclip, another realtor similarly ousted, who had not taken any action on his dismissal, decided to sue the realty board for reinstatement.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Other Project Activities

At least as important as the production of newsclips is stimulation of coverage of civil liberties stories by radio and television stations using their own staffs: For example:

A clip prepared on a parking lot which served as headquarters for the Negro share-the-ride operation in Montgomery, Alabama, led CBS to make its own, more detailed film of the lot for use on Douglas Edwards and the News and other programs.

Coverage by NBC, CBS, and United-Press Movietone of the Washington hearing in the case of James Kutcher, legless veteran who lost his pension on loyalty grounds, appears to have been a result of inquiries from us.

On March 16, NBC asked the Newsfilm Project to check a rumor that the trial of boycott leaders in Montgomery would be postponed. We did so, and set up arrangements with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council to notify us of developments.

At their request, NBC and CBS were furnished lists of state officers of the SRC for use in checking stories.

The Project called to the attention of both NBC and CBS the boycott in Orangeburg, South Carolina. NBC did a special report for their new Sunday Outlook program with Chet Huntley.

The Project's activities appear likely to encourage editors to cover civil liberties stories more frequently and to lighten their fears of "controversial" issues.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

APPENDIX I

Use of newsclips has been generally greater by individual stations than by networks and newsfilm syndicates, which have large film-producing staffs. Many individual stations have no regular source of film, and especially welcome our stories. As distribution to individual stations in the Eastern states gets under way during the next month, it is expected that our estimated audience figures will show a considerable increase over the figures on the attached chart.

This chart indicates the estimated audience for each newsclip. Every effort has been made to assure that the figures are conservative. In some major metropolitan areas, the estimated audiences are a projection of a standard rating service on the basis of 2.2 viewers per set. In other areas, the estimates of news editors are used if they appear to be reasonable. When no figures are furnished by news editors, the following system is used: in one-station areas, it is assumed that 10% of the available audience saw our clip; in multiple-station areas, the figure is set at 5%.

Special problems were encountered in estimating the audience reached by clips distributed by United Press-Movietone and INS-Telenews. The following assumptions were made:

In the average market, the average audiences of news programs using these services is 5% of the total available audience. The average station has two news shows using syndicated film material There is a 50-50 chance that any given clip will be used on any given show. This brings us to the conclusion that a fair estimate of a clip's audience is 5% of the total available audience.

An added conservative factor in the estimates is that out-of-town stations are not included unless they have returned a confirming postcard. A certain amount of use without the return of the confirming card is virtually assured.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips Issued

BERKELEY AWARD: Board Chairman Paul G. Hoffman presents $5000 award to University of California YMCA for a quarter-century of support for free speech and racial equality. Filmed in advance for release at the time of presentation. To 7 Los Angeles and 3 San Francisco stations. Estimated audience: 438,000. Tape recordings to four Los Angeles network radio stations.

CIO CONVENTION: California State CIO Convention adopts resolutions opposing "encroachments" of various kinds on civil liberties, including censorship in libraries, and calling for early integration in Los Angeles Fire Department. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 476,200.

HOFFMAN NEWS CONFERENCE: At the request of NBC and CBS, Project covered a Caltech news conference by Mr. Paul Hoffman, during which he answered several currently newsworthy questions about the Fund. To 7 Los Angeles stations, 5 stations elsewhere in California, United Press-Movietone, INS-Telenews. (Los Angeles distribution automatically covers CBS and NBC). Estimated audience: 3,229,000. Tape recordings to four Los Angeles network radio stations.

GASTON - HENNINGS SUBCOMMITTEE: Appearance of Herbert E. Gaston of Santa Monica before the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 105,600.

SAMMY LEE ANAHEIM RECEPTION: Senator Thomas Kuchel and community leaders formally welcome the Olympic diving star, who settled in Anaheim after his Korean ancestry created housing problems elsewhere in Southern California. To 7 Los Angeles stations, United Press-Movietone, INS-Telenews. Estimated audience: 3,710,415.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY: Ceremonies in the Los Angeles City Council observing Bill of Rights Day along with a statement by Eason Monroe, ACLU, of what needs to be done in civil rights during the coming year. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 873,000.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips Issued (continued)

MISSISSIPPI GIFT LIFT: White and colored citizens of Los Angeles shown contributing goods and money to aid Mississippi Negroes being "squeezed" economically in the integration controversy. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 714,000.

SAN FRANCISCO BASKETBALL: Reissue of 1955 clip showing Bill Russell, Negro star of the University of San Francisco's prize-winning basketball team, commenting on his generally satisfactory treatment while in Kansas City for a championship game. Reissued in conjunction with an upcoming game between USF and Loyola in New Orleans. USF had five Negro players. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 430,500.

HUTCHINS NEW YEAR: Fund President Robert M. Hutchins gives a year-end resume of the status of American civil liberties. To 7 Los Angeles stations and UP-Movietone. Estimated audience: 3,916,589 (does not include British Broadcasting Corporation, to which it was distributed by Movietone).

CAROL BARRETT: The 17-year-old Downey (Cal.) high school student wins first prize in a national essay contest on "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me." She reads excerpts from her prize-winning composition. To 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 989,750.

MONTGOMERY BUSSES I: The Negro boycott of Jim Crow Montgomery (Ala.) city busses enters its fifth week with no end in sight. Clip tells the boycott story in terms of empty busses and walking Negroes. Filmed by UP-Movietone and distributed to NBC, CBS, INS-Telenews, New York, plus 11 California stations. Estimated audience: 4,957,235.

MINISTERS CONVOCATION: Doctor Paul Calvin Payne, General Secretary of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., reads excerpts from a speech delivered at a Los Angeles convocations of Protestant ministers. He attacks the Emmet Till murderers and their supporters as "betrayers of the free world." To 11 Southern California stations. Estimated audience: 695,750.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips Issued (continued)

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS: Excerpts from an informal discussion between Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and a group of students at the California Institute of Technology on the subject of civil liberties. To 40 western stations. Estimated audience: 1,761,099.

SIGMA PHI: Dean Robert Brooks of Williams College expresses support of the college chapter of Sigma Phi fraternity, facing expulsion from its national organization for pledging two Negro students. Filmed by UP-Movietone and distributed to CBS, NBC and INS-Telenews in New York. Also to 40 Western stations. Estimated audience: 4,614,455.

UCLA PANHELLENIC: At UCLA, 22 sororities comprising Pan-Hellenic Council withdraw from student government in what is believed to be a move to avoid furnishing statistics on racial restrictions in their constitutions, as requested by Student Legislative Council. SLC President Irv Drasnin comments. To 40 Western stations. Estimated audience: 1,693,581.

SUPREME COURT-CORDOVA: Joe Cordova, who refused to sign a loyalty oath demanded of residents of a housing project, expresses gratification at Supreme Court's refusal to review the case, permitting his and four other families to remain in the project. To 40 Western stations. Estimated audience: 912,382.

ANTI-SECRECY DECISION: California Attorney-General Edmund G. Brown releases an opinion that the San Diego City Council is violating state laws in requiring those attending certain meetings to register. To 19 California stations. Estimated audience: 1,356,338.

CIVIL RIGHTS: Excerpts from speeches at Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington on problems of the South. To NBC, CBS, UP-Movietone and INS-Telenews, New York, and 40 Western stations. Estimated audience: 1,072,048.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips Issued (continued)

BOYCOTT LEADER: The Rev. Robert Graetz, white pastor of a Negro church in Montgomery, Alabama, explains his part in the bus boycott there. Because Graetz had been a Los Angeles resident, the clip was serviced to the 7 Los Angeles stations. Estimated audience: 902,070.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION: San Francisco Chinese leaders express opposition to Federal efforts to subpoena records of Chinese Family Associations in an inquiry into illegal immigration; U. S. Attorney says records are needed. Timed for release to 35 West Coast and 7 New York City stations after a federal judge was expected to rule on the matter. Estimated audience: 888,780.

RALPH BUNCHE: Diplomat tells California youth meeting that underprivileged groups are impatient when integration is too gradual, "because you can't enjoy rights posthumously." To 42 Western stations. Estimated audience: 872,780.

REV. ABERNATHY: Highlights of address by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Montgomery bus boycott leader, before a National Day of Prayer rally in Los Angeles. To 42 Western stations. Estimated audience: 917,003.

SWIMMING POOL DISCRIMINATION: Trial begins in 9-year-old Susan McClain's suit against the City of South Pasadena, in which she charges she was denied use of the municipal swimming pool because she was a Negro. Her attorney comments. To 19 California stations. Estimated audience: 809,780.

DOWNEY REALTOR: Real Estate Broker Harry Beddoe defeats a motion to dismiss his damage suit against a realty board which expelled him for "unethical conduct" following his participation in the sale of a house to a Mexican-American family. Beddoe and his attorney comment. To 42 Western stations. Estimated audience: 1,455,481.

HENNINGS SUBCOMMITTEE: Highlights of the three-week November session of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. To NBC, CBS, INS-Telenews and UP-Movietone in Washington. Estimated audience: 1,224,496.

The Newsfilm Project (continued)

Newsclips Issued (continued)

HARRY P. CAIN: Member of Subversive Activities Control Board continues his attack on phases of the loyalty-security program in excerpts from a New York speech. Filmed by UP-Movietone and distributed to CBS, NBC, INS-Telenews and Movietone in New York. Estimated audience: 2,496,000.

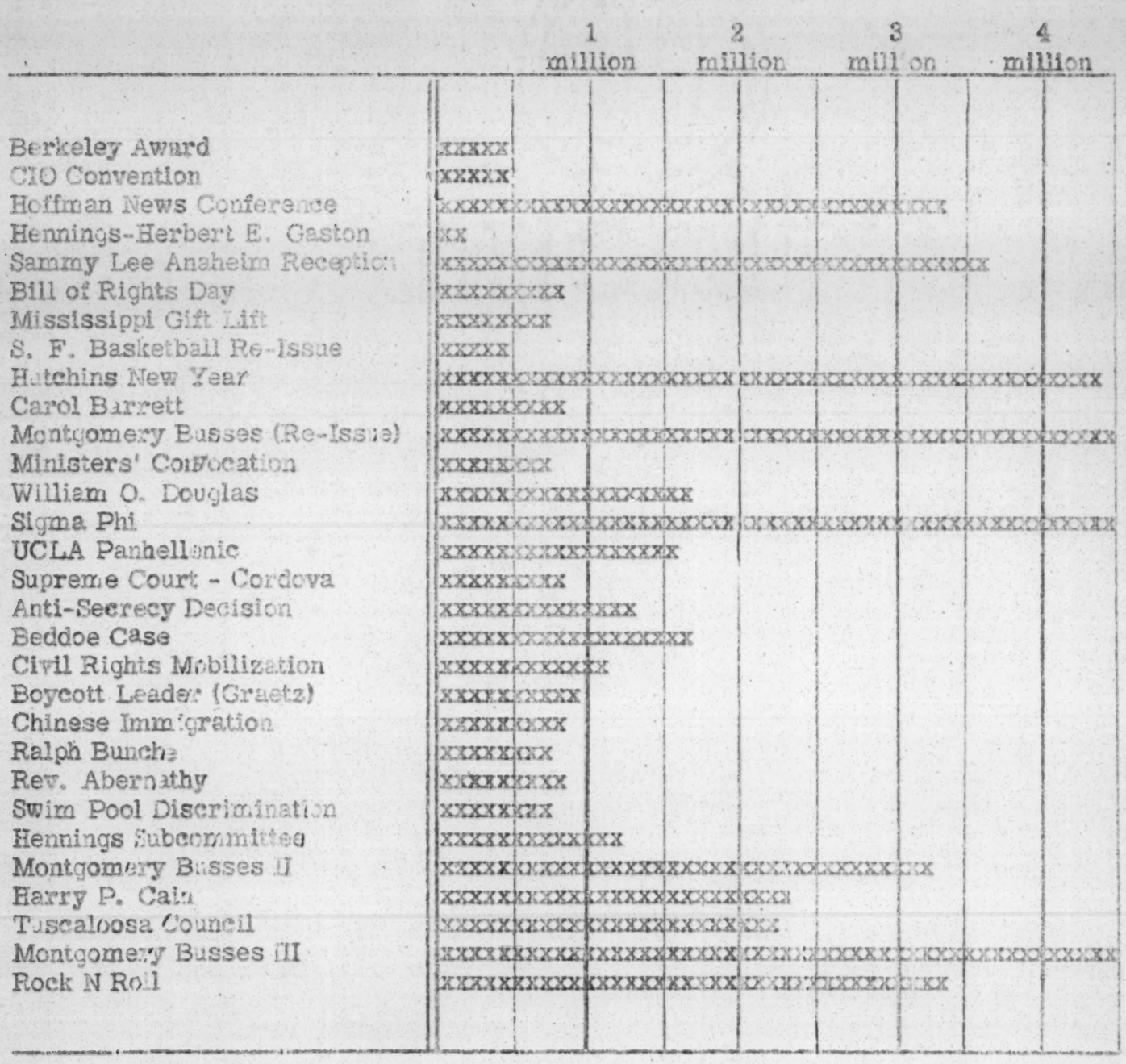
TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL: Film showing inter-racial meeting less than two miles from University of Alabama campus on the day Autherine Lucy was expelled. To UP-Movietone, INS-Telenews, CBS, NBC, New York, and 42 Western stations. Estimated audience: 2,490,605, not including British Broadcasting Corporation which received it from Movietone.

MONTGOMERY BUSSES II: Scenes of arrests of boycott leaders. Filmed by Movietone, distributed to CBS, NBC, INS-Telenews, New York. Estimated audience: 3,389,215.

MONTGOMERY BUSSES III: Scenes of parking lot serving as headquarters for Negro ride-sharing movement in bus boycott. Statement by executive secretary, Alabama Council on Human Relations. To NBC, CBS, INS-Telenews and UP-Movietone, New York, and 42 Western stations. Estimated audience: 4,800,114.

ROCK 'N ROLL: Alabama White Citizens Council leaders tell why they think "rock 'n roll" music is NAACP-inspired in a plot to "mongrelize" the South. To CBS, NBC, INS-Telenews and UP-Movietone, New York. Western distribution planned later. Estimated audience: 3,389,215.

NEWSCLIP AUDIENCES (each line represents 500,000 viewers)



V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

Board Action:	$60,000 was appropriated at the Board Meeting of September 15, 1955
Total Amount Allocated	$60,000

In July, 1954, the staff asked the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, a tax-exempt agency working in race relations, whether their local weekly radio program offered a pattern for local television. In July, 1955, the Council's Directors and staff requested a grant to make two pilot films as examples of a half-hour television program, which might subsequently be financed by the Fund on a weekly basis. The pilot films were financed from the radio-television experimental appropriation, and on the basis of the Council's performance with these films, the Officers recommended the appropriation approved by the Board in September, 1955.

After an extended make-ready period, the Council engaged personnel and made arrangements with a television station in San Francisco for public service (station-contributed) air time. The first program went on the air February 26, 1956. Edward Howden, Director of the Council, is the narrator of the show; the title is "Barrier." The format includes filmed portions which take the viewer into the field to examine a problem of current local interest in civil liberties or civil rights; and a live portion, which is usually an interview with persons whose interests are involved in the subject.

The program has appeared weekly since February 26, except for one week when the time was pre-empted by a national network show. The station is KRON, owned by the San Francisco Chronicle, the local NBC outlet; the program appears at 2:30 p.m. Sundays, immediately following the NBC show, Wide Wide World, and preceding the NBC show Meet the Press. The program was opposite Omnibus until Omnibus went off the air for the summer.

The subjects of the programs to date of this writing have been:

"Is There a Color Line in Bay Area Schools?"
"The Electronic Eavesdropper"
"Bay Area Housing Opportunity and the Minority Buyer"
"The Oath"
"Suburban Schism"
"Teenagers Tackle Civil Liberties"

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco (continued)

The Board has seen a letter from Edward Howden concerning the organized attack on the first program by Myron Fagan supporters. No organized attack has been repeated, despite racial questions taken up on subsequent programs. No boycotts have developed, and only two subscriptions to the Chronicle have been cancelled. The station management was shaken by its experience with the first program, but has stood fast in its determination to keep the program on the air.

The effectiveness of any television program is hard to measure, but there are indications that the program is having an effect. When pamphlets have been offered, upwards of 200 requests have followed. The rating of the program indicates that it is being seen on at least 100,000 TV sets in the Bay area. After the first program, a member of a school board in one district covered by the program called the Council to say that he was grateful that the problem of racial segregation in housing and its relation to school segregation, had been made clear.

The quality of the program is even harder to judge. Both Howden and his writer, Paul Obluda, are amateurs in television. The budget for the program is small--about $1,000. Since the station provides the operating personnel and public service time, the station director and the camera crews are likely to be the least capable. In the judgment of one qualified professional, the program has been admirable for content, and mediocre in showmanship. It is possible the liveness and sincerity of the program makes up for the lacks in professional skill. It is likely that Howden and Obluda will improve as they go.

The Officers recommended this appropriation in part to find out whether a local television program, managed by a local non-profit agency, depending on public service time and largely volunteer effort, dealing with local issues, might serve to inspire local interest and action in civil liberties. The program demonstrates some success. Howden and Obluda and the Board of Directors of the Council for Civic Unity still feel hopeful that local financing for the program will be found when the Fund's grant has been exhausted.

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco (continued)

The directors of the Council are: Jack L. Blaine, Eugene B. Block, Roger Boas, Rev. Hamilton T. Boswell, Mrs. H. Robert Braden, Mrs. Francis Carroll, William K. Coblentz, Frederick Cromwell, Robert de Roos, Most Rev. Hugh A. Donohoe, Rev. Bruno Drescher, Mrs. Frank B. Duveneck, Samuel B. Eubanks, General Philip R. Raymonville, Rabbi Alvin I. Fine, Robert K. Fong, Mrs. John O. Gantner, Jr., Honorable Louis E. Goodman, Mrs. Myer S. Kahn, Vernon Kaufman, Mrs. Paine Knickerbocker, Daniel E. Koshland, William J. Losh, Earl Sun Louie, Mrs. Thomas C. Lynch, Julian W. Mack II, Dr. Hilario G. Marquez, Mrs. Nicomedes Martinez, Mrs. Joyce L. McCabe, Rev. Harry C. Meserve, Edgar D. Osgood, Richard T. Parks, Cecil F. Poole, Dr. Ralph A. Reynolds, Irving S. Rosenblatt, Jr., William M. Roth, Leon B. Russell, Antonio Sotomayor, Dr. Hilda Taba, Lewis K. Underhill, and the officers: Reynold H. Colvin, President; Jefferson A. Beaver, Brooke Clyde and Thomas P. White, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. George Hellyer, Secretary; Dr. Wilfred Hiura, Treasurer, and Edward Howden, Executive Director.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church

Board Action: $3,000 was authorized by the Officers on October 7, 1955 out of the sum of $20,000 that was allocated at the Board Meeting, November 18, 1954, for programs complementary to the Freedom Agenda Program.

Total Amount Allocated: $3,000

The Division requested this grant to provide program leaders and resource material, including Freedom Agenda pamphlets, for its regional workshops on civil liberties. The Methodists have now held one master training workshop and nine of the ten regional workshops described in the original request. Packets containing Freedom Agenda material have been distributed to 1500 workshop participants. In addition to the regional workshops, thirty-one sub-regional workshops have been held. It is expected that there will be at least 100 of these sub-regional workshops, with an average attendance of 100 people each, before the project is completed this summer. Most of the workshops have lasted for two days and have used speakers, films and publications to stimulate discussion.

Approximately one-third of the discussion of these workshops is concerned with civil liberties, strictly construed, while more than half of the time is given to desegregation in schools and housing. In dealing with civil rights issues, an international team of three leading women Methodists from Japan, India and Uruguay has addressed a number of workshops on race relations. The Division officials report that the attraction of this international team has brought about bi-racial workshops wherever Negro and white churches are in the same localities.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Kenyon College Conference on the Essentials of Freedom

Board Action:	$25,000 appropriated at the November 17, 1955 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$25,000

The Fund made a grant to Kenyon College to underwrite partially the expenses of a four-day Conference on the Essentials of Freedom.

The purpose of this conference is to bring together many people who have recently been reexamining the ethical and political assumptions of liberty to determine whether they can agree on some coherent statement about the essentials of freedom in contemporary society.

It has now been decided by Kenyon authorities that the Conference will not be held until the spring of 1957 because of:

(1) the limited time available to assemble a panel of qualified speakers; and

(2) the fact that 1956 is a presidential election year, and several of the desired participants have heavy commitments to their parties.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

United States National Student Association

Board Action:	$3,000 authorized at the December 2, 1955 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$3,000

The Fund's grant to the USNSA enabled that organization to prepare and distribute educational material in connection with an Academic Freedom celebration in colleges and universities throughout the country April 9-16, 1956. It is not possible to evaluate this celebration yet, but the Officers of the Association report that "all indications show that the project was highly successful."

In February the USNSA sent out academic freedom kits to student governments and college editors and deans of students. The kits contained Freedom Agenda booklets, bibliographical and other materials and suggestions for publicizing Academic Freedom Week. The staff of USNSA also has been compiling material for a booklet on "the student's relationship to academic freedom." During March, four one-day conferences were held in Cambridge, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles to guide the USNSA staff in the preparation of this booklet.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

The Institute of Social Order - National Essay Contest on Civil Liberties

Board Action: $19,300 appropriated at the January 6, 1956 Board Meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $19,300

The national essay contest on civil liberties for junior and senior political science majors is being administered by the Institute of Social Order, which operates at St. Louis University, under the auspices of the Society of Jesus. The contest is being managed by Francis J. Corley, S.J., editor of Social Order, a magazine published by the Institute. The officials of the Institute will choose the judges, who will not be affiliated with the Institute.

Father Corley plans to write the presidents of all U. S. colleges and universities in May. This letter will tell of the Fund's grant, request the cooperation of the president and the political science department and ask that an enclosed printed announcement describing the contest be sent to the chairman of the department.

The title of the contest has been changed from "What the Bill of Rights Should Mean to the Citizen Today" to "The Alert Citizen and Civil Liberties."

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Board Action: $7,500 appropriated at the January 6, 1956 Board Meeting.

Total Amount Allocated: $7,500

Two national staff members of the Anti-Defamation League have been assigned the task of directing the League's participation in the Freedom Agenda Program. As of April 1, these national staff members and regional staff members had visited 30 cities and have been in touch with more than 200 Freedom Agenda committees. They have sought to initiate Freedom Agenda where no activity existed; to prod communities where the Program was moving slowly; and to assist Freedom Agenda committees that were under attack.

All of the 26 ADL regional offices have received information on the Freedom Agenda Program, and 22 of these have taken part in the program by offering local groups suggestions for programming, lists of materials and consultation. B'nai B'rith lodges and chapters are cooperating with Freedom Agenda in 29 states.

Kinescopes of the Edward R. Murrow shows, Conduct of Congressional Investigations and Peaceful Assembly and Free Speech have been purchased by ADL and made available for Freedom Agenda promotion.

ADL Bulletin, a house organ with a circulation of 100,000, has a feature article in the April issue, "Leave It To The Ladies", which describes the persistence of the Carrie Chapman Catt group in bringing Freedom Agenda to more than 600 communities.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

AMVETS (American Veterans of World War II)

Board Action:	$5,255 authorized at the January 6, 1956 Board Meeting
Total Amount Allocated:	$5,255

AMVETS are now laying the groundwork for their part in the Freedom Agenda Program. The National Executive Director is writing to officers, post commanders and members asking them to join existing Freedom Agenda projects, or suggesting that they cooperate in starting projects where Freedom Agenda groups have not been organized. The National Speakers Bureau is being provided with material on the Program. Each member of the Executive Committee has been directed to tell his state committee about plans for conducting an educational program on civil liberties in the more than 1,000 AMVET posts throughout the country.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

American Tradition

Board Action:	$35,000 authorized for support of project between April 1 and December 31, 1956 at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting.
Total Amount Allocated:	$35,000

At Mr. Leo Rosten's suggestion, the Officers have retained Michael Harrington as executive director of this project, which is intended to collect and publicize instances of the successful application of the Bill of Rights in present-day situations. Mr. Harrington served as assistant to Mr. Cogley on the Blacklisting Project. He has written widely on civil liberties questions.

Messrs. Harrington and Rosten have just begun to organize this project.

V. To Make the Bill of Rights a Living Document

Cartoon Feature, "It's Your America"

Board Action: $15,000 authorized at the March 22, 1956 Board Meeting

Total Amount Allocated: $15,000

A contract has been signed with Special Features, Inc. to create a series of cartoon panels on the subject of American liberty, for free distribution to weekly and smaller daily newspapers which request the feature. The contract is for a six-month period, and the first mailing is scheduled for release May 15. Professor Clinton Rossiter is checking copy on the panels for accuracy.